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SAN RAFAEL

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1794.

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SAN RAFAEL, CALIF.

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PREFACE.

THE Volume which is now presented to the Public contains the history of that eventful and important period when, having beaten down resistance at home, and seized with a violent hand all the resources of a vast empire, the Rulers of France were enabled to begin that career of conquest by which the long established balance of Europe was ultimately overthrown.

It will, we trust, be found, that no common care has been employed in giving fulness, clearness, and fidelity, to every part of our narrative. Much information

has been obtained from ſources not acceſſible to former writers; much from thoſe ſources of which they were ignorant, or culpably negligent. There is ſcarcely a chapter in this volume, which will not furniſh abundant proof of the correctneſs of our aſſertion.

In our language no connected, regular, and authentic account had hitherto been produced of the heroic ſtruggle made by the royaliſts of Poitou and Britanny, in behalf of their religion and their king. That which we have given in the opening of our volume fills, we hope ſatisfactorily, this hiſtorical void.

The ſufferings of the French people under the relentleſs tyranny of the jacobin faction have been dwelt upon with a more than uſual latitude of detail, in order to afford

afford a moral leſſon to raſh but well-meaning innovators, by ſhewing them at what a dreadful price to their country revolutions muſt be bought.

To the military operations of the year great attention has been paid. The campaign in the Netherlands has never before been otherwiſe than imperfectly narrated; while thoſe of the Rhine, Italy, and Spain, have been almoſt wholly neglected. In all theſe quarters it has been our endeavour to give a perſpicuous, and, as far as our limits would allow, a complete idea of the deſigns, the movements, and the conflicts of the hoſtile armies.

Of that unworthy praiſe which is to be gained by publiſhing the greateſt number of volumes in the leaſt poſſible time, we are not ambitious. Thoſe who only

tranſcribe

early in the next year. We have every reaſon to hope, that the arrear, which has unfortunately been incurred, and which has been ſo indulgently borne with, will be brought up at no diſtant date, and, that we ſhall not in future have occaſion to addreſs the Public in the language of apology.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEAR 1794.

THE

HISTORY

OF

EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

The Royaliſt war. Importance and intereſt of it. Extent of the country which formed the ſeat of that war. Topographical deſcription of the department of Vendée. Of the Deux-Sevres. Syſtem of warfare adopted by the royaliſts. Character of the people of Poitou. Their diſlike of the revolution. Attempts made in vain to change their opinions. Anger of the Bretons and Poitevins at the decrees againſt the clergy. Commiſſioners ſent by the national aſſembly to enquire into the cauſes of thoſe diſturbances. They recommend moderation. Their advice not acted upon. Perſecution againſt the clergy continued. Its effects upon the people of the weſtern provinces. La Rouarie forms a plan for reſtoring the monarchy to its proper ſtate. His character and early life. Communicates his plan to the French princes, who approve of it, and appoint him as chief to carry it into execution. The plan. Exertions and ſucceſs of La Rouarie. His civil and military coadjutors. A knowledge of the plan unfortunately obtained by the oppoſite party. La Rouarie prepares to begin hoſtilities. Is compelled to leave his caſtle by a party of national guards. Premature attempts of ſome royaliſts. The people of Poitou take up arms, but are defeated. Diſturbances in the department of La Sarthe. They are put a ſtop to by the republicans. Information

obtained by the republicans upon a part of the royaliſt plans. A commiſſioner ſent by the executive council into Britanny. His character. Wonderful exertions of La Rouarie. Progreſs made by the republican commiſſioner. Time of the royaliſts commencing hoſtilities definitively fixed. Illneſs and death of La Rouarie. Malſeigne choſen as chief by the Breton confederates. The executive council takes meaſures to defeat the royaliſt ſchemes. Principal chiefs of the royaliſts arreſted. Their execution. A part of the Bretons riſe in arms againſt the convention. After a ſhort ſtruggle, they are compelled to ſubmit. Rigid meaſures of the convention againſt the Bretons. Concluſion.

IN poſtponing to our preſent volume the hiſtory of the war maintained by the royaliſts of the French weſtern provinces, we declared our intention of tracing, in an ample and connected narrative, the cauſes, progreſs, and conſequences of that protracted and ſanguinary conteſt. This taſk, hitherto unattempted in the Engliſh language, we are now to perform. Seldom has the hiſtorian been called to deſcribe events capable of exciting a more powerful intereſt in the mind of the reader, than thoſe which took place in Poitou, and a part of the bordering territory. The magnitude of the enterprize, the chivalric enthuſiaſm and contempt of danger manifeſted by the defenders of the throne, the numerous and brilliant victories which they achieved with ſeemingly inadequate means, all conſpire to rivet attention, and to command at once our wonder and applauſe.

Before we proceed to a detail of the military operations, and of the circumſtances which gave birth to them, it may not be improper to communicate ſome idea of the extent and nature of the country which was the theatre of hoſtility, and alſo of the manners, character, and ſentiments, of thoſe by whom it was inhabited.

The circle occupied by the royaliſts embraced above two-thirds of Poitou, together with thoſe parts of Anjou and Britanny which were ſituated on the left or ſouthern bank of the Loire. Its greateſt length was nearly a hundred miles, and its greateſt breadth about eighty. This ſpace included ſeven hundred communes, with a population of more than eight hundred thouſand ſouls. Bounded on the north by the Loire, and on the weſt by the ocean, this vaſt diſtrict comprehended, according to the new diviſion of France, a portion of the departments of Lower Loire, and of Maine and Loire, with the whole of the departments of Deux-Sevres and Vendée. It was from the latter that the royaliſt war took its general name.

Vendée is divided by nature into three diſtinct parts, which are deſcriptively called Le Bocage, Le Marais, and La Plaine. Le Bocage, thickly covered with wood, forms ſeven-ninths of Vendée, and preſents numerous diminutive but rapidly-ſloping hills, at the feet of which flow ſeveral ſmall and winding rivers, each eaſily converted into torrents by ſhowers of rain, and whoſe banks are ſteep and abrupt. Every farm, alſo, is incloſed by hedges of extraordinary thickneſs. Le Marais, which the

toil

toil of ages has won from the reluctant waves, is interfected by innumerable falt marfhes and canals, all of which communicate with each other. The fpaces of ground between are planted with willows, poplars, hazles, and aſhes. The roads, or rather paths, are crooked and narrow. By the fides of theſe are the humble cabins of the native peaſantry, who never leave home without a long ſtaff, through the means of which they paſs the canals with wonderful dexterity.

The Deux-Sevres contains no marſhes; but is, in great part, not leſs woody than the Bocage of Vendée. It contains alſo many pools, deep valleys, and hills; and the farms, often ſcattered in the midſt of foreſts, are uniformly hedged round in the manner which has already been mentioned.

In both departments, vegetation has a cloſe and luxuriant growth. Of navigable rivers there are few; and of practicable roads a ſtill ſmaller number. Commerce and manufactures are, of courſe, almoſt unknown; agriculture is the ſole occupation which is here followed. A conſiderable part of the ſubſiſtence of Paris was drawn from Vendée and the Deux-Sevres.

That diviſion of the departments of Maine and Loire, and of Lower Loire, ſituated on the left bank of the river, bore the name of the Pays de Mauge, and likewiſe of Le Loroux. It was ſomewhat more commercial and rich than the Vendean diſtricts, yet equally hoſtile to the republican faction.

The ſyſtem of warfare here acted upon, for ſo long a period, by the royaliſt leaders, was adapted with wonderful ſkill to the nature of the country, and of thoſe by whom that country was defended. Turreau, a bitter enemy of royalty, who held a high command in the republican armies of this quarter, has given a ſtriking deſcription of this ſyſtem, and has paid an unwilling homage to its military merit. "Favoured," ſays he, "by "every natural advantage, they "have a peculiar tactic, which they "know perfectly how to apply to "their poſition and local circum-"ſtances. Confident in the ſupe-"riority which their mode of at-"tack gives them, they never ſuffer "themſelves to be anticipated; "they engage only when and where "they pleaſe. Their dexterity in "the uſe of fire-arms is ſuch, that "no people we are acquainted with, "however warlike or well ſkilled "in manœuvring, can make ſuch "good uſe of a gun as the huntſ-"men of Le Loroux, and the "poacher of Le Bocage. Their "attack is a dreadful, ſudden, and "almoſt always unforeſeen irrup-"tion, becauſe it is very difficult "in La Vendée to reconnoitre well, "to get good information, and, "conſequently, to guard againſt a "ſurprize. Their order of battle "is in the nature of a creſcent, "and their wings, thus formed in "an angular ſhape, are compoſed "of their beſt markſmen; ſoldiers "who never fire without taking "aim, and who ſeldom miſs a "mark placed within point-blank "ſhot. You are overwhelmed, "before you have had time to look "about you, by a heavy diſcharge, "which far ſurpaſſes any thing "that can be produced by our re-"gular methods. They do not "wait for the word of command to "fire; they are unacquainted with "battalion, file, and platoon fir-

"ing; and yet that which you "experience from them is well "directed, well supported, and "much more deſtructive than your "own. If you make head againſt "their violent attacks, they ſeldom "diſpute the victory with you; but "little advantage can be derived "from it, as they retreat ſo ra-"pidly, that it is difficult to come "up with them, the country ſcarce-"ly ever admitting of the uſe of "cavalry. They diſperſe; they "eſcape from you through fields, "hedges, woods, and buſhes, for "they well know all the bye-roads, "ſecret paths, ſtraits, and defiles, "and are acquainted with every "obſtacle which can obſtruct their "flight, and alſo with the means "of avoiding them. If you are "obliged to give way to their at-"tacks, you find it as difficult to "retreat, as they find it eaſy to "eſcape when defeated. When "victorious, they completely en-"velope you, cut off your retreat "in all directions, and purſue you "with an inconceivable fury, ani-"moſity, and ſwiftneſs. They run "in an attack, and in a victory as "they do upon a defeat; but they "load their arms whilſt marching, "and even whilſt running; and "their muſketry loſes nothing of "its quickneſs, or its aim, by their "conſtant ſtate of mobility. In "general, this war has ſo many "ſingularities, that it muſt be pur-"ſued a long time before one can "be perfectly acquainted with it; "and any well informed general "officer, who has made ten cam-"paigns upon the frontiers, will "find it very difficult to act with "ſucceſs on his arrival in La "Vendée."

The character of the people of Poitou is of an eſtimable kind. The Poitevin has none of that garrulity and levity which generally marks the Frenchman. He is, on the contrary, taciturn and ſerious. The domeſtic duties are performed by him with a rigid propriety. He is a good ſon, a good huſband, and a good father. Simple in his manners, he is economical, yet hoſpitable. To all his engagements he adheres with the moſt ſcrupulous fidelity. A lover of order and of ancient eſtabliſhments, the loyalty and attachment he bears to his ſovereign are no where to be ſurpaſſed. Animated by a fervent ſpirit of piety, he regards the religion of his fathers with the utmoſt veneration, yields implicit obedience to the doctrinal injunctions of its miniſters, and conſiders their perſons as ſacred; while the paſtors, on their part, almoſt uniformly ſtrive to merit, by the blameleſs and benevolent tenor of their lives, the love and reſpect which he ſhews them. The throne, the altar, and his native ſoil, may, in truth, be conſidered as thoſe objects which are deareſt to the heart of the Poitevin, and, for the defence of which, he cheerfully ſacrifices both fortune and exiſtence.

Under the influence of ſuch rooted prejudices, as they are falſely called, it is no wonder that the native of Poitou ſaw the commencement of the revolution not merely with indifference, but with diſguſt, and loudly declared that it would terminate in nothing that was good. It was in vain that miſſionaries of diſorder were ſent from the capital to initiate him into the myſteries of the new ſyſtem. It was in vain that the plunder of the nobles, and the abolition of tithes,

was held out as the reward of his converſion from monarchy and Chriſtianity.

The furious perſecution of the clergy, which began at the cloſe of the year 1790, irritated the minds of the Poitevins, and likewiſe of the Bretons, to the higheſt pitch againſt the dominant innovators. Some peaſants of the diſtrict of Vannes in Britanny, as we have already in a former volume * narrated, took the lead in declaring againſt the decree, which impoſed on the clergy an oath, generally and juſtly obnoxious to their conſciences. Quiet was no ſooner forcibly reſtored among the Bretons than diſturbances broke out in various parts of Poitou. They were occaſioned by a ſcandalous order, of the adminiſtrative body of the department of Maine and Loire, in the execution of which more than a hundred unoffending prieſts were dragged from their homes, and thrown into priſon at Angers.

May 3, 1791. The firſt of theſe diſturbances occurred at Challans, in Lower Poitou, and was inſtantly followed by others at Machecoult, Palluau, Apremont, and Chatillon. By the prompt exertions of the national guard from Nantz, the peaſants were, however, ſoon diſperſed. The flight of the king, in the enſuing June, again excited a ferment in the minds of the people, and led the royaliſts to deliberate upon plans in ſupport of monarchy. One gentleman, named Lezardiere, with leſs prudence than the reſt of his compatriots, collected at his caſtle about fifty friends and a hundred and twenty peaſants, and openly prepared for action, but was almoſt inſtantly cruſhed by a detachment from Sables d' Olonne.

In order to inveſtigate the origin of the late events in Vendée, the national aſſembly diſpatched two of its members, Gallois and Genſonné, into that department. The commiſſioners, after viſiting the chief towns, returned to the aſſembly, and made a report upon the ſubject, in which they attributed the convulſed ſtate of the department to the bigotry of the country people, and the too rigorous execution of the offenſive laws; and they wiſely intimated the policy of manifeſting ſome regard to the wiſhes and opinions of the Poitevins, and of truſting to lenity and time for their perfect obedience.

This counſel was little ſuited to the taſtes and diſpoſitions of thoſe to whom it was given. The ſyſtem of perſecution was, therefore, followed up in the moſt rigorous manner; and all thoſe prieſts who refuſed to take the oath were expelled from their benefices, treated with the groſſeſt inſolence, reduced to poverty, or impriſoned. Driven from their homes, they were, however, received with open arms by their pariſhioners, who looked upon them as martyrs in the cauſe of religion, and burned with indignation againſt their unworthy oppreſſors. The fallen condition of the ſovereign furniſhed alſo to the loyal inhabitants of the weſtern provinces another motive, equally powerful, to regard with inveterate hatred the factions of Paris.

Such was the ſituation and the feelings of the Bretons and Poitevins when a nobleman of Britanny

* See Ann. Reg. for 1792, Hiſt. Art. pp. 91-2.

formed the daring project of reſtoring, by the aid of his countrymen, the crippled and humiliated monarchy to its former ſplendour. This vaſt deſign was conceived by Armand Tuffin, marquis de la Rouarie, a man whom nature had endowed with every talent requiſite to enſure ſucceſs in ſuch an arduous enterprize. Ardent, indefatigable, patient of toil, gifted with the happy art of inſpiring affection and confidence, rich in mental reſources, and poſſeſſing a courage and fortitude which nothing could depreſs, he ſeemed made to triumph over difficulty and danger. To theſe qualities of the mind, he added one belonging to the body, which is rarely to be met with, and which, though of a humble nature, was, in his undertaking, of no inconſiderable utility. This was a flexibility of feature and voice, ſo great as to enable him to diſguiſe himſelf even from thoſe perſons by whom he was intimately known.

In the early part of his life, he had conducted himſelf with much of the eccentricity of genius. While holding a commiſſion in the French guards, he became deeply enamoured of mademoiſelle Beaumeſnil, an actreſs of celebrity, belonging to the opera. With the unthinking warmth of youth he offered to marry her, but his offer was rejected. A duel alſo which, about the ſame time, he fought with the duke of Bourbon-Buſſet excited againſt him the diſpleaſure of the king. Stung by love and indignation, he endeavoured to poiſon himſelf. Being ſaved by timely aſſiſtance, he then retired to the monaſtery of La Trappe. The conteſt which at that period took place between Great Britain and her colonies ſoon, however, arouſed his warlike ſpirit. He ſailed for America, where, under the name of colonel Armand, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on various occaſions.

In the troubles which enſued ſhortly after his return to France, he ſtrenuouſly eſpouſed the cauſe of the parliaments. The great provincial aſſembly of Britanny having determined to ſend a deputation to the king, to demand the maintenance of the ancient privileges, La Rouarie was one of twelve perſons choſen to carry the claims and remonſtrances of their compatriots to the foot of the throne. The deputies, on their arrival at Paris, were immediately committed to the Baſtile, whence, however, they were in a ſhort time liberated.

Attached to religion and true liberty, La Rouarie was the determined enemy of licentiouſneſs and impiety. He naturally, therefore, ſaw with alarm and diſguſt the progreſs of the revolution. A proteſt againſt the dangerous innovations which had been made was in 1789, drawn up by his advice, and was ſigned with the blood of the Breton nobles. The inſolence of the factions growing every day more inſupportable, and the ſafety of the ſovereign more precarious, he bent all his thoughts to the means of averting from the ſtate thoſe evils with which it was threatened through the machinations of the anarchiſts.

Having matured his ideas, La Rouarie quitted Britanny, in December 1791, and proceeded to Coblentz, where he found the count d'Artois, to whom he communicated the plan which he had formed of a Breton aſſociation;

a plan

a plan admirably contrived for the accomplishment of its purpose. It established central committees of insurrection in the larger cities, and committees of a subordinate kind in the towns and villages: the whole of these were to be under the direction of a supreme head. To procure men and money, and to detach from the revolutionary cause the national guards and troops of the line, were to be the principal objects kept in view by these committees. Order, union, the sacrifice of local and private interests, and a strict forbearance from any tumultuous and insulated attacks, were strongly recommended. The military arrangements were reserved for subsequent consideration. This scheme was approved of in all its parts by the French princes, who immediately invested its projector with full authority as chief of the confederated Bretons, desiring, at the same time, the nobles and gentlemen of Britanny to abandon, for the future, all intention of emigrating, and to second at home, with zeal and fidelity, the designs of their leader. To this commission a supplement was subsequently joined, in which the princes took occasion to disavow the wish, which had been attributed to them, of loading their country with taxes, and depriving it of a legitimate liberty. Furnished with the necessary documents and instructions, La Rouarie departed from Coblentz, leaving a trusty friend, the young Fontevieux, as his agent with the count d'Artois.

Mar. 2, 1792.

Once more arrived safely in his native province, La Rouarie turned all the powers of his ardent and comprehensive mind to the performance of his dangerous but honourable task. The extent and utility of his exertions soon became evident. Insurrectional committees were successfully created in many great towns and districts. Every man who had suffered by the revolution was assiduously sought out, that his aid might, if possible, be obtained. Men of royalist principles were introduced into the civil and administrative bodies, the armies, forts, and arsenals; while anti-anarchical writings were profusely though covertly distributed. On payment of a certain sum, permission was even granted to many to join in appearance the opposite party, and the safety of their property was assured to them in the event of hostilities.

In his operations, La Rouarie received no trivial assistance from Theresa Moelien, a young and beautiful relative, who shared in all his dangers, and gained over to his side a numerous band of friends. Loisel, controller of the records at St. Maloes, held the office of his secretary, and possessed his entire confidence. Desilles, father of the officer murdered at Nancy while striving to prevent the effusion of blood, acted as cashier, and superintended the civil administration of the league, in which he was assisted by Picot-Limoelan, his brother-in-law. Fontevieux, universally beloved by his party, was employed in journeys to and from Coblentz; Pontavice, an officer of few years yet known wisdom, resided in the capital, to watch over the interests of his friends; while commissions of delicacy and peril were entrusted by La Rouarie to Tuffin, his nephew, the junior Limoelan,

mbelan, and the chevalier de Tinteniac, all of whom were alſo his aides-du-camp.

The military regulations which had been decided upon by the inſurrectional committees, were tranſmitted to the princes; by whom they were ſanctioned with little alteration. The commands were diſtributed in the following manner. To the prince de Talmont the province of Maine was aſſigned; to the marquis de Saint Gilles the Avranchin; to La Haye St. Hilaire the diſtrict between Dol and Rennes; to Duboiſguy that round Fougeres; the Morbihan was committed to La Bourdonnaye and De Siltz; the ſhores towards the mouth of the Vilaine to Dubernard and Caradeuc; the country in the neighbourhood of Nantz to Palierne and Laberillais; the vicinity of Montfort fell to the lot of Dubaubril-Dumoland; the whole of Finiſterre to the baron Daupherné; and the coaſts of the north to Charles Boiſhardy. In each of theſe extenſive circles a great number of officers were appointed to complete the organization of their reſpective cantons.

Hitherto the plan had remained a profound ſecret to all but thoſe by whom it was to be put in execution. Accident now revealed it to the hoſtile party. Latouche Cheftel, a Breton phyſician of inſinuating manners, had, though not acquainted with the deſigns of La Rouarie, been entruſted by him with bills, for the purpoſe of converting them into money. A delay occurring, the marquis diſpatched to the capital his nephew, who, believing Latouche to be one of the confederates, unwarily diſcloſed to him the great outlines, though not the whole of their ſcheme. This important information was communicated by Latouche to his friend Danton, who haſtened with it to the committee of general ſafety, whence it was tranſmitted to the adminiſtrative bodies of the Breton departments.

Ignorant, meanwhile, of this untoward event, La Rouarie was aſſiduouſly and inceſſantly occupied in preparing for the conteſt, and waited, in anxious expectation, a favourable opportunity for its commencement. The moment long deſired at length ſeemed to be at hand. War was declared againſt Auſtria by the legiſlative aſſembly; and La Rouarie flattered himſelf that, while the greateſt part of the military force was employed on the frontier, he ſhould be able to ſtrike his meditated blow with deciſive effect.

In order to concert operations, he ſummoned his aſſociates to his caſtle between Rennes and Saint Maloes. After a repaſt, the commiſſion of the exiled princes, inveſting him with full powers in Britanny, and on the borders of the neighbouring provinces, was opened and read. La Rouarie then, in the moſt energetic language, addreſſed his aſſociates; to whom he pictured, in glowing colours, the injuries inflicted upon the nobles, the ſovereign, and religion itſelf. "My brave compa-"nions in arms," he exclaimed, "if you deem me worthy to be "your chief, and to lead you to "victory, ſwear with me fidelity "to the king, hatred to the demo-"crats, ſubmiſſion to the orders "of the princes, and devoted at-"tachment to the Breton aſſocia-"tion." The required oath was inſtantly

inſtantly taken by every individual, with enthuſiaſtic fervour.

At this inſtant, a meſſenger arrived in haſte from Dol, with intelligence, that a band of volunteers was marching towards the caſtle, the deſtruction of which they threatened, as being a haunt of prieſts and nobles. The aſſociates were of opinion, that it was moſt adviſable to retreat; but La Rouarie, who had before this time been made acquainted with the deſigns of the revolutioniſts upon his property, reſolved to defend himſelf, and ſucceeded in animating his friends with the ſame ſpirit. Every precaution was accordingly taken to repel the menaced attack. All thoughts of reſiſtance were, nevertheleſs, given up, on the appearance of a ſecond meſſenger, who aſſured them, that the force with which they had to contend, inſtead of being an illegal and undiſciplined mob, was a detachment of four hundred national guards, accompanied by the civil magiſtrates. The caſtle was, therefore, abandoned, after having been ſtripped of a great part of its furniture, to induce a belief that it was inhabited ſolely by one or two domeſtics. At midnight the aſſailants reached the place, and, finding no other object of attack, began to plunder the cellars and the kitchen. A few of the moſt violent would have ſet fire to the caſtle, had they not been prevented by ſome concealed royaliſts, who had joined them to counteract their miſchievous purpoſes. Diſappointed of their prey, the enemy retired the next day to their homes.

La Rouarie alſo returned to his habitation, the ſtrength of which he augmented, while he daily exerciſed his ſmall garriſon in military manœuvres. Nor was his activity confined within the circle of its walls. New partizans were gained in the neighbouring country, and ſpies were appointed to watch every ſuſpicious movement in the towns, and to give him timely notice of all that occurred. The conſtituted authorities, on their ſide, deceived by the reſult of their attempt upon the caſtle, relaxed conſiderably in their vigilance.

The courage and enterprize of La Rouarie, though unbounded, were, nevertheleſs, under the controul of prudence. Such, unfortunately, was not the caſe with ſome other of the royaliſt leaders, whoſe haſty and abortive meaſures were only calculated to afford a triumph to the foes of monarchy. We have already * had occaſion to notice the raſh conduct of M. du Saillant, in the ſouth, and its fatal conſequences. About the ſame time, Allain Nedellac, a farmer, and judge of the peace in the department of Finiſterre, having got together a body of peaſants, endeavoured to effect a general riſing in that quarter of Britanny. He was ſoon attacked at Fougères by the national guard, and defeated. For a while he evaded the ſearch of his purſuers, who finally, however, ſucceeded in making him priſoner. On his trial he behaved with undiminiſhed ſpirit; refuſed to purchaſe life by betraying his friends; and died as intrepidly as he had lived.

The tenth of Auguſt at laſt came,

* See Ann. Reg. for 1792, Hiſt. Part, p. 500.

and

and the throne was overturned by a band of traitors. La Rouarie had now an additional motive to act with vigour, and he loft not a moment in endeavouring to perfect the plan, by whofe fuccefs he was to fave and avenge his fovereign. As a neceffary preliminary to the commencement of hoftilities, he fecretly diftributed a proclamation, exhorting the Bretons to rally round his ftandard, and to make the moft ftrenuous efforts for the re-eftablifhment of the Catholic religion, and a monarchical government.

Some of the Poitevins, meanwhile, were driven by their religious feelings into a premature conteft. Faithful to the intolerant principles of thofe who governed France, the departmental adminiftration of the Deux-Sevres iffued a violent order againft all fuch prieffs as had refufed to take the obnoxious oaths prefcribed by the national aflembly. This impolitic act excited the warmeft indignation in the peafants of Poitou. Eight thoufand of them flew to arms in the diftrict of Chatillon, and, proceeding to the caftle of Baudry d'Affon, who had formerly held a military commiffion, and was known to be of royalift fentiments, infifted upon his accepting the command. Their weapons were fuch as are furnifhed by rage; pitchforks, fcythes, and fowling-pieces. Reciting their prayers as they marched, they bent their courfe towards the towns of Chatillon and Breffuire. The firft of thefe places was eafily taken; the latter fhut its gates, and prepared to refift. For fome days it defended itfelf vigorouffly againft its undifciplined affailants; but it muft ultimately have fubmitted, had not timely fuccour appeared. Alarmed at the revolt, the magiftrates of the furrounding cities and diftricts haftily difpatched their national guards to the relief of Breffuire. The royaliffs, no ways intimidated by the approach of their enemies, prepared for action. Their want of knowledge and of concert was, in fpite of their courage, fatal to them; and after a fhort engagement, they were routed with the flaughter of more than fix hundred killed, and a proportionable number of wounded. The victors crowned their triumph by the maffacre of women and children, and by carrying through the ftreets on their bayonets the mangled members of their defencelefs victims. To a few prifoners life was offered, on condition of their crying, Vive la Nation! but the boon, on fuch conditions, was difdainfully refufed, and thofe by whom it had been fcorned were immediately doomed to death, which they met with heroic firmnefs. Baudry d'Affon, after long wandering, expofed to every danger, found refuge with his fon in a cave dug under his own caftle, where he could hear over his head the footfteps and the threats of thofe who had been fent in fearch of him by the victorious republicans. Here, fupporting exiftence on coarfe barley bread and water, which was brought by a faithful domeftic, he remained for fix months, till thofe events, which will form the fubject of the next chapter, reftored to him the privilege of again combating for his religion and his fovereign. Aug. 24, 1792.

Scarcely had the fear occafioned by

by this disturbance subsided, when a fresh source of alarm arose, though from another quarter, and another cause. Famine, not religion, was the ostensible pretext of this new revolt; but it is not improbable that a hatred of republican usurpation had an equal share with the pressure of want in exciting the multitude to a spirit of hostility. It began at Saint Calais, in the department of La Sarthe, and rapidly extended to the circumjacent districts. Startled by this insurrection, the circle of which was every day enlarging, the convention dispatched commissioners to restore plenty and peace. Maure, Biroteau, and Lecointre, were the persons chosen to execute this task. They met, however, with so little success in their mission, that, after being exposed to a thousand insults and dangers, they were compelled to legalize, by their signatures, the rates which the revolters had established. Baffled and ashamed, they hurried to their colleagues at Paris, who received them with a mingled contempt and anger for the pusillanimity which they had displayed. During the time that the convention was deliberating upon the measures to be adopted, the revolters, swelled to the number of ten thousand, were marching towards Tours, apparently with a desire of prompting the royalists of Poitou to rise and declare themselves against the dominant faction. They attacked the city; but their efforts, ill-concerted and ill-directed, were rendered unavailing by the national guards of the environs, who defeated them in several skirmishes, and finally dispersed and drove them to their homes. The business was closed by the passing of an amnesty for all who had engaged in this awkward and inconsiderate enterprize.

While La Rouarie was indefatigably exerting himself in the service of royalty, Latouche was not less busily employed in counteracting his exertions. He had contrived to obtain information, that the chief of the royalists only waited for the final orders of the French princes; that every thing in the provinces was arranged; and that a body of emigrants from Guernsey and Jersey was expected to disembark in the neighbourhood of Saint Maloes. Danton, then minister of justice, was apprized of this by his friend, and instantly convened his colleagues, to whom he communicated his alarming intelligence; conjuring them, at the same time, to avert the danger, by acting with readiness and decision. As a further insight into the schemes of the royal party was absolutely necessary, and, as little dependence could be placed upon the reports of the Breton magistrates and administrative bodies, it was resolved to send into Britanny a special agent, with boundless authority, to develope and defeat, by all possible means, the designs of the royalist leaders.

The person chosen to perform this office was well fitted for it by natural depravity, and by a life consequently spent in the most infamous manner. Driven with disgrace from honest occupations, he had distinguished himself in a variety of dishonourable characters, and, among others, in those of a spy and a coiner. Justice had more than once raised her axe against him, but, consummate in art

art as in villany, he had always evaded the blow. His name was Morillon; and his crimes made him worthy to be, as he was, the friend of the ſanguinary Bazire. Rightly conceiving that the boldneſs, cunning, and talents for diſſimulation, which his aſſociate poſſeſſed, and which had already been fatally directed againſt the partizans of monarchy in Languedoc, might be advantageouſly employed in diſcovering the plans of the Breton chiefs, Bazire propoſed to the executive council to diſpatch him into the department of Ille and Vilaine, which was the central point of the confederacy in behalf of the throne. The propoſition was agreed to, and Morillon was furniſhed with ample powers to call upon the civil and military officers for their unlimited aſſiſtance in caſe of need. Barthe, a man of congenial principles, was ſelected by him as the companion of his labours.

At the period when Morillon and Barthe arrived in Britanny, the confederation had learned the diſgraceful retreat of the king of Pruſſia; and a great number of the members felt their courage depreſſed by this unexpected misfortune. La Rouarie, neverthleſs, ſtill preſerved his uſual boldneſs: the only effect produced upon him by the extinction of his hopes on the frontiers, was to ſtimulate him to more vigorous exertions in the interior of France. Regardleſs of reſt, of food, or of ſhelter, conſtantly armed, taking no repoſe but in caves or under trees, avoiding the great roads, and never appearing twice in the ſame place, he flew from caſtle to caſtle, from committee to committee, to encourage his old adherents, and to raiſe up new ones. Inceſſantly purſued by the republican emiſſaries, he ſeemed to elude their graſp with that facility which is attributed to diſembodied ſpirits.

Anxious to procure ſtill further knowledge of the plans of the confederates, Morillon viſited Deſilles, under the character of a royaliſt who had expoſed his life for his ſovereign on the tenth of Auguſt, and had in conſequence been compelled to eſcape from Paris. Deſilles was indeed too much on his guard to betray to a ſtranger the ſecret of his party; but he unwittingly contributed to its diſcloſure, by pointing out to Morillon the means of reaching Jerſey without ſuſpicion. To that iſland Barthe was inſtantly diſpatched by the crafty agent of the republic. Latouche was alſo ſent as a ſpy to London.

Theſe emiſſaries were but too ſucceſsful. Barthe obtained various details on the future movements of the royaliſts, while Latouche, on his ſide, made himſelf maſter of information which was ſtill more important.

Fontevieux, envoy of the aſſociates, was, in the mean time, occupied at Coblentz in turning the attention of the French princes to the Breton and Norman ſhores; and he pointed out a poſition between the rivers of Rance and Dol, which, with the poſſeſſion, already aſſured, of Saint Maloes, Cancale, and the fort of Chateauneuf, would enable the royaliſts to keep their ground even in caſe of a defeat. It was finally ſettled, that as ſoon as the emigrants could reach the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey, the Bretons ſhould begin

to

to arm. The month of March was definitively fixed for the time of action.

This plan, however, was fruſtrated by an unexpected and fatal event. His frame worn down by inceſſant fatigue, and continued expoſure to the inclemency of the elements; his mind irritated by the tardy march of his projects; and his health from theſe cauſes viſibly declining; La Rouarie determined to retire to the dwelling of a friend, and to allow himſelf a ſhort reſpite from bodily toil. He choſe for his retreat a caſtle near Lamballe, belonging to Laguyomerais, where he was received, together with Loiſel his friend, and St. Pierre, a faithful domeſtic. Here, on the ſixteenth of January, he was taken ill, and at this critical moment was compelled, by the fear of a domiciliary viſit, to quit an aſylum, now become more neceſſary to him than ever. Unable to proceed far, he ſought ſhelter in a cottage, whence he was ſpeedily reconveyed to the caſtle. The diſorder by which he was attacked was a putrid fever. In this ſituation, intelligence reached him of the murder of the king, and the melancholy news completed what the diſeaſe had begun. He became delirious, and vented his rage in imprecations againſt the regicides, and thoſe degraded Frenchmen who ſubmitted to their ſhameful yoke. After fourteen days of ſuffering, he expired in the morning of the thirteenth of January, and with him the hopes and the vigour of the Breton confederacy. His corpſe was buried by moonlight in a wood near the caſtle, and quick-lime was employed to accelerate its deſtruction.

In order to prevent the diſcouragement of the party, the principal members of it reſolved to conceal, as long as poſſible, the death of their chief. During his illneſs, they had prudently obtained his ſignature to a great number of blank commiſſions. His papers were carried, by Laguyomerais, to Deſilles at Foſſe-Ingant, who concealed them in his garden. The next ſtep was to chuſe a ſupreme head. As no one of the Breton aſſociates had ſufficient confidence in his own powers to accept this perilous honour, it was reſolved to confer it upon Malſeigne, an officer of talent and courage, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf under Bouille in the affair of Nancy, and had in conſequence ſhortly afterwards become an emigrant. A meſſenger was diſpatched to deſire his immediate preſence in Britanny.

The republican government, in the mean time, was not blind to its danger, nor backward in taking precautions to avert it. A report on the ſubject was made by Le Brun to the executive council. On the ſixth of February, orders were iſſued for the arreſt of ſuch of the confederates as were known. The commiſſion was given to Morillon and Barthe, who were directed to ſend their priſoners to Paris, along with the papers ſeized, and whatever proof could be obtained. As it was probable that he might be oppoſed by force, Morillon demanded ſeven thouſand men, and his demand was acceded to by the miniſters

Feb. 6, 1793.

miniſters. The proper arrangements being made, Morillon, with his coadjutor Barthe, again took their departure for Britanny. Latouche was already in that province, and, under an inſidious diſguiſe, was acting againſt the royaliſts with inveterate hatred, and a deadly effect.

Arrived at his deſtination, Morillon waited but in vain, for the troops with which he was to be furniſhed. Anxious to commence his operations, he wrote to Beurnonville, in the moſt preſſing terms, for the promiſed aid. The miniſter, however, was either incredulous as to the exiſtence of the Breton aſſociation, or too occupied with the wants of the armies on the frontiers, to pay much attention to the claims of Morillon. The latter, therefore, well knowing that if Malſeigne once appeared, and rallied the Bretons under his ſtandard, all hopes of eaſily cruſhing the royaliſts would be at an end, reſolved to delay no longer, but to attempt, while there was yet time, the fulfilment of his miſſion.

Having collected a few volunteers from the communes of St. Maloes and St. Servan, he proceeded to the caſtle of Laguyomerais, who was made priſoner, together with his wife. The circumſtances of La Rouarie's death had been betrayed to Morillon by a gardener who aſſiſted in burying that chief. The body was inſtantly diſinterred, and expoſed to public view. The ſeizure of Deſilles was the next object of the commiſſioners. Latouche, with the moſt conſummate art, had contrived to win his confidence; to be admitted into his houſe on terms of the cloſeſt amity; and, by a diſplay of unbounded zeal, to obtain from him a full communication of the royaliſt ſchemes. Before the commiſſioners could reach Foſſe-Ingant, Deſilles had been apprized of his danger, and had found means to reach the coaſt, whence he effected his eſcape to Jerſey. His unfortunate family was neceſſarily left behind. The papers of La Rouarie were immediately ſought for in the garden, and the ſearch was but too effectual. The complete liſt of the confederates had been fortunately deſtroyed by Thereſa Moelien, who had received it from the expiring La Rouarie. Twenty-ſix perſons were, nevertheleſs, arreſted by Morillon and his colleague. Mar. 3, 1793.

In conveying his prey to Rennes, Morillon was expoſed to no ſmall fatigue and danger. The peaſants roſe againſt him in ſeveral places, and made many, though fruitleſs efforts, to reſcue his victims. From Rennes the twenty-ſix confederates were transferred to Paris, and in a ſhort time brought to trial. Twelve were condemned to death, among whom were Laguyomerais and his wife, Picot-Limoelan, Thereſa Moelien, Fontevieux, Pontavice, and Angelica Deſilles. The latter was miſtaken by the tribunal for her ſiſter; and, with a heroiſm which has never been excelled, ſaved the life of her beloved relative, by forbearing to prove her own innocence. They ſuffered death with an intrepidity worthy of the cauſe which they had ſo nobly eſpouſed. At the foot of the ſcaffold they embraced

embraced each other, and their laſt breath was devoted to a prayer for their ſovereign*.

The papers of La Rouarie had only been diſcovered ſeven days before the peaſantry in many parts of Britanny took up arms againſt the republicans. Savenay, Auray, Roche-Bernard, Guéméné, and many other towns, were attacked at the ſame moment. By the timely exertions of the people of Nantes, the aſſailants were repulſed, yet not without the victors having ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs. In aſſaults upon Vannes, Montfort, Pontivy, and Fougeres, the royaliſts were equally unfortunate. Theſe checks were not counterbalanced by ſome trifling advantages gained at Bain, Pacé, Blin, and Guerand.

On the firſt intelligence of theſe events, the convention diſpatched Guermeur, Seveſtre, and Billaud-Varennes, as commiſſioners, for the purpoſe of reſtoring tranquillity in the Breton departments. They found, at the moment of their arrival at Rennes, more than a hundred communes in a ſtate of reſiſtance to the republican authority. This force would have been truly formidable had it been properly directed. But it had no common plan of operations, no concert between its different parts, and had not yet been joined by its proper chiefs, againſt whoſe better judgment the war had precipitately commenced, and who now wiſhed to aſcertain whether there was really a chance of combating their enemies with any degree of ſucceſs.

The commiſſioners of the convention, inveſted with unbounded power, had nothing to embarraſs their meaſures. They drew troops from all quarters, and gave rigid orders to the military officers to prevent, by inceſſant purſuit and attack, a junction of the royaliſt diviſions. This plan was vigorouſly and effectually executed. Only one body of the confederated Bretons remained in the field. It was occupied in beſieging Rhedon, a town on the Vilaine, between Nantz and Rennes, which it had reduced to the laſt extremity. In the neighbouring poſts of Auquefer and Saint Pereux, the Bretons had entrenched themſelves, and here they were fallen upon by the conventional general, Beyſſer, who ſucceeded in obtaining a complete victory. He followed up his advantage with ſo much ſpirit, that in a ſhort time the whole of Britanny was reduced to obedience.

While the Bretons between the Vilaine and the ſhores of the Channel were thus making fruitleſs exertions in behalf of royalty, a part of thoſe inhabiting the country between the Vilaine and the Loire threw off, from a different motive, the yoke of the convention. The law for raiſing a levy of three hundred thouſand men was the cauſe or the pretext of this inſurrection. Twenty thouſand armed peaſants, headed by Richard Dupleſſis and Premyon-Morin, aſſembled at St. Etienne-de-Montluc, and elected Gaudin-Laberillais as their chief. He had already, as

* Morillon did not long enjoy the fruits of his crimes. He was ſent to the guillotine by thoſe he had ſerved, and who thus involuntarily performed at leaſt one act of juſtice.

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we have before ſeen, been nominated to the command of this diſtrict by La Rouarie, but ſince the death of that great character, his reſolution had entirely deſerted him. After much heſitation, he accepted the offer of his countrymen, but, inſtead of leading them againſt Nantz, which was then in a defenceleſs ſtate, he unwiſely determined to negotiate. Accordingly he addreſſed to the adminiſtrators of the department of the Lower Loire, a manifeſto containing the demands of his party. Among thoſe demands the moſt prominent were liberty of faith, a toleration for the catholic prieſts, and the abolition of balloting for the militia. The adminiſtration required three days to deliberate, which, with a glaring want of policy, was granted by Laberillais, who likewiſe, inſtead of animating his troops to maintain their claims, harangued them on the neceſſity of ſubmiſſion. It was in vain that, indignant at the weakneſs ſhown by Laberillais, Richard Dupleſſis ſtrove to inſpire his companions with courage. Fear and diſunion had taken poſſeſſion of their hearts, and every day diminiſhed their numbers. In this ſituation they were attacked by a detachment from Nantz, and eaſily defeated. Dupleſſis made a laſt effort to aſſemble them once more at Cordemais; from which place, finding that nothing could be effected, he made his eſcape to the army of Vendée. Laberillais was conducted to the guillotine.

March 14.

As ſoon as the force of the confederates was entirely broken, meaſures of ſeverity were adopted by the agents of the convention. The peaſantry was diſarmed, the arrears of contribution moſt rigorouſly exacted, the contingent to the new levy fully enforced, the prieſts and nobles arreſted, and the caſtles of the latter condemned to demolition. The peaſants, on their ſide, unable to contend with their enemies in the field, avenged themſelves by withholding the produce of the ſoil from the cities and great towns, which, with few, if any exceptions, were completely in the hands of the democratical faction.

Thus ended, for the preſent, the war in Britanny. To the death of La Rouarie muſt be aſcribed the diſaſters of the Bretons, and the ſhort continuance of their ſtruggles. Had he lived, his commanding genius would have animated, united, and formed to conqueſt his ſubordinate officers; provided againſt reverſes of fortune; directed, to one great end, all the military operations of the confederacy; and finally, perhaps, obtained a complete triumph over the ſanguinary republic.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Royaliſt war in Poitou. Character of D'Elbée. The Poitevins determine to take arms. Commencement of the war in Lower Poitou. Machecoult taken by the Royaliſts. Charette choſen as their leader by one of the diviſions. He captures Pornic. Numerous royaliſt bands formed. Cruelties committed at Machecoult. The republican general Beyſſer obtains ſome trivial ſucceſſes. Republicans entirely defeated at St. Vincent. Commencement of the war in Anjou and the upper part of Poitou. Defeat of the Republicans at St. Florent. The Royaliſts are on the point of diſperſing, when Cathelinau puts himſelf at their head. He routs the enemy at Jallais, and ſhortly after at Chemillé. Receives large reinforcements from various quarters. He is joined by Stoffle with a large body of men. The Republicans defeated at Chollet, and the town captured, with an abundance of military ſtores. D'Elbée makes his appearance in the royal camp. Bonchamp alſo joins. Poitevin troops aſſume the title of The Royal Catholic Army. Panic of the enemy. Chalonne abandoned by them. The royaliſt generals allow leave of abſence to their troops for a ſhort period. Meaſures taken by the national convention and executive council. Decree of outlawry paſſed againſt the Royaliſts. Four armies ordered to be ſent againſt them. Berruyer named general in chief. He forms a plan of general attack. D'Elbée calls his troops together and prepares for reſiſtance. The Republicans totally diſcomfited at Coron and at Beaupreau. They are compelled to fall back in all directions. La Roche Jacquelin defeats Lygonier at Aubiers. The enemy abandon Breſſuire, where Leſcure and ſeveral royaliſt chiefs are liberated from priſon. Victory of the Royaliſts at Thouars. Thouars taken by ſtorm, and five thouſand of the enemy made priſoners. Prince de Talmont and the pretended biſhop of Agra join the royal army. Firſt battle of Fontenay, in which the Poitevins are worſted. Second battle of Fontenay, in which they obtain a complete victory. The Royaliſts enter Fontenay, from which place they addreſs a proclamation to the French people. Alarm excited, and meaſures taken, at Paris. The royaliſt army marches toward Saumur. Lygonier driven from the heights of Concourſon. Poſition of the conventional army to defend Saumur. General Salomon, advancing to the relief of Saumur, is utterly routed. Battle of Saumur. Complete defeat of the Republicans. Saumur taken. Meaſures of the council and convention to oppoſe the Royaliſts. Infamous law paſſed by the convention. Equitable and moderate conduct of the Royaliſts. Cathelinau choſen generaliſſimo of the royal army. Debates on the future plan of operations. It is reſolved to attack Nantz. Angers abandoned by the Republicans. General panic felt by that party. Events in Lower Poitou. Charette and Lyrot completely defeat the enemy at Machecoult and Lalloué. They advance to aſſiſt in the attack of Nantz. Deſcription of Nantz. Steps taken for its defence. It is ſummoned, but refuſes to ſurrender. The advanced poſt of Nort captured by D'Elbée. Attack of the place. The Royaliſts are on the point of ſucceeding,

when Cathelinau is mortally wounded. Diſpirited by his fall, the Royaliſts retire from before the place. They return to the left bank of the Loire. Death of Cathelinau. End of the chapter.

VICTORIOUS in Britanny, and having beaten down, for a time, the royaliſt force in that province, the republic was, at the moment of its triumph, called to maintain, in another quarter, a conteſt by which its very exiſtence was far more endangered than by that which it had wantonly ruſhed into with the confederated ſovereigns of Europe.

The Bretons had begun the war without a plan, and without a leader; the Poitevins commenced it under happier auſpices. In Poitou there ſtill exiſted a chief, the rival in abilities, the friend, and coadjutor of La Rouarie. This was Gigot D'Elbée, a man who poſſeſſed all the qualifications neceſſary for the head of a party. His perſon was at once noble and pleaſing; his manners were of the moſt winning kind; he was gifted with a ready, graceful, and perſuaſive eloquence; and his military talents were of a ſuperior order. His mother being a native of Saxony, he entered early into the Saxon ſervice, whence he paſſed into that of his own country. Not meeting, however, with that promotion which his merits deſerved, he left the army, and went to reſide on his eſtate, near Beaupreau, where he ſoon gained the confidence and affection of all around him. The perſonal influence which he acquired over his countrymen enabled him to lend an effectual aſſiſtance in forwarding the plans of La Rouarie, with whom he kept up a correſpondence, through the medium of the chevalier de Tinteniac. Convinced, nevertheleſs, that a premature recourſe to open warfare would only injure the royal cauſe, D'Elbée, and his aſſociates, did their utmoſt to prevent any attempt from being made by the friends of the throne, before the whole of them were ready to act in concert with irreſiſtible effect.

The ceaſeleſs perſecution of their nobles, their prieſts, and their religion; the ſhameful murder of their ſovereign; and the certainty that the paſt and preſent tyranny of the reigning factions would, if poſſible, be exceeded by the future; overcame, at laſt, the cold reſolves of prudence, and decided the Poitevins, and the Angevins of the left bank, to throw off the yoke which oppreſſed them, or to periſh in the ſtruggle. Their determination was doubtleſs haſtened by the law which the convention had paſſed for an extraordinary levy of three hundred thouſand men, a law which was to be put in execution on the tenth of March. To be dragged from their homes, and compelled to combat for thoſe whom they abhorred, was not to be borne. If life muſt be hazarded, they reſolved that it ſhould at leaſt be on their own ſoil, and in defence of objects which were juſtly dear to them. Reſiſtance was the general cry. Through nine hundred communes the alarm bell was rung almoſt at the ſame moment, and called the peaſantry to action. Of arms, with the exception of ſome fowling pieces, the brave Poitevins had been able to procure but a ſmall portion: many ſupplied the want of them by haſtily convert-

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ing the implements of husbandry into pikes and swords; while others, unable to obtain even these rudely-fashioned instruments of offence, seized upon hatchets, pitchforks, and bludgeons. The spirit which animated them was a more than sufficient counterbalance to their deficiency of weapons. Where courage exists, the means of exerting it will seldom indeed, if ever, long be sought for in vain.

The peasants of the parish of Chauvé, in the southern division of the department of Lower Loire, were among the first, if not the first, to appeal to the sword. They rose on the eighth of March, and were instantly joined by the inhabitants of Port St. Pere and the neighbouring towns. For chiefs they pitched upon Dangey de Vue and La Catheliniere. Their earliest operation was an attempt to make themselves masters of Painbœuf, in which they were repulsed. Dangey fell into the hands of the enemy, and was put to death. The command then devolved to La Catheliniere, who was, the same day, reinforced by Lucas Championniere, with a body of fifteen hundred men, from the environs of Brains. On the tenth another band of royalists entered Machecoult, after defeating the national guards who attempted to oppose them. They chose for their leader Athanasius Charette, who had formerly held a commission in the navy. He commenced his ca-
Mar. 15. reer by the capture of Pornic, where he found three pieces of artillery, which were brought in triumph, with the pillage of the town, to the camp at Machecoult.

By this time the whole of Lower Poitou, from the Loire to Luçon, was in a state of open war against the republic. Baudry d'Asson, Royrand, Lyrot de la Patouilliere, Piron, the elder and younger Sapinaud, Guery de Clauzy, Pajot, Couëtus, Joly and his two sons, Pinaud, Savin, La Secherie, and a crowd of other officers, were each at the head of a formidable body of determined royalists. Daily actions took place between them and the conventional troops, in which the latter were generally defeated.

The victory of the royal party was unhappily sullied by the cruelty of a few individuals. At Machecoult, a committee was established, of which a man named Souchu was appointed president. This sanguinary monster, while Charette was absent, caused the republican captives to be massacred in the most horrible manner. His rage was on the point of being vented against some imprisoned females, when Charette returned, and set them at liberty. Strict orders were given by this chief that no such enormities should, in future, be committed; and his orders were seconded by the exhortations and earnest intreaties of the ministers of religion. Souchu afterwards went over to the republicans, who, nevertheless, inflicted on him, in a style of barbarity only equalled by his own, the punishment of death, which he had so well merited.

Having at last procured a sufficient body of troops, the republican general, Beysser, penetrated from Nantz into the lower part of Poitou, where he burned Port St. Pere, and many other places, re-

took Bourgneuf, Pornic, and Noirmoutier, and finally compelled Charette to abandon Machecoult. The ſoldiers he conducted ſeemed to have been choſen for their inveterate propenſity to murder, conflagration, and pillage.

His ſucceſſes, trivial in their conſequences, were heavily counterbalanced by the diſaſter of the conventional army, conſiſting of two thouſand men, under the command of general Marcé. This army was ſurpriſed at St. Vincent, near Chantonay, by the two royaliſt columns of Baudry d'Aſſon and Royrand, and, after an action of three hours, was almoſt entirely deſtroyed. For this ſhameful defeat the republicans ſhortly after found ſome, though not an adequate, conſolation in the ſafety of Sables d'Olonne, the ſiege of which place Joly and La Secherie were forced by the garriſon to raiſe, on the twenty-ninth of March.

Mar. 19.

We muſt now direct our attention to the commencement of the conteſt in Upper Poitou, and the ſouthern quarter of Anjou. It was in this latter province, at St. Florent le Vieux, on the Loire, that the royaliſts of the centre and upper diſtricts firſt appeared in arms. Three thouſand peaſants of the canton, led by Laurent Fleury and Andrew Michel, marched to that place, and demanded that the law for raiſing an extraordinary levy ſhould not be enforced. The military officer of the town, after a ſhort parley, fired on the crowd, and an engagement immediately began, which ended in the diſcomfiture of the republican party. The archives of the diſtrict were then deſtroyed, and the public cheſt was ſeized, by the victors, who paſſed the whole of the night in celebrating with feſtive conviviality the triumph they had gained.

Mar. 11.

Deſtitute of a leader fit to conduct them, many of the peaſants returned the next morning to their homes, and the remainder were on the point of diſperſing, when, fortunately, a man appeared, who, though of an humble ſtation, had a bold and elevated mind. Cathelinau, a carrier, reſiding at Pin de Mauge, had no ſooner heard of the proceedings at St. Florent than he hurried to the ſcene of action. Gathering round him, by his inſpiriting exhortations, three hundred determined followers, he led them to attack Jallais, where the republicans had raiſed, on commanding ground, an entrenchment, which was defended by ninety ſoldiers, and a ſix-pounder, to which they had given the name of "the Miſſionary." Receiving unhurt the fire of the enemy, the royaliſts, with Cathelinau at their head, courageouſly puſhed on, entered the work by ſtorm, and, in leſs than ten minutes from their arrival, found the cannon, with all who remained of its late maſters, completely in their power. "The Miſſionary" was the firſt piece of ordnance poſſeſſed by the royal party.

Emboldened by his good fortune, Cathelinau advanced againſt Chemillé, which was occupied by a corps of conventional ſoldiers, ſeveral hundred ſtrong. This town, though ſo much better provided than Jallais to repel the aſſailants, ſhared, nevertheleſs, the ſame fate. It was taken by aſſault, after an engage-

Mar. 14.

ment

ment of only half an hour; and two hundred of its garrison, together with three battering guns, a number of muskets, and a large quantity of ammunition, fell into the hands of its rustic conquerors. Crowds meanwhile flocked in from every part to share the labours of Cathelinau, whose division, in the short space of two days, was augmented to the amount of many thousand men, all animated by enthusiasm, and ardent for glory and revenge.

Chollet was the next object of attack. In his way to this place, Cathelinau was joined by a numerous corps, under the guidance of Stofflet, a native of Lorraine, who, after sixteen years military service, had settled at Maulevrier, where he acted as game-keeper to the emigrant marquis of that name. Being, no less than Cathelinau, in the confidence of D'Elbée, he got together, on the eleventh of March, a little band, consisting of about fifty forgemen of Maulevrier, which, such was the ardour of the peasants, became in three days a rallying point for several thousands. This reinforcement was joyfully welcomed by Cathelinau and his companions.

The two chiefs pursued their march to Chollet, in the environs of which place they found the enemy drawn up to oppose them.

Mar. 15. A single charge sufficed to decide the fortune of the day. The republicans were driven into the town, which was entered at the same moment by the victors and the vanquished. The capture of Chollet, very opportunely furnished the royalists with an abundance of ammunition and military stores.

His arrangements being completed, and the royal party having acquired strength enough to maintain its ground, D'Elbée hastened to Chollet, where he was hailed by his countrymen with the loudest acclamations. The collective divisions of Anjou and Upper Poitou assumed the denomination of "the royal catholic army." Animated by the presence of D'Elbée, this army rapidly advanced to Vihiers, and drove out the conventional forces, who fell back on Doué, and thence as far as Saumur, leaving behind them the whole of their artillery.

The cause of monarchy received, at this period, an important acquisition, in the person of Arthur marquis de Bonchamp. This nobleman, who had followed the profession of arms from his early youth, resided at the castle of la Baronniere, universally admired for his talents, and beloved for his generosity, humanity, and justice. Encouraged by the progress of their comrades, the remaining peasantry of the district of St. Florent having resolved to take the field, went in a body to his castle, and with one voice proclaimed him their general. This honour was willingly accepted by Bonchamp, who lost no time in forming a junction with D'Elbée.

Every day now augmented the power of the royalists, and the confusion and terror of the republicans. In repeated engagements the latter were defeated, and, not unfrequently, in a manner which covered them with disgrace. The town of Chalonne afforded a striking example of the panic fears which they felt. Though it con- Mar. 22.

tained a garriſon of three thouſand men, it was, on the approach of the Poitevins, precipitately evacuated, without a ſhot having been fired in its defence.

The country being, for the preſent, cleared of the enemy, the royaliſt generals thought proper to allow their followers an interval of repoſe. During this pauſe from hoſtilities they deſigned alſo to eſtabliſh a regular military ſyſtem in the liberated territory. Retaining, therefore, only a few ſelect troops, D'Elbée and his friends diſmiſſed, till the week after Eaſter, the remainder of the armed Poitevins.

The national convention received, with leſs ſurpriſe and alarm than was naturally to be expected, the firſt intelligence of the events which had occurred in Poitou. It paſſed, nevertheleſs, a decree by which every perſon who ſhould join the royaliſts, or even wear any counter-revolutionary ſymbols, was declared to be in a ſtate of outlawry. By this ſanguinary law, all priſoners were ordered to be delivered over to the executioner, within twenty-four hours; and their property was confiſcated to the uſe of the republic. Legiſlative proviſions being ſoon found of no avail, the executive council reſorted to meaſures better calculated to put a ſtop to the growing evil. It ordered the formation of four large armies; two of which were to act on the right and left banks of the Loire, while the third was to be ſtationed in reſerve at Tours, and the fourth diſtributed along the frontiers of Normandy, to cut off all communication between the partiſans of monarchy in the Breton and Norman departments. The effective ſtrength of theſe armies was deſigned to amount to more than ſixty battalions, beſides ſeveral regiments of horſe, a detachment of artillery, and all the national guards and contingents of the weſtern provinces. To complete this force, Cuſtine was directed to ſend twenty-four battalions from the army of the Rhine. Berruyer was appointed general in chief, and he departed the next day to aſſume his command. He arrived at the camp of Angers on the twenty-ninth of March, and was ſpeedily joined by reinforcements from various quarters.

Determined not to remain inactive, Berruyer, as ſoon as he had put his army ſomewhat in order, formed a plan of combined attack upon the royaliſts of Upper Poitou. Advancing from all points of the circumference to the centre, he hoped to envelop the enemy, and cruſh him at a blow. On the right bank of the Loire the republican officer, Gauvilliers, held with three thouſand men the poſts of Ingrande, Varades, and Ancenis; on the left, Quetineau commanded a diviſion at Herbiers; and Lygonier another at Vihiers; while Berruyer himſelf, with eight thouſand men, had his head-quarters at St. Lambert. The collective force of theſe diviſions, by which the ſcheme of Berruyer was to be executed, amounted to nearly twenty thouſand men.

Having obtained intelligence of his adverſary's deſign, D'Elbée collected his troops at Chollet, whence, after a halt of two days, he moved to Chemillé.

On the ſame day, the April 11. republicans began to carry into effect

effect the orders of their new commander. Gauvilliers croſſed the Loire, and compelled Bonchamp to quit St. Florent; Lygonier, though at firſt repulſed, drove the royaliſts from Vezin; and Berruyer, at the head of his column, carried Chemillé, in ſpite of a deſperate reſiſtance on the part of D'Elbée. The royaliſt corps, nevertheleſs, ſucceeded in effecting their retreat, and forming a junction at Beaupreau.

Convinced that deciſive ſteps alone could ſave the cauſe for which he fought, D'Elbée determined upon making a vigorous effort to diſembarraſs himſelf from his enemies. Uniting to his own the diviſions of Cathelinau, Berard, and Stofflet, he muſtered a body of eighteen thouſand men. With this force he rapidly puſhed forward to Chollet, and compelled the garriſon, of four hundred men, to take ſhelter in the caſtle of Bois-Grolleau. From Chollet he marched towards Vihiers, and had already reached Coron, when he met the hoſtile army advancing to give him battle. Cathelinau, without heſitation, furiouſly charged the republicans, who kept their ground with much firmneſs, till they were nearly ſurrounded. They then took flight, leaving on the field a great number of ſlain and wounded, with all the baggage, ammunition and artillery. No hope of ſuccour remaining, the detachment in Bois-Grolleau ſurrendered to the victors.

April 19.

There being no longer any thing to fear on this ſide from the enemy, D'Elbée turned his attention to their right, under Gauvilliers, which, having occupied St. Florent, Montrevault, and other towns, had finally poſted itſelf at Beaupreau. He was now joined by Bonchamp, who brought a conſiderable reinforcement, in the collecting and organizing of which he had been for ſome days buſily employed. The two chiefs immediately marched to encounter Gauvilliers. Nothing could exceed the enthuſiaſtic intrepidity diſplayed in this action by the Poitevins, who, regardleſs of danger, ruſhed upon the bayonets and cannon of their antagoniſts. Their valour was crowned with entire ſucceſs. A great part of the republican army was cut in pieces; the remainder did not conſider itſelf in ſafety till it had re-croſſed the Loire. Six pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the conquerors. Deſpairing of being able to maintain his ground, Berruyer retired to Pont de Cé, for the purpoſe of covering Angers. The plan which he had formed for the ſubjugation of the royaliſts was thus completely fruſtrated; while, on the other hand, their ſpirits and their reputation were raiſed to the higheſt pitch by their multiplied victories, and by a firm belief that they were indebted for thoſe ſplendid and aſtoniſhing victories to the direct interpoſition of the Divine Providence.

April 23.

It was at this epoch that the count de la Roche Jacquelin, of St. Aubin de Baubigné near Chatillon, made his firſt eſſay in arms; an eſſay which gave a fair preſage of his future exploits. At the early age of twenty-one he poſſeſſed, with all the maſculine beauties of perſon, all the virtues diſplayed by the knights of chivalry. He had ſerved in the conſtitutional

guard of the unfortunate Lewis, and he remained in Paris till the throne was overturned on the tenth of Auguſt. Deeply indignant at the triumph of rebellion, he then quitted the capital, emphatically expreſſing, at the moment of his departure, with what a daring ſpirit he had reſolved to act.

Quetinau, the commander of a diviſion at Herbiers, was called to the ſuccour of Lygonier, who, inceſſantly haraſſed by Bonchamp, had fallen back to Doué. With no ſmall degree of raſhneſs, he endeavoured to ſave a march of a few leagues, by paſſing through a country entirely devoted to the royal cauſe. He paid dearly for his temerity. La Roche Jacquelin, calling together his friends and dependents, ſurpriſed the republican corps in the town of Aubiers. Such was the fury with which he attacked it, that it was inſtantly broken. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſword fled, without looking behind them, till they reached Breſſuire. In Aubiers, La Roche Jacquelin found ſeveral barrels of powder, a prize more welcome than any other could have been, as the royaliſts were ill furniſhed with that neceſſary article. After the battle, he joined, at Tiffauges, the main body of the catholic army.

Three days reſt was now allowed by the chiefs to their ſoldiers, who, at the expiration of that time, were again ſummoned to the field. A proclamation was alſo iſſued from head-quarters, calling upon the whole maſs of the peaſantry to take arms; and a manifeſto, drawn up in moderate and conciliating language, was, at the ſame time, addreſſed to the republican party. The place appointed for the general rendezvous was Chollet, where, before the end of April, the royaliſt diviſions aſſembled under their reſpective leaders.

Apprized of the march of his enemy, Quetinau, though ſince his defeat at Aubiers he had been reinforced, thought it prudent to retire from Breſſuire. From the priſons of this place the Poitevins releaſed ſeveral partiſans of the royal cauſe, and, among others, Bernard de Marigny, the marquis de Leſcure, and his father-in-law, Doniſſant. Leſcure, the friend of La Roche Jacquelin, was rich, generous, and loved with an ardent affection by his numerous tenantry. Though his frame was delicate and feeble, it contained the ſoul of a hero. In the midſt of danger and of death his calmneſs and preſence of mind never for an inſtant deſerted him. No ſooner was he liberated than ſuch crowds flocked to his ſtandard, that he almoſt immediately found himſelf at the head of a formidable force. The royaliſt generals entered Argenton le Chateau on the ſame day, and prepared to add Thouars to the number of their conqueſts.

This latter town, ſituated on a gentle eminence, is defended toward the weſt and ſouth by the river Thoué, which is fordable only in one place. Thouars was, in ancient times, conſidered as the key of Anjou and Poitou. Here Quetinau concentrated his forces, amounting to ſix thouſand men; and here he hoped to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the royaliſts. All the bridges were ordered to be broken; four hundred men were poſted to guard the ford at the village of Vrine, and the remainder

der of the republican force was drawn up within cannon ſhot of the walls.

The royal army moved againſt Thouars in ſeveral co-
May 5. lumns, headed by La Roche Jacquelin, Leſcure, and Bonchamp. The artillery was commanded by Bernard de Marigny, and the cavalry by Domagné, a gentleman of Anjou.

At ſix in the morning, the aſſailants reached the town, which was ſummoned, but without effect, to ſurrender. The firſt attack was made by Bonchamp, whoſe cavalry ſwam acroſs the river, and, after a ſhort conflict, deſtroyed the whole of the detachment which had been ſtationed for the defence of the ford. This ſervice done, he advanced towards the place. The diviſion of La Roche Jacquelin, meanwhile, had forced a paſſage over the Pont Neuf, which the enemy had neglected to break down. The battle then became general, and was maintained for a time with equal obſtinacy by both parties. The royaliſts, however, reinforcing their wings, and bending their line into a creſcent, outflanked, and partly enveloped, the republican forces, who, ſurpriſed and diſheartened by this manœuvre, gave way, were ſoon utterly routed, and fled to the town with all the precipitation of the wildeſt terror. One battalion alone ſtrove to maintain its ground: it periſhed in the attempt.

Inſtead of effecting a retreat, while a paſſage was yet open, Quetineau ſhut himſelf up with his defeated troops in the walls of Thouars. He was not ſuffered to remain here long. Maſters of the field, the royaliſts ruſhed towards the ramparts, which they carried by aſſault. The garriſon immediately threw down its arms, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. Five thouſand men, more than an equal number of muſkets, a large quantity of ammunition, twelve pieces of cannon, and twenty caiſſons, fell into the hands of the victors. A thouſand of the republicans were ſlain in the engagement, which was of ten hours duration.

As ſoon as the city was fully in poſſeſſion of the royaliſts, the priſoners were marched into the court of the caſtle, diſarmed, and, having firſt ſolemnly ſworn not to ſerve againſt Lewis the ſeventeenth, were allowed to retire to their homes. Many of them choſe to join the ſtandard of their conquerors. During the time that the royal troops remained in poſſeſſion of Thouars, no injury was done to a ſingle individual.

At this place the elder Beauvollier, ſeigneur of Samarçolles near Loudon, joined the catholic army, in which two of his brothers were already ſerving. The ſecond command in the artillery was conferred upon him. Here, alſo, a prieſt named Folleville, who had been compelled to fly from Dol, in conſequence of his having retracted after taking the conſtitutional oath, preſented himſelf to the royaliſt chiefs under the aſſumed character of the titular biſhop of Agra. As none of the higher order of eccleſiaſtics remained in France, and as the preſence of any one of them was much coveted, he was received with delight. A conſiderable time elapſed before his fraud, which he appears to have conſidered

conſidered as a pious one, was known to thoſe on whom it had been practiſed.

From the eaſtern the royaliſts next turned their arms to the ſouthern quarter of Poitou. A plan of conjoint attack upon Fontenay le Comte, the chief town of Le Vendée, was formed by Bonchamp and D'Elbée. The latter general, nevertheleſs, without waiting for his coadjutor, puſhed on to Parthenay, and thence to La Chataigneraye, which he found occupied by four thouſand republicans, a part of the army under the command of general Chalbos. This garriſon was quickly put to flight by a vigorous aſſault, and ſuffered ſeverely in its retreat. From La Chataigneraye D'Elbée advanced to Vouvant, where he pauſed a day to prepare for action.

The next morning the royal army, its centre headed by Domagné, its left by Leſcure, and its right by D'Elbée, marched towards Fontenay, near which place it found the enemy drawn up in order of battle. A conteſt commenced, which was continued for three hours without any apparent advantage on either ſide. The republicans at length began to waver, when an opportune charge, made by a body of their horſe on the flank and rear of the royal army, decided the victory in their favour. D'Elbée, while ſtrenuouſly exerting himſelf in the hotteſt part of the engagement, received a wound, and his diſcouraged ſoldiers were compelled to retire in diſorder. They would have ſuſtained ſevere loſs in their retreat, had not Domagné, with his cavalry, made a noble and effectual ſtand againſt the purſuing enemy. Twenty-four cannon, with all the baggage and ammunition, were left on the field. At Parthenay the vanquiſhed halted to collect the ſcattered fugitives. The loſs in killed was found not to be more than four hundred men.

May 16.

Undiſmayed by this check, the royaliſt generals held a council at Chatillon, to deliberate upon the meaſures to be purſued for obtaining a prompt and complete revenge. On the motion of D'Elbée, whoſe views of conqueſt were principally turned to the ſouthward, it was reſolved to make a ſecond and more formidable attempt on Fontenay. It was decided that all the diviſions ſhould act together, and the arrival of thoſe belonging to Bonchamp and La Roche Jacquelin was, therefore, haſtened by all poſſible means. Every exertion was alſo made by the leaders and prieſts to animate their ſoldiers.

The diviſions having formed a junction, the force of the royal catholic army amounted to thirty-five thouſand men. As it advanced, Chalbos retired before it from Le Chataigneraye to Fontenay. On its march nothing was heard but the reciting of prayers, or the ſinging of religious hymns. It reached Fontenay about noon, and immediately occupied the ground on which it had formerly been defeated. Leſcure, Bonchamp, and La Roche Jacquelin led the three columns into which it was divided. The column of Bonchamp alone had neither artillery nor ammunition. The troops eagerly demanding cartridges, Beauvollier, pointing at the ſame time to the hoſtile army, exclaimed,

May 26.

exclaimed, "You will find them there." This laconic ſpeech was properly interpreted by his hearers. Drawing his ſword, and ruſhing forward at the head of his men, Leſcure carried in an inſtant the firſt battery, and pointed it againſt the enemy. Bonchamp and La Roche Jacquelin exerted themſelves on their ſide with equal valour, and equal ſucceſs. In the hope of turning the fortune of the day, Chalbos ordered his cavalry to charge, but, inſtead of obeying his commands, it took flight, leaving the infantry to its fate. This part of the republican army was quickly routed, and purſued on the road to Niort with terrible ſlaughter. In the battle and ſubſequent retreat, more than eighteen hundred periſhed. The baggage, forty-two pieces of cannon, and the military cheſt, containing in aſſignats twenty million of livres, fell into the hands of the conquerors. So complete was the panic of the republicans, that ſcarcely more than ſeven hundred of them reached the town of Niort: the remainder diſperſed in all directions. The loſs of the victors was trifling. Their greateſt cauſe of regret aroſe from the misfortune of Bonchamp and D'Elbée, each of whom received a ſerious wound after the victory was decided, and who, in conſequence, were under the neceſſity of being conveyed to the caſtle of Labdebaudiere near Tiffauges.

From Fontenay the royaliſt chiefs addreſſed, in the name of their ſovereign, a proclamation to the French people. In its language it was moderate, yet energetic. The cruel and licentious conduct of the republican troops was ſtrongly contraſted with the ſpirit of equity and humanity which had uniformly been diſplayed by thoſe who had armed in ſupport of their religion and their king. A ſtriking and faithful picture was drawn of the crimes of the reigning factions; and all true Frenchmen were conjured to bend no longer beneath a heavy and degrading yoke, but to riſe and cruſh their tyrants. Neutrality, it was ſpiritedly declared, could no longer be allowed. "Two ſtandards," ſaid the royaliſt chiefs, "float on the ſoil "of France,—that of honour, and "that of anarchy. The moment "is come for every one to range "himſelf under the one or the "other of theſe enſigns: he who "heſitates, is a traitor equally for-"midable to both parties." To ſilence, however, the fears of thoſe who had been miſled by the pernicious doctrines of the times, it was finally promiſed, in the moſt ſolemn and affectionate manner, that, whenever the cauſe of piety and order became completely triumphant, thoſe who had defended it would lay down all perſonal reſentment, be ſincerely reconciled with their enemies, of whatever opinion or party, and cordially unite with them to enſure the peace and happineſs of their common country.

At Paris, the ſucceſs of the Poitevin royaliſts excited very ſerious alarm. The council general of the commune made in haſte a levy of twelve thouſand men from among the refuſe and ſcum of the populace. A part of this goodly band was afterwards known under the appellation of "the heroes of five "hundred

"hundred livres," a name ironically beſtowed on them in alluſion to their cowardice, and alſo to the ſum which had been paid to individuals for acting as ſubſtitutes of the richer citizens. Santerre was placed at their head, and his men, by their want of bravery and of diſcipline, and by their uncontroulable love of cruelty and plunder, ſhewed themſelves well worthy of ſuch a commander. Theſe were not the only reinforcements diſpatched into the weſtern provinces. They were followed by ſeveral battalions of troops collected at Orleans, to which were joined the huſſars of the Alps, the northern legion headed by Weſterman, and even the grenadiers of the convention itſelf. The guidance of this motley groupe was confided to Biron, who had juſt quitted the army of Italy. He fixed his head quarters at Niort, towards which place not only thoſe ſuccours already enumerated, but all others from the neighbouring departments, directed their march. Seven deputies from the convention, acting in a character partly civil and partly military, at once exerciſed an unlimited power over the reſources of the ſurrounding territory, and controlled the military movements within the ſphere of their miſſion.

Niort, the ſole obſtacle which hindered the royaliſts from proceeding towards Rochefort and Rochelle, was marked out by them for their next conqueſt, and a plan to get poſſeſſion of it by ſurpriſe, was accordingly formed. Before, however, the neceſſary ſteps could be taken to execute this project, their force was ſuddenly called to another quarter. On marching againſt Fontenay, they had abandoned Thouars, into which a large corps of republican troops, under general Salomon, again entered, while another corps, under Lygonier, took poſt at Doué. Between theſe bodies and the royaliſt diviſions left to guard that diſtrict, ſome ſkirmiſhes took place, to the diſadvantage of the latter, whoſe leader finding himſelf cloſely preſſed, and dreading a further reverſe, required immediate aſſiſtance. In a council of war held at Fontenay by the generals, it was, therefore, reſolved to abandon, for the preſent, the enterpriſe upon Niort, and to return with the army to Chatillon. This was accompliſhed without moleſtation. The enemy having diſappeared on their approach, the ſoldiers were allowed to retire for two or three days to their homes.

After this ſhort repoſe, the royaliſt army was re-aſſembled. It conſiſted of forty thouſand men, and was led by Leſeure, La Roche Jacquelin, Stofflet, Beauvollier, and Cathelinau. It directed its courſe towards Doué, near the entrance of which place general Lygonier was encamped on the heights of Concourſon, a June 7. ſtrong poſition, covering the whole of the roads which lead to Saumur. But the ſtrength of his poſt was rendered uſeleſs by the cowardice of his men, who, being thrown into confuſion by the very firſt onſet of their enemies, fled precipitately, and continued their flight till they reached the heights of Bournan, where, about half a league from Saumur, redoubts had been thrown up, and a camp eſtabliſhed, for the protection of that town. Lygonier

was punished by the conventional commissioners, for the panic of his men. He was removed, and Menou appointed in his room.

Beaten and discouraged, the republicans, nevertheless, resolved to defend Saumur, the conquest of which would give to the royalist army a free passage over the Loire into Anjou and Britanny. In number, they amounted to nearly twelve thousand. Their right was posted at St. Florent, on the Thoué, their centre at Bournan, and their left on some heights before the castle of Saumur. This line, formidable in front, had one vulnerable point, on which the royalist chiefs determined to attack it. Orders were accordingly given to the main body of the army, to march on its right by Montreuil-Bellay, and proceed towards the left of the enemy, between the Thoué and the Loire.

Thouars had, for some time, been occupied by general Salomon with five thousand men. In the present emergency, he was hastily summoned to the relief of Saumur. The summons was received too late. At the moment when he put his troops in motion, the royalists had penetrated as far as Montreuil, midway between Saumur and Thouars, and thus effectually prevented a junction of the republican corps. On receiving intelligence of Salomon's movement, the chiefs divided their forces, and, while the largest division, conducted by Lescure, La Roche Jacquelin and Stofflet, pursued its march, the smallest, which was committed to Beauvollier, Desessart, Villeneuve, and Cathelinau, awaited at Montreuil the enemy's approach. Salomon, entirely ignorant that he had on his route any enemy to combat, soon appeared, and was assailed on all sides with the utmost fury. Taken as he was by surprise, he nevertheless defended himself for three hours with great conduct and spirit. He was at last, however, compelled to abandon the field, leaving behind him his cannon, baggage, and more than three thousand men. Night alone saved the remainder of his soldiers. Not thinking himself in safety at Thouars, he evacuated that town and retired to Niort.

Saumur was now in its turn to feel the prowess of those who fought for their sovereign and their faith. The royalist army had reached St. Just, and prepared for action. The plan of operation was skilfully formed. Opposing to the adverse centre and right only a sufficient number of troops to occupy fully the enemy's attention, the chiefs determined to bear down with the major part of their force upon the left wing of the republicans, which, turned and enveloped, would most probably involve in its fall the whole of the conventional army. At two in the afternoon, the royalist right wing impetuously began the attack, and, favoured by the ground, penetrated to the rear of the posts which had been stationed on the road to Doué. Here its progress was stopped for a while by a vigorous charge from some of the hostile battalions. His first line being disordered by the shock, Lescure brought up his second to its support. Repulsed in three attacks, the royalists returned a fourth time to the contest. The republican cuirassiers, rush-

June 9.

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ing forward at this moment to repel the aſſailants, were themſelves taken in flank by the cavalry under Domagné, routed, and driven from the field. Deſerted by their horſe, the enemy's foot maintained their ground, till the Vendean ſharp-ſhooters appearing at their backs, and pouring in a heavy fire, threw them into irremediable confuſion. In an inſtant all was terror and flight. A part of the fugitives threw themſelves into the Loire, the remainder took ſhelter in the town. Generals Berruyer and Menou, wounded and unhorſed, after vain endeavours to rally their men, were carried away by the crowd. Bourbotte, deputy of the convention, who was alſo engaged, was diſmounted, and narrowly eſcaped receiving from his purſuers the puniſhment due to his crimes.

The centre and right of the republican army was not leſs unfortunate than the left. Couſtard, who commanded the centre, wiſhing to ſuccour the left, made many efforts, but without effect, to induce his troops to follow him. Having at length prevailed upon ſome regiments to move, he found his paſſage ſtopped by the fire of a formidable battery. A brigade of cavalry by a furious aſſault carried the battery, but the foot refuſing to advance and aid their comrades, the whole of the party was ſpeedily put to the ſword. The deſtruction of this body ſeemed the ſignal of a total rout to the republicans, who immediately gave way in every quarter, and were purſued by the royaliſts with terrible execution. Cut off from all retreat by the rapid career of the victors, more than two thouſand men in the camp of Bournan threw down their arms, and were admitted to a capitulation.

La Roche Jacquelin was the firſt, who, ſword in hand, forced an entrance into Saumur, on this memorable day. He was quickly followed by the whole of the triumphant army. Nothing remained to vanquiſh but the reſiſtance of ſome democratical citizens, who, with a few of the defeated troops, had retired into the caſtle. A ſummons was ſent to demand their ſurrender, and the officer who carried it was accompanied by the females of the place, who loudly implored their relatives to yield. The feeble garriſon, diſplaying a brutal temerity, received the meſſenger and his timid attendants with a diſcharge of muſketry. It ſoon, however, thought proper to beg for mercy; which, though undeſerved, was readily granted. The privates were detained as priſoners of war, the officers were diſmiſſed on their parole.

In Saumur the royaliſts found an immenſe number of cannon, a large quantity of warlike ſtores, and extenſive magazines of various neceſſary articles. The paſſage of the Loire too was opened by this important conqueſt. Of the force which defended the place in the morning, more than three-fourths was either deſtroyed or captive before the cloſe of the day; and that part of it which found ſafety in its ſpeed was ſcattered over a wide extent of territory, where it ſpread alarm and diſcouragement among the anarchical faction. The loſs of the conquerors was eſtimated at nearly two thouſand in killed and wounded. They had alſo to lament the death of thoſe gallant

officers, Domagné, and the younger Baudry d'Aſſon, who were ſlain at the head of their troops; the former while charging the enemy's cuiraſſiers. Leſcure likewiſe was hurt, though not dangerouſly.

The morning ſubſequent to the battle, Bonchamp, quite recovered from his wounds, joined the army with five thouſand men; bringing with him ſeveral officers, among whom were the two Flouriots, Scepeaux, and the junior D'Autichamp. The prince de Talmont alſo, who, after being arreſted in Britanny, had been fortunate enough to eſcape from his guards, arrived in the camp at this period, and was inveſted with the command of the artillery.

Already ſufficiently alarmed by the former ſucceſſes of the royal catholic army, the factions of the capital were almoſt panic-ſtruck by the tidings of the new and ſignal defeat which their troops had ſuſtained. The council general of the department of Paris was immediately convoked, and the reſult of its deliberations clearly proved its fears and the magnitude of the danger. It gave orders for ſending off, in the courſe of twenty-four hours, a thouſand men, principally cannoneers, with forty-eight pieces of artillery; and it directed that thoſe battalions which remained behind, of levies previouſly voted for Vendee, ſhould march at the ſame time to their place of deſtination. In addition to this, it alſo decreed that all proviſions, forage, and ammunition, to be found on the route, ſhould be given up for the ſervice of the republic; and that all the workſhops of Paris ſhould be converted into manufactories of pikes, fire-arms, and cannon. Theſe meaſures were approved of by the convention. The committee of public ſafety was equally active. It diſpatched reinforcements to various quarters, and haſtened the formation, at Tours, of an effective army, nearly thirty thouſand ſtrong. To crown the whole, the convention, on the motion of Barrere, paſſed a law, infamous in principle, and likely to prove dreadful in its conſequences to the republicans themſelves. The priſoners of the royaliſts had hitherto been allowed to return home on taking an oath not to ſerve againſt Lewis the ſeventeenth, and many of them, with a laudable fidelity to their engagements, had conſequently refuſed to perform any further military ſervice. By the law which Barrere obtained, thoſe who paid any attention to their oaths, were ſtigmatized as cowards and deſerters, and were ſubjected to the ſevereſt puniſhment.

While the uſurpers of the French government were thus acting with a bad faith and ferocity worthy of their cauſe, their adverſaries, even at the moment of triumph, were diſtinguiſhing themſelves by a moderation and generoſity which can never be too much admired. Two parties of the royaliſt army having puſhed forward from Saumur to Loudon and Chinon, deputies were ſent by the latter town to meet them, and to implore favourable terms. The reply of the chiefs was of that humane and dignified kind which becomes thoſe who fight under the banners of virtue. "We do not carry on the war," ſaid they, "to gain conqueſts, to

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"take cities, to make prisoners, "or to acquire power; we aim "only to restore order, religion, "and peace, the want of which "you must feel as much as we do. "If you persist in opposing us, we "will combat against you in an "honourable manner; and, when "the combat is at an end, re-"garding you as friends, will "adopt the measures necessary to "bring back among you the reign "of those things which we think "indispensable to your happiness "and our own. If, on the con-"trary, you open your arms to "us, you are already our friends, "and we will employ, in concert "with you, the readiest and surest "means to attain that object which "we both desire."

In order to give a greater degree of unity to their operations, the royalist chiefs determined to elect a generalissimo. D'Elbée, who, though not entirely cured of his wounds, had joined his companions after the capture of Saumur, pointed out to them Cathelinau as the man most proper to fill this high station. That chief, he observed, had been the first to take up arms, his bravery was undoubted; and, as he was of the plebeian class, the raising of him to the supreme command would prove that the Poitevin nobles did not appeal to the sword from ambitious or interested motives. These reasons being deemed conclusive, Cathelinau was accordingly chosen.

To what quarter their arms should be turned was the next subject upon which the royalist generals deliberated. An attempt upon Tours was suggested by some; while others advised that, having first fortified Saumur and Angers to preserve a passage over the Loire, they should march rapidly, with all the force they could collect, against the army of Biron, which was stationed at Niort, and, by a decisive blow, free themselves from all fear on that side of Poitou. The capture of Nantz, and the consequent junction of the Bretons and Poitevins was proposed by a third party. After a serious consideration, the last plan was unanimously adopted.

Angers, on the road from Saumur to Nantz, was garrisoned by more than four thousand republicans. The post of Pont de Cé, on the Loire, contained nearly an equal number. Such, however, was the dread inspired by the late defeats, that the abandonment of these important posts was resolved upon in a council of war. Not a single detachment from the royalist army had yet approached Angers when this resolution was carried into effect in the most precipitate manner. The troops, the magistrates, and a part of the inhabitants, hurried out of the town as if the enemy, with fire and sword, were already at their heels. Twenty-two field pieces, the archives, and the produce of the taxes, they contrived indeed to carry off; but they left behind the heavy artillery, the magazines, and, which was a matter of still greater wonder, the imprisoned priests and nobles. So bewildered were they, that, instead of retreating to Tours by the road of La Fleche, they retreated by that of Laval, and thus added fifty leagues to the length of their march. Six days after this cowardly

ordly flight, the royalifts took poffeffion of Angers, where they eftablifhed a municipality.

In the terror which was felt by the garrifon of Angers, the democratical faction in Britanny and the neighbouring provinces fully participated. From all quarters the Convention was called upon for fuccour. Some of the meafures propofed to it were of the moft extravagant nature. Nantz deputed feveral of its inhabitants to requeft that the alarm-bell might be rung throughout the whole of France, and all the citizens compelled to rife in a mafs and exterminate the royalifts. With equal moderation, the civil authorities of the department of Eure and Loire defired that the legiflative body, or at leaft a part of it, would hoift the three-coloured flag, march at the head of forty thoufand men, preceded by the ftatue of liberty, draw together all the republicans in its courfe, and conclude by compelling the enemy to feek for fhelter in the waves of the ocean. Although the catholic army was not nearer than a hundred and forty miles to the country of Beauce, which, from its great fertility in wheat, is called the granary of France, that country was declared to be in imminent danger; and it was added, that if Beauce were overrun, Paris would inevitably be ftarved. The Convention, nevertheleis, did not think proper to adopt either of the modes of proceeding which the wifdom of the petitioners had fuggefted.

During the time that the army of Upper Poitou and Anjou was enlarging its territory, that of Lower Poitou was not inactive. For a while hoftilities were confined to frequent but trifling fkirmifhes, in which the fuccefs on each fide was nearly balanced. Having at laft been ftrongly reinforced, Charette determined to attempt fomething of a more decifive nature. In conjunction with Joly, Savin, Vrignaux, and others of his colleagues, he accordingly attacked the republican general Boifguillon, who was poftęd at Machecoult. He fucceeded in completely routing the enemy, whofe baggage and artillery fell into his hands. The pleafure arifing from this victory was not wholly unmingled with pain. Vrignaux, an officer of high merit, for whom the Vendéans felt an enthufiaftic affection, was unfortunately killed. Immediately after the battle, Port St. Pere and Bourgneuf were occupied by the troops of La Catheliniere. The fame good fortune which in one quarter fmiled on Charette, was propitious in another to Lyrot and Defigny. Thefe chiefs having collected an army of ten thoufand men, in the neighbourhood of Lalloué, contrived fo effectually to deceive Beyffer, as to the amount of their force, that he hazarded a battle, in which he was entirely defeated, and driven for fhelter within the walls of Nantz. Towards that place the united divifions of the catholic army now advanced.

The city of Nantz is fituated on the Loire, at the point where that river receives, from its northern fhore, the waters of the Erdre, and, from its fouthern, thofe of the Petit Sèvre. It is large and populous, containing no lefs than feventy-five thoufand inhabitants, and covering a fpace of more than two leagues in circumference. The

ſuburbs, which form much the largeſt ſhare of the place, are five in number. Flowing from the north-eaſt, the Erdre divides the city into nearly equal parts: towards the eaſt is the ſuburb of Richebourg; towards the weſt thoſe of La Foſſe, St. Clement, and La Marché. In its paſſage by Nantz, the Loire forms ſeveral iſlands, which are united by ſix bridges: in theſe iſlands, and upon the ſouthern bank of the river, ſtands the fifth ſuburb, that of Pillemil, or St. James.

Nantz, at the moment when the royaliſts prepared to attack it, was by no means in a perfect condition of defence. Every exertion was, however, made to render the place tenable. The city was proclaimed in a ſtate of ſiege, martial law eſtabliſhed, and the citizens put in permanent requiſition. Field-works were alſo haſtily thrown up, armed veſſels ſtationed in the Loire, barriers formed in the ſtreets, and cannon borrowed from the naval ſervice to ſtrengthen the various batteries. To cover that part of the city between the Erdre and the Loire, a fortified camp had been commenced at St. George, but, though the ground had been occupied by the troops, the intrenchments were as yet unfiniſhed. A corps of ſix hundred men poſted in Nort, a ſmall town on the Erdre, at once defended the paſſage of that river, and ſupported the camp of St. George. The whole garriſon of Nantz amounted to more than fifteen thouſand men, commanded in chief by Canclaux, and under him by Beyſſer.

The firſt ſummons from D'Elbée was carried into Nantz, on the twenty-fourth of June, by two citizens who had been made priſoners. It demanded, that the garriſon ſhould lay down its arms, that all public property ſhould be given up, and that the conventional deputies then at Nantz ſhould be put into the hands of the royaliſts, to be kept as hoſtages. If theſe conditions were accepted, it promiſed that the republican troops ſhould be allowed to depart, and that the lives and fortunes of the inhabitants ſhould meet with full protection from inſult and injury. Military execution was, on the other hand, threatened in caſe of reſiſtance.

To this ſummons, the receipt of which was carefully concealed from the populace, an anſwer of defiance was returned by Canclaux and the adminiſtrative bodies. The magiſtrates, the national guards, and the Jacobin ſocieties, were then convened in the cathedral, and an oath was taken by them to periſh rather than ſubmit. This deſperate reſolution was, perhaps, dictated more by fear than by courage. The cruelties committed at Machecoult, which the anarchiſts had taken care to exaggerate, had inſpired a thorough dread and hatred of Charette's army.

The city was, by this time, nearly hemmed in. On the left bank of the Loire, Lyrot, with ten thouſand men, and twelve pieces of cannon, occupied the poſition of La Croix Moriceaux; while Charette, with all the remaining bands of Lower Poitou, encamped at Cleon to attack Pont Rouſſeau, and force his way over the Sèvre. The grand army of Upper Poitou, in its march along the right bank, had already driven the enemy from the poſts of Varades and Montrelais, received

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the ſubmiſſion of Ancenis, and arrived within a ſhort diſtance of Nantz.

Nort was attacked by D'Elbée on the evening of the twenty-ſeventh. It was defended for nine hours with great gallantry; but the perſeverance and courage of the royaliſts were ultimately triumphant. Of the garriſon there remained alive only fifty men, who, knowing that all further ſtruggle would be fruitleſs, commenced their retreat to Nantz, which place few of them were fortunate enough to reach in ſafety. Their obſtinate reſiſtance was of great utility to the menaced city, as it gave time for the arrival of a large convoy of ammunition, without which it would have been impoſſible for the republicans to make head againſt the beſiegers.

After the fall of Nort, the camp of St. George, turned on its left by D'Elbée, and threatened in front by Bonchamp, who advanced from Ancenis, was no longer tenable. The troops were, in conſequence, ſilently withdrawn. As ſoon as the whole force had entered Nantz, a council of war was held. Diſcouraged by their ill fortune, and by the ſtrength of their enemies, the commiſſioners from the Convention, the general of artillery, Bonvouſt, and many of the officers, declared their conviction that it was expedient to retreat, as there was little or no hope of withſtanding a vigorous aſſault. Even Canclaux himſelf was of the ſame opinion. Nantz would have been given up to the royaliſts, without their having fired a ſingle ſhot, had not Beyſſer, ſeconded by the popular ſocieties, the magiſtrates, and ſome of the officers of the national guard, loudly proteſted againſt ſo diſgraceful and fatal a meaſure. He finally ſucceeded in diffuſing among his companions his own ſpirit of intrepidity. It was at laſt unanimouſly reſolved to brave the coming danger. The principal poſts were, therefore, ſtrongly reinforced, while thoſe beyond the Sèvre were called in, as being too diſtant to be properly ſupported.

At half paſt two in the morning, the action commenced by a heavy cannonade from the batteries of Charette againſt the republican intrenchments on the ſhore of the Sèvre. Nearly at the ſame time the ſuburb of St. James was aſſailed by the forces of Lyrot, ſome of whoſe men alſo croſſed the river, and took a poſition whence they ſeverely annoyed the conventional troops in the ſuburb of Richebourg. The attack on the left bank was, however, only a falſe one, deſigned to draw the attention of the garriſon to that quarter, and thus facilitate the grand attack, which was to be made on the weſtern ſide of the city, between the Erdre and the Loire. June 29.

The principal aſſault was ſoon begun. Cathelineau, with five pieces of artillery, advanced to the ſuburb of La Marché, while D'Elbée, having driven in the hundred and ninth regiment, inveſted that part of the city whence iſſue the roads to Rennes and Vannes. By eight o'clock, D'Elbée had raiſed a battery which diſmounted one of the cannon at the gate of Rennes, and made a horrible ſlaughter in the ranks of the beſieged. The communication between the corps of D'Elbée and Cathelineau was kept up by a large detachment of ſharp-

ſhooters from the diviſion of the latter. A part of this connecting body, favoured by the ground, the growing corn, and the hedges, moved onward unperceived, and took poſt in ſome ſcattered houſes, whence they poured in upon their enemies a galling and deſtructive fire. To Bonchamp was confided the taſk of carrying the ſuburb of St. Clement; and his efforts were ſeconded by the elder Fleuriot, who commanded a party of Vendéans. Fleuriot was unfortunately ſlain early in the day, while valiantly repelling, at the head of his troops, a charge from the enemy's cavalry.

For many hours the conteſt was maintained with the utmoſt fury. Victory finally ſeemed to incline towards the royaliſts, when a melancholy event turned the ſcale againſt them. Spurring his horſe forward, Cathelineau called to his men to follow him, and carry the battery at the gate of Rennes. Obedient to his voice, they ruſhed on impetuouſly, made themſelves maſters of the guns, and even penetrated into the interior of the city. At this critical moment the gallant Cathelineau was mortally wounded. He fell in the midſt of his ſoldiers, and his fall inſtantly put a ſtop to the progreſs of the royal army. Having firſt ſecured his body, the diſpirited Vendéans relinquiſhed the ground which they had ſo courageouſly won. D'Elbée endeavoured to encourage them, but his endeavours were fruitleſs. About midnight the royaliſts diſcontinued the aſſault, which had laſted, without intermiſſion, for more than nineteen hours. The garriſon bought its ſucceſs very dearly. It had to lament a loſs fully equal to that ſuſtained by the aſſailants, which amounted to ſomewhat above two thouſand in killed and wounded.

The deliverance of Nantz was leſs owing to the bravery of its defenders than to a variety of other cauſes. Among thoſe cauſes may be reckoned the delay occaſioned by the reſiſtance of Nort, the failure of that aid which had been expected from the friends of monarchy in the place, the dread of Charette, and the want, on the part of the beſiegers, of a ſufficiently numerous and powerful artillery. Still more fatal than all theſe to the deſign of the aſſailants, was the groſs error which they committed, in leaving on the left bank of the Loire, where only a feint was intended, nearly one half of their numbers, inſtead of concentrating on the other ſide all the ſtrength they could poſſibly muſter. The beſieged were aware of this fault, and, oppoſing to Charette nothing but ſome regiments of the national guard, drew the beſt part of their force to the point which was really in danger. Yet, in ſpite of theſe adverſe circumſtances, had not the fate of their generaliſſimo deprived the royaliſt bands of their accuſtomed energy, it is probable that, before the dawn of the next day, the ſtandard of Lewis the ſeventeenth would have been floating triumphantly over the walls of Nantz.

Their expedition having failed, the royaliſts abandoned the right bank of the Loire, and returned to their own country. A ſhort leave of abſence, to prepare for future toils, was now allowed them by their chiefs. The brave and noble-minded

minded Cathelineau was carried to St. Florent, where, after lingering twelve days, he expired, furrounded by his friends and companions in arms. His remains were interred at that place with the ſplendour due to his merit and ſervices. Though his career was bounded within the narrow limit of little more than three months, it was ſtill long enough to immortalize his name, and to command for him the regret and admiration of every loyal and honourable man.

CHAP. III.

Civil government of the royaliſt territory. Eſtabliſhment of the Superior Council. Its compoſition and functions. Regulations made by it. Military proceedings reſumed. D'Elbée choſen generaliſſimo. Royrand attacks the republicans at Luçon, and is defeated. Weſtermann advances into the royaliſt territory. He defeats Leſcure and La Roche Jaquelein, and takes poſſeſſion of Chatillon. He is routed in a deciſive engagement and driven back to his former quarters. The army of Saumur marches againſt the royaliſts. It is completely defeated at Vihiers. Tuncq, with the diviſion of Luçon, gains ſome advantage over D'Elbée. Meaſures againſt the loyal Poitevins propoſed by the Committee of Public Safety, and ſanctioned by the Convention. Decree for the entire ruin of Vendée. The garriſon of Mentz ſent into Poitou. Chevalier de Tinteniac diſpatched to the royaliſts by the Britiſh government with offers of aſſiſtance. D'Elbée, Charette, and Royrand march againſt Luçon. They are defeated with great loſs. Charette retires to his own territory. The army of Luçon puſhes forward to Chantonay, where it is attacked by Royrand, and nearly deſtroyed. Some of the Conventional Commiſſioners in Poitou oppoſe the decree for the extermination of Vendée. They diſmiſs Roſſignol, who appeals to the Convention. Roſſignol is re-inſtated, and the commiſſioners recalled. Quarrel between the Council of Saumur and that of Nantz on the plan of the campaign. Plan of attack upon the royaliſts definitively ſettled. Council of war held at Chatillon by the royaliſts. Meaſures of defence adopted. Proclamation to the Poitevins. Levy en maſſe called out by the Conventional Commiſſioners. Sixty thouſand of the levy routed at Thouars by Leſcure. The Prince de Talmont and D'Autichamp defeated by Santerre. Santerre moves forward. Battle of Coron, in which Santerre is completely beaten. Battle of Beaulieu gained by the royaliſts. Succeſsful operations of the republicans in lower Poitou. Charette compelled to retreat to Montaigu, whence he is ſhortly after driven. Bloody battle at Torfou in which Charette and Bonchamp obtain a complete victory. Beyſſer routed at Montaigu, and Mieſkouſki at St. Fulgent. Meaſures taken by the Committee of Public Safety to prevent the recurrence of ſimilar misfortunes. Total want of union among the royaliſt chiefs. Charette reſolves to retire to his own territory, and confine himſelf to its defence. Vain endeavours of the other chiefs to prevail on him to act in concert with them. The republicans again advance from all quarters. The royaliſts

defeated at St. Symphorien, and likewiſe at Chatillon. Capture and recapture of Chatillon. It is at length deſtroyed by Weſtermann. Royaliſt chiefs prepare for a deciſive battle. A detachment ſent to ſecure a paſſage over the Loire. The royaliſts defeated at Chollet, and Leſcure mortally wounded. Second battle of Chollet, in which the royaliſts are again vanquiſhed, and D'Elbée and Bonchamp mortally wounded. The royaliſts retire towards the Loire. Eight thouſand republicans ſaved from death by the generoſity of the dying Bonchamp. Paſſage of the Loire by the royaliſts.

BEFORE we proceed in the melancholy narrative of daily bloodſhed and deſolation, we muſt make a ſhort and welcome pauſe, to view the meaſures of civil policy purſued by the royaliſts in the territory which their valour had liberated. While on the borders of Poitou the ſword was ſcarcely allowed to reſt for a moment in the ſcabbard, the interior of that province enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of tranquillity, under a ſyſtem of government, which, though haſtily formed, was adminiſtered with an enlightened and equitable ſpirit.

Early in June a council, under the denomination of the Superior Council, was created to take cognizance of all matters in the civil and judicial departments. It conſiſted of about twenty members, at the head of whom the ſelf-named biſhop of Agra was placed as preſident. The principal weight of affairs was, however, not borne by him, but by the vice-preſident, Michael De Seſſarts, and by Bernier, rector of St. Laud, in Angers; the former a magiſtrate of known integrity and underſtanding; the latter a man of great talents and virtue. Chatillon was the place choſen for the reſidence of the council.

To annul the new, and to reſtore the ancient laws, was among the firſt acts of the council. The circulation of aſſignats was alſo limited to thoſe iſſued before the dethronement of Lewis the ſixteenth; and all ſales of pretended national property were declared to be void. By a ſecond regulation, the republican aſſignats were ſuffered to paſs current, after being ſigned in the name of the king, by an officer appointed for that purpoſe. The next and moſt important buſineſs which occupied the council, was the eſtabliſhment of regular courts of juſtice through the whole of the reſcued country. In each chief town or village of a diſtrict, the council decreed the formation of a proviſional tribunal for the judgment of all ſuch cauſes, civil and criminal, as had of old been judged by the royal tribunals. The ſentence of theſe tribunals was final upon all actions for ſums not exceeding one hundred livres; but whenever larger ſums were in litigation, the parties had the right of appealing to a court of reviſion, which was to conſiſt of ſeven members at leaſt. The judges, and other officers of theſe various tribunals were taken, as far as was poſſible, from among thoſe who had acted uprightly in the ſame or ſimilar capacities previouſly to the downfal of the monarchy.

Subordinate to the Superior Council there was likewiſe formed,

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in each commune, a committee, which was charged with the tranſmiſſion of orders, and with all that related to local details. It was the buſineſs too of theſe committees to perform the monthly roll-calling of all the men fit to take the field; to name the captains of pariſhes; and to diſtribute ſubſiſtence and ammunition to the ſoldiers, on their ſetting out for the army. The males of each pariſh were divided into two companies, which ſerved alternately, except when the preſence of both was required on ſome great occaſion.

The general officers were none of them members of the Superior Council. They confined themſelves ſolely to military meaſures, which were decided upon by a plurality of voices in a council of war. The advice of D'Elbée, Bonchamp, Leſcure, and La Roche Jaquelein, was, nevertheleſs, generally followed.

Shortly after their return from the expedition to the right bank of the Loire, the chiefs, Charette alone being abſent, aſſembled at Chatillon, to elect a generaliſſimo, in the place of the deceaſed Cathelineau. D'Elbée was unanimouſly called to that elevated ſtation. Bonchamp, whoſe diſtinguiſhed genius and valour undoubtedly rendered him worthy of the higheſt rank, had a numerous party of friends who wiſhed to raiſe him to the command, but, with a modeſty and ſelf-denial which cannot be too much admired, he declined their flattering offers of ſupport, and perſuaded them to give their ſuffrages to his illuſtrious coadjutor. The Marquis de Doniſſant was named governor of Vendée, and of the circumjacent diſtricts.

The war, in the meantime, continued to be carried on with undiminiſhed ſpirit. While the main body of the royal catholic forces was marching againſt Nantz, Royrand, in the hope of making a diverſion in favour of his colleagues, collected at Chantonay the diviſions under his command, and led them to attack Luçon, before which place he appeared on the twenty-eighth of June. He found the republican battalions drawn up under the walls to receive him. An action commenced, in which the aſſailants were at firſt ſucceſsful; but the advantage which they had gained was ſoon wreſted from them by the ſudden defection of ſome traitors, who having deſerted from the regiment of Provence to the royaliſts, now ſeized the opportunity of returning to their former party. Thrown into confuſion by this unexpected treachery, the corps of Royrand was, after a ſevere ſtruggle, compelled to retire with the loſs of five hundred men, and one piece of artillery.

On the ſide of Niort the republicans were, at the ſame period, conducting offenſive operations with conſiderable vigour. Having received inſtructions from Biron to advance, Weſtermann moved, with the van-guard of the army, from St. Maixent towards Parthenay. Notwithſtanding Leſcure, on hearing of the enemy's motions, had thrown himſelf into the latter place with a reſpectable ſuccour, Weſtermann contrived to ſurpriſe the town, and to drive out the garriſon. Leſcure himſelf narrowly eſcaped falling June 20.

into the hands of his purſuers. Finding himſelf too weak to maintain his poſition, Weſtermann made a retrograde movement to St. Maixent, and Parthenay was once more occupied by the royaliſts, who, indignant at the aſſiſtance which the inhabitants had given to the conventional general, would have reduced it to aſhes, had they not been prevented by the interceſſion of Leſcure.

Parthenay remained but a ſhort time in the hands of its preſerver. At St. Maixent, Weſtermann obtained ſuch an augmentation of his numbers as enabled him again to puſh forward. From Parthenay he proceeded to Amaillou, which fell into his power after a ſlight reſiſtance, and was burned to the ground. A part of the booty taken in it was diſtributed among the Jacobins of Parthenay. The caſtle of Leſcure, at Cliſſon, was alſo pillaged and given to the flames, under the eyes of its maſter, who, from the tower of Breſſuire church, was a ſpectator of the conflagration by which his property was deſtroyed. July 1.

Not ſtrong enough to keep his ground in Breſſuire, Leſcure retired towards Chatillon, gathering round him, as he retreated, the armed peaſantry, who had been called out by the ringing of the alarm bell. At a little diſtance from Chatillon he halted upon commanding ground, where he formed a junction with the diviſion of La Roche Jaquelein. Here the two chiefs determined to wait the approach of the enemy. Weſtermann quickly appeared, and a furious combat took place. After two hours hard fighting; victory, in ſpite of the efforts made by the royaliſt chiefs, declared in favour of the republicans. The Poitevins were compelled to quit the field, and, in the evening, Weſtermann triumphantly entered Chatillon, where he releaſed a great number of priſoners, and ſeized upon large magazines, together with the archives of the Superior Council. A detachment was inſtantly ſent to deſtroy the caſtle of La Roche Jaquelein, at St. Aubin de Baubigné. The vanquiſhed army retreated, with little loſs, to Mortagne and Chollet. July 3.

Elated by his rapid progreſs, and flattering himſelf with the hope of cruſhing the royaliſts, Weſtermann took poſt on the heights near Chatillon. In this poſition he was reinforced by a body of national guards, from St. Maixent and Parthenay. His deluſive dreams of conqueſt were but of ſhort duration. Leſcure, having demanded ſuccour of D'Elbée in the moſt preſſing terms, was ſpeedily joined by the diviſion of Bonchamp. The latter chief propoſed to give battle inſtantly, and his propoſal was gladly acquieſced in by Leſcure and La Roche Jaquelein, who panted for an opportunity of revenging their defeats, and the ruin of their habitations and domains.

Though aſſured by his ſpies that the Poitevins were approaching, Weſtermann treated their intelligence as fabulous; nor would he believe any danger to be at hand, till he was rouzed from his fancied ſecurity by the cannon of his enemies. His advanced guard was ſurpriſed, and fled without firing a ſhot. The main body reſiſted for a while, but Bouchamp July 6.

champ having, by a bold manœuvre, got poſſeſſion of the artillery, the republicans were quickly put to the rout. At leaſt two thirds of the army were either killed, wounded, or made priſoners; and all its baggage, arms, and ammunition, became the prey of the conquerors.

The misfortunes of Weſtermann drew down upon him the charge of treaſon; and he was, in conſequence, ſummoned to appear and defend himſelf at the bar of the Convention. That body heard his juſtification, and then referred him for trial to a military tribunal. The verdict of his judges finally cleared him from all ſuſpicion of guilt, and he reaſſumed the command of his diviſion.

By the defeat of Weſtermann, and the conteſt between the Convention and the federaliſts, a breathing time was afforded to the royaliſts of Poitou. It did not, however, laſt long. In a council held at Saumur, it was reſolved that the army at Saumur ſhould penetrate into Vendée, by the Ponts de Cé, and take the route of Briſſac, Vihiers, Chollet, and Mortagne, in order to form a junction with the army of Niort. Labaroliere was appointed to put this plan in execution. He met with no oppoſition till he reached the neighbourhood of Martigné-Briant, where he was encountered by Bonchamp, D'Autichamp, La Roche Jaquelein, and Scepaux, at the head of fifteen thouſand men. His advanced guard was broken at the firſt charge, and three pieces of artillery were taken. After a ſmart ſkirmiſh, the royaliſts diſcontinued the combat, and retired to Coron. The republicans proceeded onwards, and took poſt at Vihiers.

The principal chiefs of the royal catholic army having promiſed to hold a conference with Charette on the banks of the Sèvre, now ſet off to meet that general, leaving the command of their forces in the hands of Piron, de Marſange, and other officers of tried merit. Succours, meanwhile, flocked in from every pariſh, and ſuch was the ardor of the loyal Poitevins, that they loudly called for an immediate engagement. Their wiſhes did not long remain ungratified. On the ſeventeenth a ſharp conteſt took place, which terminated entirely to their advantage. Menou was dangerouſly wounded, and ſeveral hundred of his men were ſlain. This trial of ſtrength was but the prelude to events of greater importance.

The next morning the royaliſts moved from the heights of Vihiers, in three diviſions, to attack the enemy. Their centre conſiſted of a choſen band of regular troops, chiefly Swiſs and Germans, with the beſt diſciplined Vendéans, and was commanded by the Chevalier Villeneuve, and by Keller, a German of great ſkill and courage; their right was directed by Laguerivière and Boiſſy; their left by Guignard de Tiffauges. At the very firſt onſet, the center, ſeconded by Foreſtier at the head of the cavalry, drove in the conventional advanced guard upon the main body. The conflict became general, obſtinate, and bloody. The republicans bore the ſhock for a while, but were at length expelled from Vihiers with terrible ſlaughter. A panic terror at this moment ſeized upon them, and July 18.

and overpowered their reaſon. Whole battalions threw down their arms, and fled, crying out that they were betrayed. Their example was ſpeedily followed by the reſt of their comrades. For more than two leagues they were cloſely purſued by the victorious royaliſts, nor did they ſtop their flight when the danger was over. In three hours, ſuch was the wonderful activity inſpired by their fear, many of them reached Saumur, nearly twenty miles from the ſcene of action, whence, after taking breath, they hurried on to Chinon, more than double the diſtance. Every road was covered, and every town filled, with fugitives; ſome of the moſt cowardly of whom did not think themſelves ſafe till they arrived in Paris. Two thouſand of the vanquiſhed were killed, and three thouſand made priſoners. Twenty-five pieces of cannon, ſeveral ammunition waggons, two waggon load of muſkets, a large quantity of proviſions, and a part of the baggage, was the prize of the conquerors. The infamous Santerre and Bourbotte were expoſed in their retreat to imminent danger; the former, furiouſly chaſed by a gallant royaliſt named Loiſeau, only eſcaped by leaping over a wall of great height, the latter, after being hunted for two leagues, eluded his enemies by hiding himſelf in a hedge, whence, under cover of darkneſs, he crept to Saumur in a miſerable plight.

In the South of Poitou the royaliſts were not equally fortunate. Through the treachery of a deſerter, Tuncq, with the diviſion of Luçon, ſurprized the poſt of St. Philibert, and, following up his advantage, carried Pont Charron by aſſault, and penetrated to Chantonay, deſtroying the country round with fire and ſword. The flower of the Poitevin ſoldiery being occupied in the north and eaſt of the province, D'Elbée made a levy of twelve thouſand peaſants, and marched to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy. On his approach, Tuncq abandoned Chantonay, which, with a ſpirit of wanton cruelty, he reduced to aſhes. Finding himſelf ſo cloſely preſſed that it would be difficult to avoid an engagement, he made a ſtand in the vicinity of Beſſay. Already the republican center was broken, and their whole force on the point of giving way, when the flight of ſome cowards in the royaliſt rearguard, ſpread a general alarm through the army of D'Elbée, and compelled him to order a retreat at the very inſtant when he had hoped to obtain a complete triumph. Tuncq now, in his turn, became the aſſailant, and ſo vigorous was his attack, that had not D'Elbée, Leſcure, and the Prince de Talmont, performed prodigies of valour, and even expoſed their perſons to imminent hazard, he would probably have gained a deciſive victory. The loſs in men was conſiderable on both ſides. Two pieces of cannon were left on the field by the defeated army. This check was not productive of any ill conſequence to the loyal Poitevins. Too poorly provided to attempt conqueſts, Tuncq prudently retired to Luçon, and determined to confine himſelf, at leaſt for the preſent, to defenſive operations.

Irritated to the utmoſt pitch by the reſult of the battle at Vihiers, the anarchiſts of Paris determined to make the war of Poitou a war of extermination,

extermination. Barrere, as the organ of the Committee of Public Safety, aſcended the tribune, and apprized the Convention of the reverſes which had been experienced, the cauſes from which they ſprung, and the preſſing neceſſity of purſuing a different plan from that which had hitherto been followed. Having firſt truly ſtated that the republicans had ſuffered heavy defeats, and gained only trifling victories, he indulged himſelf in a violent philippic againſt the routed troops, a great part of whom he ſtigmatized as cowards, pillagers, deſpiſers of ſubordination, traitors, or concealed royaliſts. "Your "armies," cried he, "are like "thoſe of a Perſian monarch, "they move encumbered by a hun"dred and ſixty waggon load of "baggage, while the banditti "march with nothing more than "their arms and a morſel of black "bread. You muſt" continued he, "change your ſyſtem of opera"tions; you muſt reap the har"veſt of the robbers, you muſt "carry fire into their haunts, "and ſend labourers there to "level the ground." Twenty-four companies of pioneers and workmen were immediately voted for the latter purpoſe. In the courſe of his ſpeech, Barrere intimated that other and ſtronger meaſures, which for the preſent muſt not be declared, had been reſolved upon by the committee.

July 26.

The maſter-piece of deſtruction, on the framing of which the committee had exerciſed all its ſanguinary ſkill, did not long remain a ſecret. Before a week had elapſed, it was produced to the Convention by Barrere, and paſſed into a law, without a ſingle diſſenting voice. It conſiſted of a decree, containing fifteen articles, every line of which breathed maſſacre, conflagration, and ruin. To cut down the foreſts, to burn the copſes and thickets, to demoliſh all habitations, to gather in the harveſt and ſeize the cattle, to confiſcate the property of the royaliſts, and to ring the alarm-bell in the neighbouring departments, and force every male, from ſixteen to ſixty, to march againſt the revolted territory, were among the moſt prominent objects of this tremendous decree. But, terrible as theſe articles undoubtedly were, they were not ſo fraught with miſchief to the Poitevins as another, by which the late garriſon of Mentz, nearly ſeventeen thouſand veteran troops, was ordered to be ſent poſt into Vendée, and three millions of livres were placed in the hands of the war-miniſter, to provide the means of rapid conveyance. This force, formidable from its numbers, but far more formidable from its high ſtate of diſcipline, and from its being inured to hardſhip and privation, was, in truth, the vivifying ſpirit of the whole decree.

Aug. 1.

When it is remembered, as it ever muſt be, that in this, as in other inſtances, the means of cruſhing the friends of monarchy had been put into the hands of the republicans by the ſhameful neglect, or a ſtill worſe fault, of the combined ſovereigns on the frontier, it is impoſſible not ſtrongly to feel a generous indignation againſt thoſe who diſgraced an honourable cauſe by ſuch imprudent and unworthy conduct. The coaleſced powers were fighting for the re-eſtabliſhment in France of order, and a legitimate government, yet in no inſtance whatever

whatever did they ſhew any ſigns of conſidering the loyal Poitevins as their friends and fellow-labourers in this great enterprize.

From its local ſituation, from its poſſeſſing the empire of the ſea, from its riches, and from the known magnanimity of its national character, it might be ſuppoſed that Great Britain, at leaſt, would eagerly embrace the firſt opportunity of opening a communication with thoſe gallant men who, regardleſs of ruin, danger, and death, had ſtaked their lives and fortunes in ſupport of the throne. No ſuch eagerneſs was, however, diſplayed. The royaliſts had been in arms ſince the beginning of March, a period of five months, and not a ſingle effort had been made by the Britiſh government to afford them ſuccour, though the policy, no leſs than the juſtice of aiding ſuch valuable allies, was ſufficiently obvious.

Waking at length from its unaccountable lethargy it diſpatched, early in Auguſt, the chevalier de Tinteniac to the Poitevin chiefs, with offers of aſſiſtance in men, money, and ammunition. It required, nevertheleſs, as a previous condition, that the royaliſts of Poitou ſhould paſs the Loire, and ſeize upon a ſea-port in Britanny. Tinteniac arrived ſafely at the caſtle of La Boulay, near Chatillon, and preſented his credentials to the aſſembled generals. Either from a natural jealouſy of its motives, or from a feeling of reſentment at the tardineſs of its friendſhip, ſome members of the council were decidedly adverſe to a connection with their ancient rival. Their prejudice or pique was ſucceſsfully combated by D'Elbée, Bonchamp, and a majority of the council, who repreſented the glaring impolicy of rejecting ſuch powerful ſupport as was now held out for their acceptance. Tinteniac was accordingly requeſted to haſten back to England, and to obtain, as ſpeedily as poſſible, more detailed information of the plans and wiſhes of the Britiſh cabinet. As ſoon as he had taken his leave, the chiefs ſeparated to prepare for action their reſpective corps.

Still looking to the ſouth of Poitou, D'Elbée determined to make an attempt upon Luçon, where he hoped to procure both powder and military ſtores, of which there was, and indeed always had been, a great and prejudicial ſcarcity among the royaliſt forces. The plan was communicated to Charette, who was required to aſſiſt in its execution, as was alſo Royrand, who commanded the army of the center.

Leaving Bonchamp with a ſufficient number of troops for the protection of Upper Poitou and Anjou, D'Elbée moved towards Luçon at the head of twenty thouſand men, and formed a junction at Chantonay with the diviſions of Royrand and Charette, which together were nearly twelve thouſand ſtrong.

Luçon contained a garriſon of nine thouſand men, commanded by General Tuncq. Informed by one of his ſpies of the hour when the attack would be made, the general was fully prepared to meet the danger. The royaliſts in three columns, D'Elbée on the left, Royrand in the center, and Charette on the right, croſſed the Smagne, at Pont Minclet, early in the morning, and began to form in order of battle.

Auguſt 13.

Tuncq had ranged the whole of his army in two lines, and had ordered his troops to conceal themſelves, by lying with their faces to the ground. On receiving advice that the royaliſts were making diſpoſitions for the attack, he diſpatched two battalions, with two pieces of flying artillery, to retard their progreſs. At ſight of this detachment the center diviſion of the royaliſts ruſhed impetuouſly forward, in full confidence of overwhelming the ſcanty numbers of their enemy. Opening to the right and left by a rapid evolution, the republicans unmaſked their cannon, made ſeveral murderous diſcharges upon the unprepared aſſailants, and then ſlowly retired. The Poitevins, unconſcious of the ſnare which was laid for them, kept advancing, till, at a ſignal given, the conventional ſoldiers ſtarted from the earth, and poured in ſuch a deſtructive fire of muſketry and light artillery, that the plain was, in a moment, heaped with the dying and the dead. While the column of the center was in this deſperate ſituation, thoſe of the right and left had every reaſon to hope for a complete victory. Charette, on his ſide, had, in leſs than ten minutes, beaten down all reſiſtance; and D'Elbée had, by an oblique march, turned the right of the republican line. Perceiving the danger to which Royrand was expoſed, D'Elbée haſtened to his ſuccour; but this movement, which ought to have been deciſive in favour of the royaliſts, was unfortunately fatal to them. Imagining, from the retrograde motion of D'Elbée's column, that it had been defeated, the ſoldiers of Royrand loſt all courage, and ſought for ſafety in flight. In ſpite of D'Elbée's exertions the panic was communicated to his troops, who alſo fled, leaving the diviſion of Charette to ſuſtain the whole weight of the republican force. It was not without extraordinary efforts, and a great ſlaughter of his followers, that Charette at laſt ſucceeded in effecting his retreat. Nearly ſix thouſand royaliſts were killed and wounded in this ſanguinary action. A great part of the cannon was abandoned to the conquerors. Baudry d'Aſſon was the only leader of rank who fell on this occaſion. He was ſlain early in the day, and his body was valiantly defended for a while by a faithful domeſtic, who, having ſworn to periſh with him, heroically proved his faith by expiring, covered with wounds, on the corpſe of his maſter. The victory was not a bloodleſs one on the part of the conventional troops, but their loſs was not to be compared with that of their antagoniſts. Their good fortune was chiefly, if not entirely, owing to a numerous train of flying artillery and howitzers, the latter of which were now uſed in Vendée for the firſt time.

After the battle, Charette, highly diſcontented with the army of Upper Poitou, returned to his own territory. During his abſence La Cathaliniere had made an attempt upon Chateau d'O, in which he had been wounded and repulſed. For this trifling check Charette was fully conſoled by the capture of Challans, of which, though he had repeatedly attacked it, he had hitherto been unable to obtain poſſeſſion.

Immediately after the battle of Luçon, Tuncq, rendered daring by ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, advanced eight leagues to Chantonay, in front of which place, or rather of its ruins, he pitched his camp. But though he had defeated, he had not diſcouraged his enemy. Well knowing that the royaliſt armies would ſoon be fully occupied in the north of Poitou, D'Elbée reſolved to free himſelf in the ſouthern quarter, at leaſt, from every apprehenſion of danger. For the accompliſhment of this object he ordered Royrand to muſter all his ſtrength, and fall upon the republicans at Chantonay.

In obedience to his inſtructions, Royrand marched towards the hoſtile camp with fifteen thouſand men, and twenty pieces of cannon. Tuncq having been ſuſpended, the conventional army was commanded by Lacomte, who had lately been raiſed to the rank of general. Divided into two columns, the royaliſts commenced, at four in the afternoon, a furious aſſault upon the front and rear of the enemy's intrenchments. The combat was continued till late at night, with little apparent advantage on either ſide. Lacomte at laſt received a mortal wound, and his men were ſo much diſcouraged by this circumſtance, that they threw down their arms, and endeavoured to fly. Not more than fifteen hundred of them were able, however, to effect their eſcape. Between five and ſix thouſand were killed or made priſoners. The loſs of the victors was alſo conſiderable, but they found an ample compenſation in the revenge which they had taken for their late defeats, and in the rich prize of warlike ſtores which they gained from the camp of the vanquiſhed. Sep. 5.

The decree for the extermination of Vendée, which was on the eve of being enforced, was regarded with no leſs hatred by ſome of the jacobins than by the royaliſts themſelves. The two Goupilleaus, who were natives of the devoted department, and whoſe property was ſituated within its boundaries, ſtrained every nerve to prevent the law from being carried into effect, and their efforts were ſeconded by their colleague Bourdon. Theſe three deputies were acting as commiſſioners of the Convention to the army of Luçon, when from Saumur, the head-quarters of the partizans of terror, Roſſignol, who had ſuperſeded Biron, arrived at Chantonay, in company with Bourbotte, to make arrangements for the march of the republican columns. He was received with indignation by the deputies, who informed him that they had paſſed a reſolution, depriving him of the command in chief. Bourbotte attempted to remonſtrate in behalf of his friend, but the menaces of his opponents ſoon compelled him to deſiſt. Roſſignol, on receiving his diſmiſſion, ſet out in haſte for Paris, to which place he was almoſt immediately followed by the enraged Bourbotte. The Committee of Public Safety declined entering into any diſcuſſion on the ſubject, and Roſſignol, therefore, made his appearance at the bar of the Convention to juſtify his conduct. Bourbotte, Tallien, and others of the ſame party, ſtrenuouſly defended his cauſe, and, at the cloſe of an animated debate,

obtained

obtained a complete triumph. It was decreed that Roſſignol ſhould be re-inſtated, and that the deputies who had diſmiſſed him ſhould be recalled from Vendée.

This diſpute was not quite ſettled, when, in another quarter, one ſtill more violent aroſe. The whole of the forces acting againſt the royaliſts, though ſplit into ſeveral bodies, was conſidered but as two armies; the one taking its name from the "coaſts of Breſt," the other from thoſe of Rochelle. Of theſe the firſt was commanded by Canclaux, the ſecond by Roſſignol. To watch over and direct its movements, each army had a central commiſſion, compoſed of members from the National Convention. Theſe commiſſioners, ſcarcely leſs at enmity with each other than with the common object of their hatred, held their ſittings at Nantz and Saumur, the latter of which places was the head-quarters of Roſſignol, the former thoſe of Canclaux.

Loudly diſapproving of the plan upon which the council of Saumur had hitherto acted, the council of Nantz contended that the only way to put an end to the royaliſt war, was to penetrate through the lower part of Vendée, by the routes of Nantz and Sables d'Olonne. This ſcheme was warmly eſpouſed by Philippeaux, who was then on miſſion in the weſtern departments, and was reprobated with equal warmth by the council of Saumur, out of whoſe hands it took the command over the garriſon of Mentz. More irritated than diſcouraged by the reſiſtance he met with, Philippeaux ſet off for Paris, in order to communicate his ſentiments and deſigns to the Committee of Public Safety. On his arrival he made to the Committee a report, in which the cowardice, licentiouſneſs, and barbarity, diſplayed during the campaign by the army of Saumur, were commented upon in terms of unqualified ſeverity. Defeat and diſgrace would, he predicted, be the certain conſequence of ſuffering the re-inforcements to be blended with the diſorderly legions at Saumur. His efforts produced the deſired effect. The Committee ordered that the garriſon of Mentz ſhould proceed to Nantz, and form a junction there with the force of Canclaux.

The party of Saumur was not, however, to be ſo eaſily conquered. It remonſtrated againſt the deciſion of the Committee, and at laſt, in ſpite of the complaints and endeavours of Philippeaux, ſo far prevailed as to have the matter referred to the judgment of an extraordinary council of war. The council was accordingly held at Saumur, on the ſecond of September. After a debate, full of violence and perſonal rancour, it was decided by the caſting vote of the preſident, that the Committee ſhould be obeyed. It was, in conſequence, definitively ſettled that, advancing ſimultaneouſly from all points of the circle which they occupied, the invading columns ſhould unite at Mortagne, towards the middle of the month, having in their march deſtroyed or ſcattered thoſe Poitevin diviſions which ſtrove to oppoſe their progreſs.

The formidable meaſures of offence which the republicans had adopted, could only be made fruſtrate by exertions of more than

than common vigour. Fortunately the royaliſts, by the capture of a meſſenger with diſpatches from Saumur to Nantz, had been put in poſſeſſion of all the details of the plan upon which their enemies were preparing to act. Convoking, therefore, a grand council of war at Chatillon, D'Elbée laid before his colleagues the intercepted information, and required their advice as to the ſteps which ſhould be taken to avert the impending danger.

Among the various modes of proceeding recommended on this occaſion, that which Bonchamp ſuggeſted held the moſt conſpicuous place. It was conceived with great boldneſs, and its advantages were ſet forth by its author with no ſmall ſhare of eloquence. Uniting in the center of Poitou the royal armies, he propoſed with this collected force to cruſh the republican diviſions, as they ſeparately advanced through a hoſtile and difficult country. Succeſsful in this ſcheme, the catholic army, he urged, ought to profit of the moment of its triumph to croſs the Loire, rally the population of Britanny round the king's ſtandard, and make itſelf maſter of a ſea-port, where it might receive thoſe ſuccours which had been offered, and which, in his opinion, were indiſpenſably neceſſary to bring about the reſtoration of a monarchical government. Poitou, he obſerved, would not always be able to afford the waſte of life, which a war, even of conſtant triumph, muſt occaſion; and in the hour of defeat and diſgrace, ſhould that hour unfortunately arrive, it would no longer be time to think of paſſing the Loire, and rouzing the Bretons to arms.

Splendid as this project was it could not dazzle the prudent and reflecting D'Elbée. He had thoroughly ſtudied the character of his countrymen, and knew that it was by their fond attachment to their natal ſoil that they were rendered almoſt invincible in the field. Except for the holy cauſe in which they were now engaged, the Poitevins, he reminded the council, never quitted their homes without reluctance, and could ſcarcely be prevailed upon to loſe ſight of their village ſpire. Fighting under the eye, and for the ſafety of their parents, wives, and children, they were capable of the moſt heroic deeds; but it was much to be feared that, if they were led into a ſtrange province, they would not continue to diſplay the ſame energy, as they would inceſſantly be looking back with regret, and contriving the means of return, to thoſe cheriſhed objects which they had left behind. It would, he contended, be far more wiſe to preſerve, by a well-combined ſyſtem of defence, the interior of Poitou in a ſtate of tranquillity, and thus to make it a rallying point for the friends of monarchy, than to hazard every thing by an expedition which, if it failed, would devote to certain ruin thoſe by whom it had been raſhly undertaken. Yet, though he differed from Bonchamp as to the policy of invading Britanny, the plan, which that chief had propoſed, of acting in large maſſes againſt the enemy, met with his entire approbation, and was recommended by him to his colleagues in the moſt forcible and convincing manner.

The advice of D'Elbée being unanimouſly approved of by the council,

council, the neceſſary arrangements were made for carrying it into effect. The forces of Anjou and Upper Poitou marched under the banners of D'Elbée, and covered the country between the Loire and Chatillon. Royrand, who headed the army of the centre, was inſtructed to retire to Herbiers, on the approach of the adverſe columns from Luçon and Fontenay, and to maintain himſelf there till further orders. The army, formed principally from the garriſon of Mentz, was to be oppoſed by Charette, with all the diviſions of Lower Poitou, and his efforts were to be ſeconded by the corps of the gallant Bonchamp.

Previouſly to the holding of the council, the peaſants of Poitou had been apprized of the taſk which they were now to perform. An animated proclamation, from D'Elbée, had called upon them, in the name of every thing dear and ſacred, to march as one man, with whatever weapons they could procure, againſt their inveterate and ſanguinary foes, and "to conquer or to periſh for their God "and their king." Honours and rewards were promiſed to the brave and loyal, while, on the other hand, puniſhment, both pecuniary and perſonal, was threatened to thoſe who, embracing the cauſe of the factious, ſhould themſelves refuſe to march, or ſhould induce others to refuſe.

Though the regular troops deſtined to act againſt the Poitevins were above ſeventy thouſand in number, the conventional commiſſioners did not think them ſufficiently numerous to accompliſh the work of deſtruction. Under the authority of the exterminatory decree enacted by the Convention they reſolved, therefore, to bring forward, in aid of ſkill and diſcipline, the brute ſtrength of almoſt innumerable multitudes. Thoſe who could not be overcome by valour might, they hoped, be overwhelmed by irreſiſtible force. With this view they iſſued a mandate, requiring that, in all the neighbouring departments, every male inhabitant, between the ages of ſixteen and ſixty, ſhould, under pain of impriſonment, take arms, provide himſelf with four days ſuſtenance, and march to join the republican diviſions. To this requiſition, as abſurd as it was dangerous, an inſtant obedience was yielded by more than three hundred thouſand individuals.

The commiſſioners were ſoon taught how little reliance was to be placed upon a crowd, ignorant of military manœuvres, ſerving only from compulſion, and already half conquered by its own want of confidence. Being informed that ſixty thouſand men of the levy in maſs were aſſembled at Thouars, Leſcure determined to drive them from that place. The corps with which he deſigned to put his ſcheme in execution did not conſiſt of more than two thouſand ſoldiers. To prevent any obſtacle from being thrown in his way by general Rey, who was poſted at Airvaulx, he moved rapidly towards that town, as if intending to attack it, but, as ſoon as he had ſucceeded in compelling the conventional officer to call in his detachments and prepare for defence, he ſuddenly changed his courſe, and, late in the evening, appeared before Thouars. As the Vendéans felt a ſtrong prejudice againſt nocturnal

combats, it was not till break of day that the action commenced. In leſs than an hour the bridge of Verine was carried, and the levy in maſs completely routed. Leſcure had even penetrated into one of the ſuburbs of Thouars, and the town itſelf was on the point of falling into his power, when Rey came up with the whole of his diviſion. As the royaliſts were not ſtrong enough to contend with this new enemy, Leſcure ordered a retreat, which was executed with a coolneſs and regularity, ſuch as had never before, on ſimilar occaſions, been diſplayed by the Poitevins. Jane Robin, a female peaſant, regarded by the Vendéans as a ſecond Joan of Arc, and whoſe courage and addreſs had been of great ſervice to the royal cauſe, was ſlain in this engagement, while valiantly fighting among the foremoſt of her countrymen. Sept. 14.

In oppoſition to the wiſhes and remonſtrances of D'Elbée, who felt the danger of deviating from the plan laid down by the council, the prince de Talmont and D'Autichamp united their diviſions, and marched againſt the army of Santerre, which was encamped at Doué. The battle was fought on the ſame day with that of Thouars, but D'Autichamp and Talmont had neither the military knowledge nor the good fortune of Leſcure. Their movements betrayed their inexperience, and, though at firſt they made ſome impreſſion upon the enemy, they were finally vanquiſhed. It was not without ſuffering a very ſevere loſs that they at length extricated themſelves from their perilous ſituation, and conducted the troops to their old quarters.

Proud of this ſucceſs, believing that the royaliſts had only attacked him in conſequence of their being compelled to fall back by the progreſs of the republican armies in the oppoſite direction, and eager to ſignalize himſelf by ſome maſter-ſtroke, Roſſignol gave orders to the corps of generals Santerre and Duhoux to move onwards towards Chollet. Either from groſs ignorance, or from a wiſh to have no ſharer in his anticipated triumph, he at the ſame time directed the columns of Luçon and Fontenay to return to the poſts which they formerly occupied. They obeyed with rather more precipitation than was neceſſary, and the men of the levy in maſs, who had marched with them, took the opportunity of this retreat to deſert and go back to their homes.

With forty thouſand men Santerre proceeded towards Coron, in the neighbourhood of which place he halted on ſome heights to prepare for battle. Coron, a village ſituated in a hollow, was occupied by a royaliſt detachment, which had received inſtructions from D'Elbée to retire haſtily upon the enemy's approach, and, by this ſimulated flight, to draw him, if poſſible, from his advantageous poſition. The ſtratagem had its deſired effect. Santerre ſent forward his ſharp-ſhooters, who took poſſeſſion of the village, and began their uſual work of plunder. Forming into a creſcent his army, which was little more than twenty thouſand ſtrong, D'Elbée then advanced to aſſail the republicans. As ſoon as he was informed of this circumſtance, Santerre put the whole of his force in motion, to ſuccour the diviſion which was engaged. He deſcended into the valley, with Sept. 17.

his

his army, in a ſingle column, and was attended by all his park of artillery. This unmilitary movement was of neceſſity fatal. Infantry, cavalry, and cannon were ſoon blended together in ſuch a ſtate of confuſion, that it was utterly impoſſible to form in order of battle. In a very ſhort time the conventional troops were entirely defeated with the moſt dreadful ſlaughter. The fugitives, hotly purſued, made the beſt of their way to Doué, ſeveral miles diſtant, and ſo complete was their terror, that many of them expired on the road from fatigue and fear; while others, driven into crowds, opened themſelves a paſſage by the murder of ſuch of their leſs active comrades as impeded their flight.

By the feigned retreat of a ſmall royaliſt corps, general Duhoux, with the diviſion of Angers, had, meanwhile, been lured on as far as Beaulieu, between the Ponts de Cé and Chemillé. No ſooner had D'Elbée routed Santerre than he diſpatched ſeven thouſand choſen troops to encounter Duhoux. The conteſt, though ſhort, was ſanguinary. Four thouſand of the republicans were ſlain, wounded, or made priſoners. Thoſe who contrived to eſcape, abandoned their artillery, their baggage, and even their arms.

Sept. 19.

On the ſide of Lower Poitou the enemy was, for a ſhort time, uniformly ſucceſsful. General Canclaux began his operations in that quarter on the ninth of September. His army advanced in three columns; the right headed by Beyſſer, the left by Grouchi, and the centre, compoſed of the garriſon of Mentz, by Aubert Dubayet. Port St. Pere, Pornic, Bourgneuf, Vertou, and ſeveral other towns were eaſily taken by the republicans, who committed in their progreſs the vileſt atrocities. Wherever they bent their courſe nothing was to be ſeen but maſſacre and conflagration. Charette, to whom the chief command in Poitou had been proviſionally intruſted by his colleagues, retired, with his troops, to Legé, where he was joined by ſeveral routed diviſions. The place was quickly crowded by thouſands of helpleſs women, children, and aged perſons, whoſe terrors and lamentations ſpread dejection and diſorder among their armed relatives. Unable to make any effectual reſiſtance in Legé, Charette retreated to Montaigu, whence he ſent off a courier to Boncharap to require an immediate ſuccour. Before, however, any aid could arrive, he was attacked by the republicans, and, after a hard-fought engagement, was compelled to abandon Montaigu, with the loſs of ſix hundred men. The column of Aubert Dubayet took, at the ſame time, poſſeſſion of Cliſſon.

Charette fell back towards Tiffauges, near which place he collected his ſcattered forces, paſſed them in review, and ſucceeded in animating them with his own ſpirit. Each ſwore to waſh out, in the blood of his enemies, the diſgrace of the late defeats. Their courage was ſtill further raiſed by the arrival of a meſſenger with intelligence that a reinforcement was at hand from the army of Anjou.

Following from Cliſſon the courſe of the Sèvre, the Mentz column took its way towards Tiffauges. Its approach was announced to the

royalists by the flames which arose from the town of Torfou. The royal army, which was drawn up in order of battle on the road from Tiffauges to Chollet, did not wait to receive the attack.

Sept. 19. At a signal given by Charette it rushed upon the enemy's advanced guard, which was busily employed in the pillage of Torfou. Kleber, who commanded the pillagers, having at last rallied his men; the action became general. By an impetuous effort of the conventionalists the Poitevin cavalry was driven back upon the infantry, which was thus thrown into great confusion. All was on the point of being lost when Bonchamp fortunately appeared with a body of five thousand chosen troops. His presence and exhortations restored the courage of those who had fled. They returned to the combat with cries of rage and vengeance, while the enemy, astonished by the unexpected appearance and martial air of Bonchamp's division, made a sudden pause. Taking advantage of the impression produced upon the minds of the republicans, Charette and Bonchamp ordered a general charge of cavalry, which was executed with great vigour and effect. Kleber was dangerously wounded, and compelled to be carried from the field. The shock of the cavalry was seconded by the forward movement of the whole line of royalist infantry. Descending at this moment from his horse, and seizing a musket, Bonchamp put himself at the head of some Breton companies, forced a passage through the division opposed to him, and gained possession of the hostile artillery. Animated by this success, the Poitevins redoubled their efforts in every quarter. Nearly surrounded, much weakened, and seeing no hope of victory, the republican army determined to retreat. Furiously pursued for more than three leagues, and exposed on all sides to an incessant and well-directed fire, it, nevertheless, receded slowly and in good order; but it must, at last, have inevitably perished, had not the gallant stand made by a battalion posted in Getigné, given it time to cross the Sèvre near Clisson, and arrive in a place of safety. In this terrible conflict, which continued for seven hours, six thousand republicans were killed or wounded, a very large proportion of which number was among the slain. The loss of the royalists did not amount to more than one-half of that which was suffered by their enemies. Such was the animosity of both parties that no prisoners were taken.

The termination of one labour was, to the defenders of the throne, but the commencement of another. Beysser had, on the sixteenth, entered Montaigu with his column, on his way to form a junction with that from Sables d'Olonne, which had reached St. Fulgent. After the battle of Torfou he had, however, received orders to join the defeated garrison of Mentz, which orders he was at this moment preparing to obey.

The royal army, commanded by Bonchamp and Charette, marched in two columns, by the roads of Clisson and Boussay, to attack Montaigu on opposite sides. Though Beysser was early informed of its approach, he obstinately persisted in believing it to be a reinforcement from his friends, and, without

without taking any precautions for his ſafety, calmly continued a meal which he had juſt begun. His appetite was ſoon ſpoiled by the thunder of cannon, and the diſorderly falling back of his advanced poſts which had been driven in by the Poitevin diviſions. It was in vain that with a few battalions he endeavoured to keep his ground under the walls of the town. His troops gave way, and took refuge in the place. He then ſtrove to bring up his artillery to their ſupport, but with no better fortune. As ſoon as the firſt volley was fired from the cannon, the royaliſts made a rapid charge upon them, and ſucceeded in capturing the whole of the train. The column of Bonchamp had, meanwhile, nearly turned the flank of the republicans, and by this manœuvre completed their panic terror. Beyſſer repeatedly attempted to rally his troops; but prayers, threats, and reproaches were equally uſeleſs. The rout quickly became general, and the royaliſts had only to follow and to ſlaughter the fugitives, which they did in the moſt vigorous manner. No quarter was given; and as the vanquiſhed were purſued as far as Aigrefeuille, nine miles from the field of battle, a horrible carnage took place. Night alone prevented the total ruin of Beyſſer's diviſion; the ſhattered remnant of which never halted till it arrived under the batteries of Nantz. Sept. 21.

Of all thoſe armies by which Poitou was menaced, that formed from the garriſon of Mentz was the moſt to be dreaded. The wiſer part of the royaliſt chiefs were fully impreſſed with the danger to which they were expoſed from it, and with the neceſſity of uſing their utmoſt efforts to accompliſh its deſtruction. Bonchamp, in conſequence, prevailed upon Charette to promiſe his aſſiſtance in the execution of a plan, which, had it been adhered to, would probably have delivered the Poitevins from their moſt formidable enemy. By this plan it was arranged that while a powerful body of royaliſts aſſailed the front of the Mentz diviſion, another ſhould take a circuitous route, and falling upon the rear, ſhould place the foe between two fires, and preclude all poſſibility of eſcape. This ſcheme, to the no ſmall mortification of Bonchamp, was unfortunately fruſtrated by Charette, who, almoſt as ſoon as he had given his aſſent to it, withdrew his forces from the catholic army, in order to attack that republican corps which from Sables d'Olonne had advanced to St. Fulgent.

On the defeat of Beyſſer at Montaigu, general Canclaux, finding his poſition no longer tenable, reſolved to evacuate Cliſſon, where he had remained with the Mentz diviſion ſince the battle of Torfou. Loth to loſe the golden opportunity of ſtriking a blow at this dangerous portion of the enemy's force, Bonchamp, aided by Lyrot de la Patouilliere, attacked it on its march. The ſtruggle was long and obſtinate. The republicans fought with great intrepidity, and repelled ſeveral aſſaults; but they were finally obliged to abandon their baggage, their cannon, and even their wounded comrades. They ſucceeded, nevertheleſs, in effecting an orderly retreat. Nine hundred Poitevins, and a far greater number Sept. 22.

of the conventional ſoldiers, loſt their lives in this day's engagement.

Charette and Leſcure were, during this time, proceeding to St. Fulgent. On their way they diſpatched a meſſenger to Royrand at Herbiers, apprizing him of their intention to give battle in the morning, and requeſting him to lie in ambuſh with a part of his diviſion at the four roads, between St. Fulgent and Chantonay, on which latter place the republicans, in caſe of diſcomfiture, muſt neceſſarily direct their retreat.

It was not till ſun-ſet that the royaliſts appeared before the hoſtile camp at St. Fulgent, where they found general Mieſkouſki with a well-diſciplined body of men, and a numerous artillery, prepared to oppoſe them. A cannonade commenced, which was kept up for ſix hours without any deciſive effect. The republicans, however, finding themſelves at laſt nearly enveloped, began to think of providing for their ſafety. Their retreat was, in a few moments, converted into a flight, during which great numbers of them were put to the ſword. Not a man would have eſcaped to tell the ſtory of their diſaſter had Royrand been poſted at the four roads, according to the concerted ſcheme. That chief had indeed waited there for the greater part of the day, but receiving no tidings of the enemy, and conſequently imagining that his friends had deferred their attack, he was now unfortunately gone back to his quarters. He was not informed of the combat till ſome time after it had terminated, when, burning with rage at his diſappointment, he put himſelf at the head of three hundred horſe, with which he marched ſo expeditiouſly that he overtook and partly cut off the rear guard of the vanquiſhed army. The loſs ſuſtained by the republicans in this engagement conſiſted of twenty-two pieces of artillery, all the baggage and ammunition, and nearly the whole of the forces which had been brought into the field.

In the reigning faction the news of ſo many and ſuch ſerious reverſes excited at once aſtoniſhment, indignation, and fear. Inſtead of hearing, as it had fully expected, that the royaliſts were annihilated, it was, for the firſt time, told that they were at leaſt a hundred thouſand ſtrong, and that of this number more than half were well diſciplined and armed. The full extent of the evil being at laſt clearly ſeen, the Committee of Public Safety ſeriouſly applied itſelf to the finding of an effectual remedy.

On the firſt of October Barrere appeared in the tribune with a long and intereſting report. After dwelling at great length upon what had been done, and what had been neglected, and upon the cauſes and conſequences of the paſt events; after truly deſcribing the victories obtained by the troops of his party as trifling, and their defeats as entire and dreadful, he drew a formidable and juſt picture of the dangers to be apprehended from the power of the Poitevin royaliſts. Believing, or affecting to believe, that the loyal inhabitants of Poitou were ſtimulated and ſuccoured by the combined ſovereigns, he declared to the Convention that it was in Vendée that all the ſtrength all the reſources of the ſtate ought to be inſtantly and ſtrenuouſly exerted.

erted. To conquer there was to conquer every where. "Deſtroy "Vendée," he exclaimed, "and "Valenciennes and Condé will no "longer be in the hands of the "Auſtrians. Deſtroy Vendée, and "the Engliſh will think no more "of Dunkirk. Deſtroy Vendée, and "the Rhine will be delivered from "the Pruſſians. Deſtroy Vendée, "and Spain will quickly find itſelf "haraſſed and ſubdued by the na-"tives of the ſouth joined to the "triumphant ſoldiers of Montaigu "and Chollet. Deſtroy Vendée, "and a part of the army of the "interior may reinforce the army "of the north, which has been "ſo often betrayed, ſo often over-"borne. Deſtroy Vendée, Lyons "will ceaſe to reſiſt, Toulon will "riſe againſt the Spaniards and "Engliſh, and the public ſpirit of "Marſeilles will aſcend to the "height of the republican revolu-"tion. Finally, every blow which "you give Vendée will echo in the "rebel cities, in the federaliſt de-"partments, on the invaded fron-"tier. Vendée! Vendée! that "is the political cancer which de-"vours the heart of the republic! "It is there you muſt ſtrike."

The numerous misfortunes which had befallen his party in Vendée he attributed to various cauſes, civil and military, but chiefly to the multiplicity of commiſſioners and of generals, whoſe diſcordant plans and perſonal animoſities were well calculated to ſecond the deſigns of the enemy. He propoſed, therefore, to reduce the number of commiſſioners, and to form the ſeparate armies of Breſt and Rochelle into one army, which ſhould take the title of the army of the weſt, and be commanded by general Lechelle. Strongly condemning the ſyſtem, hitherto purſued, of ſeperate attacks, he urged the neceſſity of concentrating the republican forces, and bearing down upon the foe with irreſiſtible weight. At the cloſe of his report he read the project of a decree, containing three articles, two of which related to the changes he had ſuggeſted; and the third, unequalled in preſumption, declared to the republican ſoldiery that the legiſlature expected them to exterminate the royaliſts by the twentieth of October. Recompenſes were liberally promiſed to them in caſe of ſucceſs. The Convention, without entering into any debate, adopted the ſcheme of the Committee.

While the jacobin tyrants of France were thus ſtraining every nerve to inſure a triumph over the loyal Poitevins, a portion of the leaders of the latter, though an union of ſentiment and operation was obviouſly more than ever required, were nouriſhing feelings and ideas which could not fail of proving highly prejudicial to the royal cauſe. Since the nomination of D'Elbée to the dignity of generaliſſimo, he had been regarded with a jealous eye by ſome chiefs, whoſe elevated opinion of their own worth led them to conceive that they ought to have been inveſted with ſupreme command. Bonchamp, Leſcure, and La Roche Jaquelein, great as were their merits, yielded indeed a ready and generous obedience; but others, more eſpecially D'Autichamp and the Prince de Talmont, followed a mode of conduct leſs wiſe and honourable. In the council of war thoſe who envied D'Elbée often prevailed ſo far as to procure the

alteration of plans which he had skilfully formed. These alterations were generally made for the purpose of affording to each general the opportunity of undertaking separate expeditions at the head of his own troops. By this perverse vanity and ambition the system of D'Elbée, which consisted in acting against the enemy with the whole weight of the royalist population, was incessantly departed from. The most culpable of all was, however, Charette, who assumed the sole authority over the maritime districts, and lent but an unfrequent, trivial, and grudging assistance to his gallant compatriots in Upper Poitou. Even at the present critical moment, when nothing less than the conjoint efforts of all the friends of monarchy was required to oppose a barrier to the reinforced and enraged foe, he resolved to retire with his division into Lower Poitou; nor could either the prayers and arguments of D'Elbée and Bonchamp, or the offer which they made of confiding to him the vanguard of the royal army, induce him to desist from this dangerous resolution. Nothing more could be gained from him than a vague promise of future succour, or of his making a powerful diversion in another quarter. At Herbiers he took leave of his discontented colleagues, and returned to his former cantonments. His conduct was attributed, and perhaps with justice, to a desire of seeing the chiefs of Upper Poitou forced to cross the Loire, and thus leave him in full possession of the royalist territory.

Before the decree passed by the Convention was known to the commissioners in Poitou, the republican armies were again in motion. The party of Saumur, by which the late defeats were probably not much regretted, had held, on the second of October, a council of war, wherein it was determined that the next principal attack should be made by the army of Rossignol, and that the divisions of Luçon and Fontenay should, on the seventh, form a junction at Bressuire with that army.

At the time the council was debating, the Mentz column had already begun its march. It entered Montaigu and Sept. 28. Clisson unopposed, and from the latter place, following the right bank of the Sèvre, proceeded towards Mortagne, leaving Lower Poitou entirely free from invasion. Too weak to cope with this formidable body, Bonchamp urgently requested succour from Lescure and Charette. The former, having to make head against the armies of Saumur and Fontenay, was unable to afford any; the latter called a meeting of his officers to deliberate upon the subject. The result of this deliberation was, that each chief should henceforth confine himself to the defence of his own territory. So steadily did Charette adhere to this impolitic plan, that, although from the direction in which the republicans moved, he might have acted upon their rear, and perhaps brought them to the very verge of ruin, he made not the slightest attempt to avail himself of such a striking advantage.

Disappointed in his hope of support, Bonchamp, nevertheless, did not suffer his courage to be depressed. On the contrary, well knowing of what importance it was even to harass and impede, if he could

could not conquer the foe, he reſolved to try if valour could not once more make up for a deficiency of numbers. With only eight thouſand men, therefore, he boldly attacked the Mentz column at St. Symphorien near Tiffauges. Unequal as was the conteſt the royaliſts maintained it for more than two hours; but their gallant exertions were rendered fruitleſs by the vaſt numerical ſuperiority on the ſide of the enemy. They were finally obliged to retreat, leaving behind them four hundred ſlain, and two pieces of cannon. Oct. 5.

The victors were on the point of following up their ſucceſs, by the capture of Mortagne, when the decree of the legiſlature, recalling their favourite general, Canclaux, arrived in the camp. In the firſt tranſport of their indignation they diſpatched to the Chevalier Deſeſſart, at St. Fulgent, a deputation of eight grenadiers, with an offer of entering into the ſervice of Lewis the ſeventeenth, if the chiefs would engage to ſecure to them their regular pay. The propoſal was communicated to the Superior Council at Chatillon, and gave riſe to a long debate. The policy of acceding to it was ſtrongly urged by Beauvollier, and other officers, who likewiſe moved, that the ſacred veſſels found on the capture of Fontenay le Comte ſhould be converted into money to provide the means of payment. Several miniſters, however, with a pious but unwiſe and fatal prejudice, condemning as ſacrilegious the ſuggeſted mode of obtaining the neceſſary fund, the council, dreading the cry which might be raiſed, did not think it prudent to adopt the meaſure. Other pecuniary reſources were not to be found, and thus an opportunity was loſt of giving a deadly blow to the republican faction.

General Lechelle had by this time reached Nantz, and aſſumed the command. His firſt care was to combine a plan of operations. It was in concluſion ſettled that the diviſions of Saumur, Thouars, and Fontenay ſhould unite, on the ſeventh, at Breſſuire, and advance againſt Chatillon. This army was to be led by Lechelle himſelf; that formed from the garriſon of Mentz was intruſted to Vimeux and Kleber.

The diviſion of Fontenay, under the orders of general Chalbos, was already on its march to Breſſuire. In its progreſs it reduced to aſhes every thing which was capable of being conſumed, and maſſacred ſuch defenceleſs individuals as had not been able to eſcape. At Breſſuire Chalbos was joined by the diviſion of Saumur, which encreaſed his force to more than twenty thouſand men.

For the defence of Chatillon Leſcure and Beaurepaire occupied a poſition on ſome heights, midway between that place and Breſſuire. Here they were fallen upon by Chalbos, and a ſerious engagement took place. Weſtermann, while leading on the center to the attack, was charged by Leſcure with ſuch irreſiſtible force that his battalions were thrown into confuſion. The right and left wings were not more fortunate; the former was ſcarcely able to keep its ground; the latter was completely routed. A ſignal victory would have been gained by the royaliſts, had not the grena- Oct. 9.

diers

diers of the Convention come up in time to save the center division from the fury of its purſuers. With this reinforcement Weſtermann returned the offenſive, and ſucceeded in overthrowing the troops which were oppoſed to him. Chalbos alſo having, by dint of great exertions, turned, on his ſide, the ſcale in favour of the republicans, and Beaurepaire being dangerouſly wounded, the royaliſts were finally driven from the field. They retired to Aubiers, abandoning Chatillon, of which Weſtermann took poſſeſſion the ſame evening. The Superior Council reached Chollet in ſafety, but a part of its archives fell into the hands of the enemy.

As ſoon as Bonchamp was informed of the defeat which his friends had ſuffered, he hurried to their aſſiſtance. On his arrival, perceiving that the enemy, fully employed in pillaging Chatillon, were negligent in guarding their poſts, he bore down upon them ſo impetuouſly and unexpectedly that they were put to flight, almoſt without having made reſiſtance, leaving in his hands their baggage, ammunition, artillery, and plunder. Chatillon was once more entered by the royaliſts.

Among the booty taken was a large quantity of brandy, which the ſoldiers, eſpecially the Germans, eagerly ſeized, and continued drinking till great numbers of them were reduced to a ſtate of inſenſibility. Such was their ſituation when Weſtermann and Chalbos, with ſome regiments which they had been able to rally, returned under cover of the night, deceived the centinels by the cry of "vive le roi," penetrated into the town, and, after making a terrible ſlaughter of thoſe who were intoxicated, drove the remainder from the place. The fugitives were purſued by Weſtermann for a conſiderable diſtance. When he came back he found, to his great chagrin and ſurpriſe, that Chalbos not deeming himſelf ſecure, had made the beſt of his way to Breſſuire. Irritated at this circumſtance he gratified his ſavage and malignant nature by ordering the town to be utterly deſtroyed, an order to which his worthy companions paid a joyful obedience. The deſtruction of the place being accompliſhed he rejoined the republican army.

Thoſe fears which had induced Chalbos to retire were, nevertheleſs, not groundleſs. Recovered from their panic, and reinforced by freſh troops, the royaliſt leaders, ignorant of the enemy's cruelty and retreat, determined to recover Chatillon. On their entrance into the devoted town nothing was to be ſeen, wherever they turned their eyes, but piles of mutilated ſlain, and ſmoking ruins, nothing heard but the crackling of the flames, the cries of the wounded, and the heavy ſound of falling habitations. Struck with horror at the lamentable ſight, they quitted the melancholy ſcene, and, in the hope of vengeance, followed, with all poſſible ſpeed, their barbarous adverſaries. Finding at length, however, that there was no proſpect of coming up with the deſtroyers, the chiefs deſiſted from the chace, and diſmiſſed the ſoldiers to their homes for a day's repoſe.

Every hour now encreaſed the peril to which the loyal Poitevins were

were expoſed. Marching from Luçon a powerful diviſion aſſailed and drove back the weak corps of Royrand, and united at Mortagne with the garriſon of Mentz. To cover Chollet, D'Elbée and Leſcure took poſt on the heights of St. Chriſtophe du Bois, where they were ſoon joined by five thouſand men under Bonchamp, and by the remnant of Royrand's forces. Charette, notwithſtanding he was earneſtly entreated to aid them, by alarming the enemy on the ſide of Tiffauges, ſtill perſiſted in confining his exertions to the narrow circle of the maritime diſtricts.

Left to extricate themſelves by their own valour from the difficulties with which they were encompaſſed, the royaliſt chiefs of Upper Poitou prepared for a deciſive battle. In order to provide againſt the worſt that might happen, Bonchamp propoſed to ſecure a paſſage over the Loire. His ſcheme being approved of, two hundred Bretons were diſpatched to make themſelves maſters of Varades on the oppoſite bank of the river. D'Autichamp was placed at their head. This little band executed its taſk with a gallantry which has never been ſurpaſſed. It croſſed the Loire from St. Florent, in open day, on ſuch boats as it could find, fell without heſitation upon the republicans, who were more than eight hundred ſtrong, and quickly ſcattered them in all directions. Varades in conſequence ſubmitted; and Ancenis, though intrenched and barricaded, was ſhortly after carried by aſſault.

The diviſions of Luçon and of Mentz, which had by this time entered Mortagne, were not ſuffered to linger at that place. Lechelle gave orders for them to advance, and force their way to Chollet. At one in the afternoon the diviſion of Luçon came in ſight of the royaliſt army on the heights of St. Chriſtophe. Each party being animated by too deadly a hatred of the other to remain inactive, the conteſt was ſoon commenced. For a long while the victory hung in ſuſpence, but at laſt inclined to the royal ſide. The republicans, after nine hours fighting, began to give ground. The hopes of the Poitevins were, however, illuſive. Favoured by the darkneſs of the night, the Mentz diviſion took unſeen a circuitous route, and turning the right wing of the royaliſts, which was headed by Leſcure, made a ſudden onſet. Diſconcerted by this unexpected attack the royaliſts were expelled in diſorder from their poſts. Leſcure, nevertheleſs, ever cool and intrepid, exerted himſelf with ſuch energy that he rallied his men, brought them back to the charge, and once more gained the aſcendant. A complete triumph was on the point of being obtained by this valiant chief when he fell, mortally wounded, in the midſt of his troops. The news of his fate was very ſoon ſpread through the whole of the line, and produced univerſal confuſion and diſmay. With Leſcure all appeared to be loſt. Vanquiſhed by his fall, not by the proweſs of their enemies, the royaliſts took flight towards Beaupreau, to which place their commander had already been carried. Chollet was conſequently abandoned. It was not till the next morning that it was entered by the conventionaliſts, who immediately upon their entrance, were joined, from

Oct. 15.

from Chatillon, by the diviſions of Saumur and Fontenay.

In this emergency a council of war was held at Beaupreau by the Poitevin generals. The prince de Talmont ſtrongly recommended the paſſage of the Loire, and declared that the royal army would be ſtrengthened by immenſe reinforcements from all parts of Maine and Britanny, but particularly from his extenſive eſtates of Vitré, Gravelle, and Laval. D'Elbée and Bonchamp, on the contrary, demonſtrated that to croſs the river with a numerous and ſucceſsful enemy hanging cloſe on the rear of the army, was an operation hazardous in the extreme, if not wholly impracticable. It would, they urged, be the wiſeſt courſe to try, without a moment's delay, the fortune of another battle, which might, perhaps, reſtore to the royaliſts their ſuperiority, and enable them to paſs the Loire, ſhould that ſtep be found neceſſary, not in the character of fugitives and ſuppliants, but in that of conquerors. This opinion was adopted by a majority of the council. A reſolution was at the ſame time taken to reinforce, by a corps of Vendéans, the ſmall detachment of Bretons, which, as we have ſeen, had been ſent to ſecure the poſt of Varades.

During the night the royal ſoldiers were buſily engaged in preparing for the final and dreadful ſtruggle. Driven into a corner of the territory which they had ſo long and ſo glorioufly defended, they ſtill preſerved their unconquerable ſpirit, and determined that, whatever might be the reſult of the morrow's combat, the high renown which they had acquired ſhould remain unblemiſhed.

Lechelle, meanwhile, notwithſtanding the flattering aſpect of affairs, was not free from inquietude. The deſperate valour of his antagoniſts might, he feared, yet tear from his brow the laurel he had acquired. To guard againſt a ſurpriſe he drew up his army on ſome heights eaſtward of Chollet, and gave a ſtrict injunction that no man ſhould be allowed to ſtir from his poſt. The diviſion of Mentz was placed at ſome diſtance in the rear as a corps of reſerve.

The precautions taken by Lechelle were not unneceſſary. At noon the royal catholic army was ſeen rapidly advancing in good order. Reſolved that the battle ſhould be won by perſonal bravery alone, the Poitevins marched to the field unencumbered with artillery. Within the diſtance of half-muſquet ſhot they poured in their fire, and then came to cloſe quarters. D'Elbée and Bonchamp attacked the republican center, which was commanded by Chalbos, and, though it reſiſted with great vigour, they drove it from its ground. La Roche Jaquelein and Stoffiet on their part diſplayed equal intrepidity, and with equal effect. Their firſt charge was ſo violent that they broke the left of the enemy's line, and puſhed it as far as the ſuburbs of Chollet. For more than two hours every thing preſaged to the loyal Poitevins a glorious termination of the conteſt. The Mentz diviſion at length arrived, and changed the face of affairs. It paſſed through Chollet, and, falling upon the left flank of the royaliſts, gave time to the routed battalions to recover from the ſtate of confuſion into which they had been thrown.

Oct. 16.

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The engagement now recommenced with greater fury than ever. Diſcarding all manœuvres, the two parties ruſhed together; man was oppoſed to man; and each fought as if on him alone depended the iſſue of the day. The bayonet, the ſabre, and the but end of the muſket, were indiſcriminately uſed. The numerical ſtrength of the conventionaliſts finally gave them a decided ſuperiority. Weakened and diſcouraged by a conflict of ſeveral hours, the royaliſts began to retire, and a flight was ſoon the conſequence of this retrograde movement.

D'Elbée, Bonchamp, and La Roche Jaquelein endeavoured, but in vain, to revive the courage of their ſoldiers. Their voice, hitherto ſo potent, was no longer obeyed. Hoping, perhaps, by their example to reanimate their men, or diſdaining to live after the ruin of their cauſe, theſe gallant chiefs rallied two hundred of the braveſt of the cavalry, together with a few of the infantry, and broke into the midſt of the enemy's ranks. Wherever theſe intrepid Poitevins turned their courſe, they ſpread terror and death around them. Many of the republican officers, and ſtill more of their men, were quickly ſtretched lifeleſs upon the plain. At laſt, however, enveloped and aſſailed by thouſands, this devoted band of heroes was nearly deſtroyed. D'Elbée and Bonchamp, though mortally wounded, continued the fight till they ſunk through loſs of blood. They would have fallen into the hands of the ſavage foe had not Piron, who, with a part of Lyrot de la Patouillere's diviſion arrived at the cloſe of the engagement, bravely expoſed himſelf to imminent danger in order to bring them off. D'Elbée was conveyed to Beaupreau, whence he was ſhortly after removed to the iſland of Noirmoutier. Bonchamp was carried to St. Florent. La Roche Jaquelein, notwithſtanding his dreſs was torn by bullets in various places, happily eſcaped unhurt. On the laſt two fatal days, ten thouſand Poitevins ſealed with their blood their attachment to the cauſe of religion and royalty.

Nothing now remained for the royaliſts, but the hazardous paſſage of the Loire. The train of artillery had already been ſent to St. Florent by the prince de Talmont. Towards St. Florent, therefore, the royaliſts directed their retreat, which was made in great diſorder, till La Roche Jaquelein once more joined them, and by his preſence and perſuaſions reſtored ſome degree of regularity. But not even his efforts had ſo forcible an effect as the ſight of Bonchamp, pierced in the breaſt by ſeveral balls, and borne upon a litter. On ſeeing this beloved chieftain the fugitives gathered about him, and, while they ſhed tears of affection and ſorrow, forgot in lamenting his fate all the bitterneſs of their own.

In Beaupreau, La Roche Jaquelein left a ſtrong rear guard, with inſtructions to make ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance as might arreſt the enemy, till the main body of the royal army had ſecured a paſſage over the Loire. Having perſormed this ſervice the detachment was to evacuate the place, and gain by a rapid march the bank of the river. His inſtructions were but ill obeyed. Wearied and ſpirit-ſunk, a part of the royaliſts gave way to ſlumber, and the remainder kept a careleſs watch

watch. At one in the morning, Oct. 17. Westermann surprized the outposts, which he put to the sword, and then penetrated, undiscovered, into the town, the garrison of which, thus taken unawares, made no attempt to oppose his progress. A few soldiers contrived to escape, the rest paid with their lives the penalty of their negligence. The slaughter was, however, not confined to those who were found in arms. The moment the republicans were masters of the place, a carnage began at which humanity shudders. All who came within reach of these ferocious monsters were pitilessly slain, without regard to sex or years, and when no more objects could be discovered to sacrifice, a general pillage closed the horrible scene.

From all parts of the country crowds of women, children, and aged persons, poured every moment into St. Florent, to save themselves from the remorseless rage of the enemy, whose barbarities they depicted in glowing colours to the soldiers of the Poitevin army. To hear the dreadful narrative, without feeling the profoundest indignation, was not to be expected, nor wished, from human nature. A loud cry of vengeance burst forth from the royal troops. Numberless voices at once demanded that the just, though terrible law of reprisals, should be rigidly enforced against more than eight thousand republican prisoners then confined in the church and prisons of St. Florent.

The cannon were already drawn out and loaded, the wretched victims to the crimes of their own faction had scarcely another instant to live, when their shrieks and lamentations reached the ear of the dying Bonchamp. Exhausted as he was, the benevolence of his heart lent him strength sufficient to call round him his officers, and with a pathetic eloquence, to conjure them to rescue the prisoners. The soldiers were, in consequence, immediately assembled by beat of drum, and informed that it was the wish of their commander, that mercy should be extended to their captives. No sooner did they hear this, than the desire of revenge was extinguished in every bosom. "Pardon! Pardon! Let the "prisoners be saved: Bonchamp "wishes it; Bonchamp orders it," became the general cry; and from that moment not the slightest injury was offered to a single republican.

The number of Poitevins compelled to leave their native land, amounted to nearly eighty thousand of both sexes. To convey this immense multitude over the Loire, together with the artillery, baggage, provisions, and ammunition, only eight or ten small vessels could be found. Yet, such was the rapidity with which the embarkations were carried on, that, by the morning of the nineteenth the whole was safely landed on the Breton side of the river. The brave and generous Bonchamp expired at the hamlet of Le Meillerayе, almost immediately on his reaching the shore, and his remains were deposited in the church of Varades.

Very little loss was sustained by the royal army in its perilous passage. The rear guard was the only part of it which was exposed to any danger. This danger arose from a quarter where it was least

to

to be looked for. While the laſt diviſion of the Poitevins was in the midſt of the river, the priſoners, who had been pardoned on the interceſſion of Bonchamp, ſeized upon ſome cannon which had been left behind, and with a dark and profligate ingratitude which almoſt ſhocks belief, began a heavy fire of grape ſhot upon the loaded veſſels. Such was jacobin virtue.

The republican army, the progreſs of which had been retarded by an inordinate love of murder and pillage, did not reach St. Florent till the royaliſt forces were entirely diſembarked on the right of the Loire. In its rear all was horror and deſolation. "Though "we have not completely exter- "minated the rebels," ſaid the commiſſioners in their report to the convention, "yet a profound "ſolitude now reigns over the "territory which they occupied. "A great diſtance may be travelled "in theſe countries before a man "or a cottage is ſeen; for with "the exception of Chollet, St. "Florent, and ſome little towns, "where the number of the patriots "much exceeded that of the coun- "ter-revolutioniſts, we have left "nothing behind us but aſhes and "mountains of dead bodies."

CHAP. IV.

Exultation of the jacobin party on the ſucceſſes in Vendée. Little apprehenſion excited by the royaliſt irruption into Britanny. Route taken by the republicans. Proceedings of the royaliſts after their paſſage of the Loire. La Roche Jaquelein is elected generaliſſimo. Nomination of other officers. The republicans worſted at Ingrande and other places. March of the royal catholic army. Funeral honours paid to the memory of Bonchamp. Action near Laval between the royal and conventional troops, in which the latter are defeated. Decree of the convention for deſtroying all towns which did not do their utmoſt to repel the royaliſts. Approach of the army of the weſt. The royaliſts reſolve to give battle. The diviſion of Weſtermann is defeated. Lechelle's plan of attack. Battle of Laval, in which the republicans are completely routed, with a dreadful ſlaughter. They are purſued to Chateau Gonthier, and again defeated. Defeat of generals Aulanier and Chambertin, at Craon. Meaſures taken by the committee of public ſafety to ſtop the progreſs of the royaliſts. Number of the royaliſt forces. A paper currency iſſued by the military council. Alarm felt by the friends of the convention in Britanny. Various opinions of the royaliſt chiefs as to their future plan of operations. The Poitevin army leaves Laval, and marches to Mayenne. La Roche Jaquelein propoſes to march to Paris. Reſolution taken to proceed to Alençon. The Prince de Talmont procures its revocation. It is reſolved to turn towards the coaſt. The republicans defeated at Fougères. Death of Leſcure. The royaliſts determine to carry his remains with them. Georges Cadoudal joins the royaliſts. The catholic army enters Dol. The chiefs receive diſpatches from England. They determine to attack Granville. Capture of Avranches and Mont St. Michel. Some of the chiefs adviſe an irruption

irruption into the Cotentin, but their advice is rejected. State of Granville. The republican detachments in the neighbourhood of Granville driven in. Siege of Granville. The royaliſts are foiled, and compelled to retire. The Poitevins inſiſt upon being led back to their own country. Alarming mutiny in the royaliſt army. The chiefs conſent to return to Poitou. The republicans defeated at Pontorſon. Battles of Dol and Antrain, in which the royaliſts obtain a complete victory. Progreſs of the royaliſts homeward. Siege of Angers, in which the royaliſts are unſucceſsful. The royal army turns its back to the Loire, and directs its march to La Flèche. The republicans defeated at La Flèche. The royal army enters Le Mans. Plans of the royaliſts. Succours arrive from England, but are compelled to return. Dreadful battle of Le Mans, in which the royaliſts are routed with great ſlaughter. The remainder of the royal army returns to the banks of the Loire, and endeavours to effect a paſſage. It is unſucceſsful in the attempt, and partly diſbands. Seven thouſand royaliſts march to Savenay, where they are attacked, and nearly the whole of them deſtroyed. Death of ſeveral royaliſt chiefs. Concluſion.

WHEN the news of the repeated defeats which the Poitevins had ſuffered, and of the deſolation which had been ſpread through their country, arrived at Paris, the jacobin faction was thrown into a frenzy of joy. To that tribune whence he had ſo lately expreſſed his chagrin, Barrere now triumphantly haſtened, and announced to the convention that Vendée was no more. The words were ſcarcely uttered before tumultuous acclamations burſt forth from all parts of the aſſembly, and from the ſpectators in the galleries. A deputation from the ſections being at that moment waiting to preſent a petition, it was called to the bar to ſhare in the general rapture, and on its appearance the ſhouts and cries of gladneſs re-commenced, and were continued for ſeveral minutes. The reading of the diſpatches ſent by the generals, was frequently interrupted in the ſame manner. Barrere in concluſion moved and obtained a decree for tranſmitting to all the armies, and to every part of the republic, the welcome intelligence that "the deſtruction of "the banditti of Vendée was at "laſt accompliſhed." It could not indeed be concealed from the convention, that a part of the royaliſt forces had effected the paſſage of the Loire; but all apprehenſions on this ſcore were removed by contemptuouſly repreſenting thoſe who had made their way into Britanny as miſerable fugitives, inconſiderable in numbers, poorly armed, without ammunition or proviſions, and only anxious to eſcape that vengeance, which, however, would ſoon overtake and ſweep them from the ſoil of France.

While the jacobins were thus exulting in all the inſolence of victory, their vanquiſhed and deſpiſed foes were preparing for them freſh toils, and freſh mortifications. When the republican army, after the laſt battle of Chollet, reached the banks of the Loire, it ſaw the whole of the royaliſt forces, in

good order, ſtrongly poſted at Varades, and covered by formidable batteries, on which were mounted more than forty pieces of heavy cannon. This unexpected ſight was not of the moſt gratifying kind. All the chances, all the hardſhips, and all the dangers of war, were again to be encountered by the conventional ſoldiers, who had flattered themſelves that their late ſucceſſes had left them no further trouble than that of hunting down, like wild beaſts, their defenceleſs and fear-ſtricken enemies.

Baffled in their ſchemes the republican generals and commiſſioners held a council of war at Beaupreau, to determine upon their future operations. Lechelle, with more zeal than diſcretion, propoſed to paſs the Loire in the face of the hoſtile army. Two valid reaſons hindered his propoſition from being adopted. Veſſels could not be found in ſufficient numbers to embark the troops, and even had they been at hand there was no room to hope that the Poitevins would not oppoſe to their adverſaries a vigorous, and, in all probability, an effectual reſiſtance. Under theſe circumſtances it was thought more prudent that the republican army ſhould be divided into two columns, one of which ſhould march to Angers, and the other to Nantz, in order to protect thoſe cities from any ſudden attack which might be made by the royaliſt forces. Such an attack had, in truth, been recommended to his colleagues by Leſcure, whoſe mind ſtill preſerved all its wonted energy, though his bodily ſtrength was nearly exhauſted.

At Varades the royaliſt chiefs met in council to elect their leaders, and to arrange their plans. La Roche Jaquelein was, by unanimous conſent, raiſed to the dignity of generaliſſimo, and aſſuredly no one could have been choſen more worthy of filling that elevated ſtation. The rank of major-general of the army was given to Stofflet, that of adjutant-general to the Chevalier Duhoux, and that of general of the cavalry to the Prince de Talmont. The command of the artillery was left in the hands of Bernard de Marigny, who was aſſiſted by Delaville de Beaugé, Greſlier, Ducheſnier, and Perault, all of whom were officers of long ſtanding and approved ſkill. After ſome diſcuſſion as to the quarter towards which the royaliſt arms ſhould be turned, it was reſolved to march to Laval, where it was hoped that ſuccours of every kind would be procured in abundance.

During this time various engagements were fought between the royaliſt and republican detachments. General Tabari was driven from Ingrande, with the loſs of two pieces of cannon, by the Chevaliers Dehargue, Deſeſſarts, and Duhoux. A part of the garriſons of Valenciennes and Condé, which had been ſent into Britanny, under General Aulanier, advanced from Ponts de Cé, to ſupport him, but were defeated, and compelled to retreat with much precipitation. A third effort was made, by Tabari and Aulanier, to ſtop the progreſs of the Poitevins, but they were no leſs unfortunate in this than they had been in the two former.

On the twentieth the whole of the royal catholic army entered Candé, at which place it remained a day, for the purpoſe of paying funeral honours to the memory of

the illuſtrious Bonchamp. Solemn prayers, in which all the Poitevins joined with unaffected fervour, were offered up to heaven for his ſoul's repoſe. This ſacred duty performed, La Roche Jaquelein proceeded the next morning to Chateau-Gonthier, which fell into his hands after a ſmart ſkirmiſh between his advanced guard and the republican garriſon.

Anxious to arrive at Laval, La Roche Jaquelein, on the enſuing evening, put his forces in motion, and the ſame night reached Entrames, where he halted to prepare for action ſhould any reſiſtance be oppoſed to him. His approach excited the greateſt alarm in the jacobins of Laval and its environs. Eſnue Lavallée then on miſſion from the convention, determined, nevertheleſs, to try the fortune of arms. From Laval and the neighbouring diſtricts he collected a corps of ſeveral thouſand men, which he ſent to attack the royaliſt army. The combat began at eight in the morning, and in leſs than an hour the republicans were driven from the field, with the loſs of nearly ſix hundred men. The capture of Laval was a neceſſary conſequence of this victory.

Oct. 23.

The little reſiſtance which had been made to the progreſs of the royaliſts by Laval, Chateau-Gonthier, and other places, was conſidered as a crime of the firſt magnitude by the committee of public ſafety. To ſtimulate other towns to a better performance of their duty, the committee had recourſe to its uſual inſtrument, the influence of terror. In its name Barrere preſented to the convention a decree, which was readily ſanctioned, and by which it was enacted, that if any town dared to receive or ſuccour the royaliſts, or did not employ all the means in its power to repel them, it ſhould be razed to the ground, and the property of its inhabitants confiſcated for the benefit of the ſtate.

The republican columns, which had taken the routes of Nantz and Angers, moved with ſo much expedition that, on the twenty-fourth, their advanced guard came in ſight of Chateau-Gonthier. Their approach being announced to the Poitevin chiefs, a council was held to deliberate upon the meaſures to be purſued. As the royaliſt army had the ſtart by two days of its enemies, ſome were of opinion that it would be moſt adviſable to take advantage of this circumſtance, and puſh forward into Britanny. A majority, however, decided in favour of giving battle, and orders were conſequently given to make ready for the conteſt.

Deceived by a report that the Poitevin forces had quitted Laval, Weſtermann, at the head of the republican vanguard, advanced to La Croix de Bataille, within two miles of that place. A royaliſt corps, which was here lying in ambuſh to receive him, poured in upon his troops a heavy fire, whereupon a briſk ſkirmiſh commenced, and was continued for almoſt two hours. Being nearly ſurrounded, Weſtermann was at laſt obliged to fall back, which he did in good order, though not without ſuffering conſiderable loſs.

Lechelle came up the following morning with the army of the Weſt, which conſiſted of more than twenty-five thouſand men. The laurels promiſed to the exterminator of

the royaliſts having once before ſlipped from his graſp, he determined now to take ſuch ſteps as ſhould prevent his incurring a ſimilar mortification. While with the army of the Weſt he attacked Laval on the ſide of Entrames, a column, under general Aulanier was to advance againſt it in an oppoſite direction from Coſſé, and a ſecond column, led by general Chambertin, was to cut off the retreat of the routed Poitevins, who, thus enveloped, would, he fondly hoped, find it impoſſible to eſcape from total ruin.

The royaliſts, on the other hand, were not uninformed of their enemy's deſigns, and felt convinced that it would be more prudent to advance and give battle, than to wait and receive it. La Roche Jaquelein accordingly drew out his troops, and addreſſed to them a brief yet ſpirited harangue, in which, appealing to every motive that could rouſe the human breaſt, he conjured them to efface by a glorious victory the ſhame of their recent defeats. His animated eloquence excited in the minds of the ſoldiers a general enthuſiaſm, which the preſence of Leſcure, who was carried through the ranks, quickly raiſed to its utmoſt height. All loudly demanded to be led to the combat, and ſwore, with one voice, to vanquiſh or to die.

Early on the twenty-ſixth of October the republican army, now ſwelled to more than thirty thouſand ſtrong, was in motion to attack the loyal Poitevins, who, at the ſame moment, were preſſing forward to meet their antagoniſts. Lechelle commenced his operations in a manner which afforded but an unfavourable omen to his party. Between Entrames and Laval the road croſſes the little river Dinard over a bridge, which is commanded by two neighbouring eminences, where Weſtermann and Danican had taken poſt with a detachment of three hundred men. From theſe eminences the troops were withdrawn by order of Lechelle, in ſpite of the remonſtrances and arguments of Weſtermann, who predicted that a defeat would inevitably be the conſequence of this unmilitary meaſure. The poſition thus deſerted was inſtantly occupied by the royaliſt forces.

Intending to be himſelf the aſſailant, not expecting to come to action before he reached Laval, and confined in his movements by the nature of the ground, Lechelle had diſpoſed his army in a ſingle column. When the head of this column appeared near Entrames, Bernard de Marigny opened upon it ſuch a terrible fire of grape and cartridge ſhot, as put it to a ſudden ſtand. Compoſed of the garriſon of Mentz, and having conſequently its proud ſuperiority of character to preſerve, it fought for a while with great intrepidity, but preſſed both in front and flank by the royaliſts, it was, at length, compelled to fall back. Lechelle in vain endeavoured to bring up his troops, and to range them in ſomething of a regular order. The confuſion into which the advanced guard had by this time been thrown, was rapidly communicated to the reſt of the army, which began to recede, nor could the arrival of a ſtrong diviſion from Chateau-Gonthier induce the republican ſoldiers to ſuſpend their retrograde movement. Hotly purſued and haraſſed for more than

five hours, the republicans were, nevertheleſs, not entirely broken till, at the cloſe of day, a choſen band of fifteen hundred ſharp ſhooters, led by Stoſſlet, penetrated to their rear, and, pouring in at forty paces diſtance a volley of muſketry, made an irreſiſtible charge with the bayonet. It was now no longer a fight but a carnage. The diviſion of Mentz, hemmed in on all ſides, and borne down by the fury of the royaliſts, was unable to maintain the conteſt. A conſiderable part of it was cut to pieces, and very many were drowned in attempting to ſwim over the Mayenne. In every other quarter alſo the aſſailants were equally victorious. Several battalions of the enemy laid down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. The remainder of the routed army threw itſelf into Chateau-Gonthier, where it hoped to arreſt the progreſs of the victors.

Thoſe hopes were almoſt inſtantly cruſhed by the loyal Poitevins, who were not diſpoſed to content themſelves with the ſucceſs which they had already gained, ſplendid as it undoubtedly was. Chateau-Gonthier was forced, notwithſtanding the batteries and entrenchments which had been thrown up to protect it. Some regiments of the Mentz diviſion, which general Beaupuy had rallied, ſtruggled hard to defend the bridge, but were ultimately overthrown, and their commander was dangerouſly wounded. Foiled in this laſt effort the conventional army abandoned itſelf to deſpair, and without once pauſing, continued its ignominious flight till, at twenty miles diſtance from the field of battle, it hid its terror and ſhame within the walls of Angers.

Never had the royaliſts obtained a more complete or more glorious victory than that which now crowned their valour. Baggage, ammunition, artillery, every thing fell into their hands. Ten thouſand of the enemy were ſlain outright, and great numbers made captive. It can ſcarcely be believed, yet ſuch is the fact, that this ſignal triumph was atchieved by no more than eight thouſand men; for ſo great was the ardour of the Poitevins, that only the van of the royal catholic army was engaged, the main body not being able to come up in time to bear a part in the conteſt.

Hearing of Lechelle's misfortune general Aulanier halted with his corps at Craon, where he was joined by the corps of general Chambertin. The force of the two generals was between five and ſix thouſand men. Reſolving to diſlodge them from their poſition, La Roche Jaquelein, at the cloſe of the battle of Laval, ſent off a detachment for that purpoſe. Chambertin and Aulanier were of opinion that the town was untenable, and that it would be prudent to retreat; but Eſnue Lavallée and Meaulle his colleague, in the hope of covering Rennes, compelled them to remain. Experience was not ſlow in proving that the generals were better judges than the conventional deputies. Craon was furiouſly attacked by the royaliſt diviſion, the garriſon was driven out with loſs, and found no ſmall difficulty in effecting its retreat. At the moment of his quitting the town Lavallée cauſed his priſoners to be ſhot; an act of cruelty which

was justly and amply revenged upon the soldiers of the republican rear guard, to whom no quarter was allowed by their enraged conquerors.

In announcing to the convention the defeat at Laval, Barrere could not conceal that it was of great magnitude, yet, as if ashamed to retract what he had formerly affirmed, he affected to consider the royalists as a despicable and fugitive horde, flying from punishment, and capable of inspiring but little apprehension. The splenetic tone of his report, and the gloomy threats of vengeance which he threw out against all who had failed in their duty, sufficiently proved how much his tongue belied, on this occasion, the feelings of his heart. The conduct of the committee of public safety afforded still more unequivocal evidence of the falsehood of his assertions. That committee gave directions for the organization and march of a considerable force which had been raised in the departments of Sarte and Orne, ordered generals Sepher and Rossignol to take such positions as would prevent the communication of the royalists with the sea coast, dispatched arms, ammunition, and troops to the menaced quarter, declared Granville and Cherbourg in a state of siege, and, to crown the whole, drew a division of ten thousand men from the army of the North, which, though recently victorious, stood at this period in need of all its strength to contend with the legions of the combined powers.

At Laval La Roche Jaquelein passed his army in review, and found it to consist of thirty thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. It was distributed in five grand divisions, the leaders of which were D'Autichamp, the younger Fleuriot de la Fleuriaye, Desessarts, de Rostaing, and Piron. A small body of troops from Lower Vendée was under the command of Designy and Lyrot de la Patouilliere. A crowd of other chiefs, all eminent for their loyalty and valour, held a distinguished place in the royal army.

The royalists, having no enemy to fear, determined to remain for some days at Laval, to recover from their fatigues, receive the Breton succours, and prepare for their future operations. To supply the want of money the military council issued notes to the amount of nine hundred thousand livres, which notes bore an interest of four and a half per cent. and were made payable at the treasury on the restoration of the lawful sovereign. The providing of the necessary funds, was not the only reason which prompted the creation of a paper currency. It was hoped that those who held these notes would, from pecuniary considerations, if from no other motive, be disposed to favour, by every means in their power, the cause of monarchy.

The reinforcements from Maine and Britanny, were not so great as the Prince de Talmont had led the royalist chiefs to expect. They were, nevertheless, not inconsiderable in number. They amounted to several thousand men, and every day made an addition to their strength. The roads were nightly covered with royalists, who, from caves which they had dug underground, from rocks, and from woods, now joyfully started forth

to join the ſtandard of their victorious friends.

The republicans, on their ſide, were thrown into the deepeſt conſternation. Their altered behaviour to thoſe who had groaned beneath their tyranny, furniſhed an unerring criterion by which to form a judgment of the extent of their fears. No longer haughty and oppreſſive, they condeſcended to apologize for their paſt conduct, and even to ſue for protection. The terror which they felt was certainly authorized by the gloominess of their proſpects. The army of the Weſt was entirely broken to pieces; and the ſcattered and feeble diviſions ſtationed in various quarters, knowing that reſiſtance would be in vain, were preparing to abandon their poſts, and make their retreat into Lower Britanny. Rennes, which contained a foundery, an arſenal, and vaſt magazines, expected from hour to hour that the enemy would appear at its gates, and was fully convinced that it could only enſure its ſafety by an immediate ſubmiſſion.

Among the royaliſt chiefs a wide difference of opinion prevailed with reſpect to the quarter towards which it would be moſt advantageous to direct their courſe. A council being held to decide upon this ſubject, Beauvollier ſtrenuouſly recommended the ſeizing of this opportunity to return to Poitou. His opinion was ſupported by La Roche Jaquelein, Leſcure, and a few others. The Prince de Talmont and his party propoſed, on the contrary, to continue their march through the province of Maine. A third plan was ſuggeſted in a diſpatch from Count Joſeph de Puiſaye, who, after the overthrow of the federaliſts, had ſought an aſylum in Britanny, where he was now actively exerting himſelf to lay the ground-work of a general riſing againſt the tyrants of France. Having been informed that the royal army intended to invade Normandy, he wrote, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to diſſuade the chiefs from that purpoſe, which he declared could not fail to be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences. By marching on to Rennes he aſſured them that all Upper Britanny would, in leſs than fifteen days, become an eaſy conqueſt, from which, independently of its laying open to them eighty leagues of coaſt for the reception of foreign ſuccours, they might derive a reinforcement of loyal Bretons, to the extent of fifty thouſand men. The advice given by Puiſaye was not without its partizans, but the Prince de Talmont and his friends at length triumphed, and it was reſolved that the royal army ſhould proceed to Mayenne.

After a halt of eight days the Poitevin troops quitted Laval, where they had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a moderation no leſs great and praiſe-worthy than their valour and conſtant allegiance. The ſtricteſt diſcipline had been obſerved, nothing had been required but ſubſiſtence, and neither inſult nor injury had been ſuffered by any inhabitant of the place, whatever might be his religious or political creed. Reaſoning analogically from the uniform conduct of the faction to which he belonged, Barrere could only attribute this clemency to a ſecret underſtanding between the victors and the vanquiſhed, and he accordingly, when he made his

report

report to the convention, ſtigmatized, in oblique but intelligible language, the citizens of Laval as traitors to the republican government.

The royal catholic army entered Mayenne, without oppoſition, on the firſt of November. Here freſh diſputes aroſe as to the ſteps which ought to be taken. A council was again aſſembled, in which the ſubject was long and warmly debated. With that daring ſpirit of enterprize which marked his character, La Roche Jaquelein, it is ſaid, propoſed to march rapidly againſt the capital, and in caſe of a repulſe to haſten onward to the frontier, and attack in the rear the army of the North, while the forces of the combined powers attacked it in front.

This plan appeared ſo full of temerity that no one was found to ſecond it. Yet, hardy as it was, its ſucceſs was by no means improbable. Under ſome circumſtances apparent raſhneſs is real prudence. From Paris the royal army was now diſtant but a hundred and thirty-ſix miles, a ſpace not one-third greater than it had already paſſed over ſince the battle of Chollet. It had no great river to croſs on its way, nor did there, at this moment, exiſt any body of troops ſufficiently numerous to arreſt its progreſs. Its approach to the metropolis would have deprived that city of the ſupplies of grain from Eure and Loire, and the neighbouring fertile departments, and would thus have occaſioned a ſcarcity, if not abſolutely a famine, which, with the courage inſpired in the well-diſpoſed citizens by the preſence of their friends, might have proved fatal to the jacobin party.

Though La Roche Jaquelein's ſcheme was not approved of, yet, by the reſolve of the council to proceed to Alençon, thirty-two miles on the road to Paris, an opening was left for its ultimate adoption. The deſign of the march to Alençon was to liberate a conſiderable number of royaliſt priſoners who were confined in that town. Some hopes were alſo felt that ſuccours would be obtained from the ſurrounding country.

When the chiefs re-aſſembled on the next morning the Prince de Talmont and his ſupporters oppoſed with great warmth the plan which had been ſanctioned on the preceding night, and dwelt with ſo much effect on the advantages to be expected from a movement to the coaſt, that they at laſt won over a majority to their ſide. It was, in conſequence, agreed that the Poitevin forces ſhould bend their courſe towards St. Malo, and open a communication with England, through the medium of Jerſey.

Immediately upon the council breaking up the royaliſt army was put in motion. It followed the route to Dol by Ernée and Fougères, between which latter places four thouſand republicans were poſted, to cover the province of Britanny. The advanced guard of this corps was ſtationed at Ernée, and conſiſted of the twenty-ninth regiment of infantry. By an able manœuvre, which conſiſted in concealing his flank columns, and feigning a retreat with his centre, La Roche Jaquelein ſucceeded in drawing this regiment from its poſt, enveloping it, and putting more than two-thirds of it to the ſword.

The main body of the republicans occupied, in front of Fougères, a poſition which it had ſtrengthened by an abbatis and batteries. Here it was attacked by La Roche Jaquelein, and after a ſhort engagement, was totally defeated. The greateſt part of it was deſtroyed; the few who ſurvived made their eſcape to Rennes, where they ſpread ſuch conſternation that orders were iſſued by Roſſignol to call in, for the defence of the place, all the detachments which he had ſent to various quarters.

The death of Leſcure, which was made known to the Poitevins on their arrival at Fougères, extinguiſhed all the joy which had been inſpired by their late victory. That chief, whoſe manners were as amiable as his heart was brave, expired on the road between Ernée and Fougères. The ſtrong affection manifeſted towards him by his countrymen during his life, was extended to his remains, which they determined to carry with them wherever they might go, and to place at the foot of the royal ſtandard.

At Fougères the Poitevin army was reinforced by ſeveral parties of loyal Bretons. It was at this place that Georges Cadoudal, on whoſe exploits we ſhall hereafter have ample occaſion to dwell, firſt appeared among the defenders of the throne. He brought with him a troop of a hundred and fifty natives of Morbihan; at the head of which he had courageouſly opened himſelf a paſſage through a long tract of country occupied by republican detachments.

After a pauſe of four days at Fougères the royal catholic army moved in two columns towards the coaſt. It entered Dol on the ninth of November, and was joined on the ſame day by Freſlon and Raoul St. Hilaire, who had juſt arrived with diſpatches from the Britiſh cabinet. In theſe diſpatches a ſpeedy and powerful ſuccour was promiſed, but, in order to enſure the ſafety of the diſembarkation, the royaliſts were required to make themſelves maſters of St. Malo, or of Granville, ſhould it be found impracticable to reduce the former place.

A council was immediately called, in which the diſpatches were communicated to the chiefs. At the cloſe of a mature deliberation it was decided that, St. Malo being in too good a ſtate of defence to afford any hope of its capture, an attempt ſhould be made to get poſſeſſion of Granville. The neceſſary ſignals were alſo agreed upon, and a liſt was drawn up of thoſe articles the want of which was moſt ſenſibly felt by the catholic army. Early the next morning Freſlon and St. Hilaire ſet off for Jerſey, leaving with their friends the pleaſing aſſurance that, in a very few days, the Britiſh aid would arrive, and enable them to eſtabliſh, on a firm baſis, the cheriſhed and ſacred cauſe of religion and the throne.

Having reſted two days at Dol, the royal army put itſelf in motion to attack Granville. On its march it left in Pontorſon a detachment under Lyrot de la Patouilliere; and, in ſpite of abbatis and various other obſtacles with which the road was in many places encumbered, puſhed rapidly forward to Avranches, which was garriſoned by a large body of newly-raiſed troops. Theſe raw ſoldiers, not feeling any

confidence

confidence either in their own ſtrength or in that of the place, fell back to Granville, nor could a reinforcement, which they met coming to their aſſiſtance, inſpire them with ſufficient courage to face the enemy. Avranches in conſequence opened its gates to the royaliſts, and at the ſame time Mont St. Michel fell into the hands of a picket of their cavalry.

Previouſly to their leaving Avranches, where they remained only four-and-twenty hours, the chiefs aſſembled to complete the proper arrangements for their intended enterprize. Many were of opinion that an attempt upon Granville was a dangerous and doubtful meaſure. They urged the ſtrength of the place, the diſlike of the Poitevins to ſieges, and the diſcouragement to which a repulſe would inevitably give birth. It would, they declared be more adviſable to penetrate by the way of Villedieu, into the peninſula of the Cotentin, diſperſe the feeble diviſions of the enemy, and maintain themſelves near the coaſt, which might be eaſily done, till the arrival of the Britiſh ſuccours. A majority, however, decided in favour of the original plan, aſſigning as their reaſons the ſtrong probability of ſucceſs in the purpoſed aſſault, and the hazardous ſituation in which the army would ſtand ſhould it be ſhut up in the peninſula by the republican forces.

Granville, nevertheleſs, was not ſo incapable of making a ſtout reſiſtance as the royaliſt leaders had been induced to imagine. Surrounded by walls, and ſeated upon a rocky promontory, the town itſelf is of difficult acceſs, and it had been lately ſtrengthened by batteries and other means of defence. The garriſon alſo was numerous. Lecarpentier, a conventional deputy of an active, ardent, and ſanguinary character, had ſtrained every nerve to avert the impending danger. On the firſt news that the royaliſts were bending their courſe to this quarter, he had called a conſiderable reinforcement to his aid from Cherbourg and La Hougue, and had ordered the raiſing of an extraordinary levy of young men between the ages of twenty-five and thirty. He had likewiſe been ſubſequently joined by a part of the defeated troops from Fougères, and by the whole of thoſe which had been expelled from Avranches.

The bulk of the royal catholic army now marched towards Granville, leaving behind, under Fleuriot, Piron, and Roſtaing, a corps of twelve thouſand men, to cover the ſiege; a ſervice which the covering party effectually performed by advancing to Villedieu, and holding in check the diviſion of general Beaufort. The Poitevins appeared before Granville on the fourteenth of November, having driven in, with little difficulty, ſeveral outpoſts which the garriſon had eſtabliſhed to defend the avenues of the place.

To a ſummons demanding the ſurrender of the town, and promiſing that the ſoldiers and citizens ſhould be treated with the utmoſt kindneſs, the garriſon replied only by a briſk diſcharge of muſketry and cannon. The royaliſts, therefore, had recourſe to arms. A battery to bombard the town was raiſed on the ruins of fort Gauthier, the cavalry occupied the heights

heights of the ſuburb of St. Nicholas, and a body of infantry entered the ſuburb itſelf, whence, taking poſt in the houſes, it ſhowered down from the roofs and windows a continued and murderous fire upon thoſe who ſerved the republican artillery.

Covered in ſome meaſure by this ſuburb, which lies immediately under the walls, a party, led by Foreſtier, mounted boldly to the aſſault. The royaliſts had already ſcaled the ramparts when the cry of "treaſon," uttered by a deſerter, put a ſtop to their further progreſs. A Poitevin officer inſtantly diſpatched the treacherous deſerter; but it was too late to repair the miſchief which had been done. The ſtorming party, which was compoſed of but an inconſiderable number of men, had taken the alarm, and every effort to reſtore its courage was exerted without effect. It gave way, and the beſieged regained poſſeſſion of the ground which they had loſt. Foreſtier himſelf was dangerouſly hurt by his own ſoldiers, who, in their precipitate retreat, puſhed him headlong into the moat, where he lay for ſome time in a ſtate of inſenſibility.

Finding that the ſuburbs, in which the royaliſts had now entrenched themſelves, might, by facilitating a nocturnal aſſault, endanger the ſafety of the town, Lecarpentier gave orders to deſtroy them. Bombs and red hot ſhot not producing the deſired effect, a detachment of republicans ſallied from the place with torches, and ſucceeded in ſpreading the conflagration ſo rapidly that the Poitevins were under the neceſſity of retiring from their ſheltered poſition. Granville itſelf was in imminent hazard of ſharing the ſame fate as its ſuburbs. A violent ſouth-eaſt wind, which ſuddenly aroſe, drove the flames and burning materials into the town with ſuch impetuoſity, that the garriſon almoſt deſpaired of being able to remain in the place. The danger was, however, at length averted by the indefatigable exertions of the troops and inhabitants, who, ſhut out from eſcape by the ſea and the enemy, were ſtimulated to act on this occaſion with more vigour than they would otherwiſe have done.

Quite diſcouraged by the trifling impreſſion which they had made upon the town, the Poitevins could not be perſuaded by their chiefs to try a ſecond aſſault. But what the chiefs fruitleſsly attempted was accompliſhed by the prieſts, who, with the crucifix in hand, exhorted the ſoldiers, in the name of religion and royalty, not to ſhrink from the conteſt. Animated by the language of their paſtors, the royaliſts, preceded by their officers, once more advanced to the ſtorm in the moſt courageous manner. The ſtruggle was maintained for ſome time with great obſtinacy on both ſides, but it finally ended to the diſadvantage of the beſiegers, who were repulſed in every quarter.

This laſt attempt having failed, no probability of ſucceſs remained. Neither prayers nor expoſtulations could prevail on the Poitevins to make a third effort. After a ſiege of twenty-eight hours, La Roche Jaquelein was compelled, therefore, to withdraw his troops, and retire to Avranches.

In this unfortunate attack upon Granville, the loſs ſuſtained by the royal

royal army, fell not far short of fifteen hundred men. Lemaignan, a member of the superior council, who, at the age of seventy, possessed all the fire and daring intrepidity of youth, was the only officer slain. Several were, however, severely wounded, particularly Roger Monlinier, Guien de Montreuil, Perault, and the chevaliers Villeneuve, Beauvollier, and Royrand.

The little apparent advantage resulting from their daily combats, the sufferings which they experienced from incessant toil, and from the badness and scantiness of their subsistence, the disappointment which they felt in not being joined by a powerful Breton reinforcement, and, more than all these, the longing desire of revisiting the province which gave them birth, had already soured and irritated the minds of the Poitevin troops. By the defeat at Granville, which seemed to render hopeless all further exertions in this quarter, their discontent was raised to the highest pitch. From complaints and murmurs they broke forth into reproaches and invectives, mingled with imperious demands to be led, at whatever hazard, to their native homes. It was in vain that their chiefs reasoned with them on the folly of quitting the coast at the very moment when those succours were approaching, which would enable them to bring their honourable labours to a glorious conclusion. Intreaty and argument had no other effect than that of inflaming still more the passions of the crowd. All insisted upon returning to Poitou, and considerable numbers, at the instigation of some priests, actually abandoned their leaders, and began their march.

In this state of tumult and uproar, a circumstance occurred which raised almost to madness the indignation of the royalists. A loud cry was heard of "flight, desertion, treason;" and news was quickly spread that the Prince de Talmont, D'Autichamp, Beauvollier, Solerac, and Bernier, had stolen away from their countrymen, had reached the shore, and, regardless of honour and loyalty, were on the point of embarking for England. Believing themselves to be betrayed, the rage of the Poitevins was unbounded. Respect and subordination were forgotten; and every mouth was filled with threats and imprecations against the fugitives, but especially against the Prince de Talmont, who, from his having been the principal mover of the expedition into Britanny, was looked upon by the soldiers as the cause of all their hardships, vexations, and disasters.

Putting himself at the head of a small body of cavalry, Stofflet hastened to the sea-side, where finding the Prince ready to depart, he seized, disarmed, and led him prisoner to the camp, together with his companions. At the sight of Talmont, the resentment manifested by the royalists was so great, that he would most probably have fallen a victim to it, had not Stofflet taken effectual measures to provide for his safety. The humiliating situation in which he was placed, soon, however, softened down the animosity to which his supposed criminal conduct had given rise. Having at length obtained a hearing, he solemnly assured the multi-

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tude that the ſole intention of him and his friends had been to paſs over to Jerſey, for the purpoſe of accelerating the arrival of the Britiſh ſuccour, and that he would preſerve, till his lateſt breath, an unſhaken fidelity to the royal cauſe. The fury of the ſoldiers being calmed by theſe aſſurances, the truth of which there is no reaſon to doubt, La Roche Jaquelein, who had juſt brought back the diviſion miſled by its prieſts, addreſſed to the army an animated harangue on the dangerous conſequences of diſunion, and a contempt of diſcipline, and declared, in concluſion, that ſhould any ſigns of diſobedience again appear he would that inſtant reſign the command. By his preſence and his eloquence, order was completely reſtored, the Poitevins vying with each other in expreſſing ſentiments of affection for their general, and of ſorrow for their late tumultuous and indecent behaviour.

The chiefs, nevertheleſs, were fully convinced that it would be impoſſible to remain any longer near the coaſt, without running the riſk of a ſecond mutiny, and they reſolved, therefore, to gratify the feelings of their troops by returning to Poitou. In purſuance of this reſolution all the detachments were called in, and the royaliſt army commenced its march to Pontorſon, where the republican general Tribout had recently arrived from Dinan, with a corps of conſiderable ſtrength. Tribout was immediately attacked by the advanced guard of the Poitevins, under Bonein, and, after an action which laſted five hours, and was fought at the point of the bayonet, he was compelled, with the ſcanty remnant of his forces, to abandon the place in diſorder, leaving behind him his colours, baggage, and cannon. The road into Britanny being opened, the victors puſhed forward, and the next day took unreſiſted poſſeſſion of the town of Dol.

A junction was, in the mean time, effected at Antrain, by the columns of Boucret, Chambertin, Muller, Kleber, and Marceau. The army thus formed commenced its march towards Avranches, in the hope of exterminating the royaliſts, who were believed to be ſtill in that place or its vicinity; and whoſe ſpirits it was thought would be completely depreſſed by the late failure at Granville. The hopes of the conventionaliſts were indeed ſomewhat damped by the arrival of the fugitives from Tribout's diviſion. It now appeared that the victory which had been anticipated would not be ſo cheaply won, as the ſanguine anticipators had taught themſelves to expect.

Finding that the royaliſts had taken the route of Dol, the republican army turned its courſe to that quarter, and encamped between Pontorſon and Antrain. La Roche Jaquelein on his ſide, drew up his troops, informed them that a battle of the moſt deciſive kind muſt inevitably be fought, and conjured them to act with their wonted valour.

From Pontorſon and Antrain, two roads, running in an angular direction, and at no great diſtance, unite near the town of Dol. Along and between theſe roads the republican army advanced in columns, which, from their proxi-

mity,

nity, could lend a mutual assistance. Its chief strength, however, was on the side of Antrain.

Shortly after midnight, Westermann who commanded the repub-
Nov. 21. lican advanced guard on the side of Pontorson, commenced the combat, by an attack upon six thousand Vendéans, under the orders of Beauvollier, Fleuriot, Rostaing, and Bernard de Marigny. He was quickly seconded by the corps of Muller, but the royalists behaved with such bravery that both generals were repulsed, and would have been forced to fly had not Marceau very opportunely brought his division to their support. The rest of the republican divisions coming up in succession, the action soon became general along the line.

The contest had continued for eight hours, without any advantage being obtained by either party, when it was suspended by a thick darkness which suddenly arose, and rendered the two armies invisible to each other. Terrified by this circumstance, which was looked upon as a prodigy, the royalist rear guard deserted the main body, and retired in disorder to Dol. As soon as the gloom cleared away, the conventionalists made a vigorous push on the side of Antrain, drove Stofflet from a wood, where he was posted with two pieces of cannon, and obliged him to retreat precipitately to Dol, where his routed troops, by declaring that all was lost, spread confusion and dismay. To the voice of the chiefs, who endeavoured to rally them, the fugitives turned a deaf ear, but they were at last called back to their standards by the religious zeal of the priests, the reproaches of the females, and the pathetic eloquence of the widows of those venerated leaders, Bonchamp and Lescure.

La Roche Jaquelein, meanwhile, had overthrown two republican divisions which were opposed to him on the side of Pontorson. Being informed that his right was in danger he conducted, unperceived by the enemy, a part of his left through bye-roads, to extricate it; and on his arrival found that the Prince de Talmont and Desessarts alone remained firm at the head of eight hundred gallant men, with whom they kept at bay the superior numbers which assailed them. The whole of the right, re-inspired by the priests and females, having now come back to its duty, La Roche Jaquelein ordered a charge on the front and flanks of the republicans. It was executed with equal bravery and good fortune. Talmont in particular distinguished himself by his daring courage. The republicans were driven from the field to their entrenchments near Antrain, with a very heavy loss in killed and wounded. Darkness at length putting an end to the engagement the royalists re-entered Dol, where they offered up a solemn thanksgiving for the victory which they had gained. On both sides the night was passed under arms.

The position of Antrain, covered by a river, lines, and batteries, would, the conventionalists flattered themselves, enable them effectually to make head against the Poitevins, should the latter think proper to attack them. It was doubted indeed whether any attempt would be tried to master so formidable a post, but all doubt upon

upon this ſubject was in a few hours done away. About noon La Roche Jaquelein appeared with his army, and fell upon Weſtermann who commanded the advanced guard, which was eſtabliſhed in front of the lines. The diviſion of Weſtermann was ſpeedily broken, and puſhed back upon the main body, as was likewiſe that of Chambertin, which ſtrove to afford it ſuccour. Other diviſions, which Roſſignol unwiſely ſent one by one to reinforce their beaten friends, were in ſucceſſion overpowered by the impetuoſity of the loyal Poitevins. The lines, nevertheleſs, were yet unaſſailed, and might have ſtopped the progreſs of the victors, had not the ſpirit neceſſary for their defence been extinguiſhed in the boſoms of the vanquiſhed. Some battalions took flight, and the reſt, regardleſs of the threats and entreaties of Roſſignol, in a few minutes imitated their example. The royaliſts followed ſo cloſe at the heels of the runaways, that they entered Antrain along with them, and put to the ſword all who dared to make the ſlighteſt reſiſtance. The republican army evacuated the town in the moſt ſhameful haſte, and fled to Rennes, with the loſs of its baggage, and of ſeveral thouſand men in killed and wounded. Rennes even did not appear a place of ſafety to Roſſignol, who, continued his flight to Chateau Briant, leaving the capital of Britanny entirely without the means of oppoſing the royaliſt forces, had they bent their march to that quarter.

Nov. 22.

At Antrain the chiefs had a ſerious conſultation upon the meaſures to be purſued. Many wiſhed to turn again toward the coaſt, and await the promiſed aid; but ſo decidedly hoſtile were the Poitevins to the adoption of this plan, that their leaders were under the neceſſity of complying with the general clamour for a return to Poitou. The royal army accordingly proceeded to Fougéres, where it reſted two days, and then moved onward to Ernée. Foreſeeing the numerous difficulties and perils which muſt be encountered, La Roche Jaquelein cauſed the body of Leſcure to be interred at Ernée, with all the honours due to the memory of ſo illuſtrious a chieftain. From Ernée the royal catholic army marched by Mayenne and Laval to La Flèche, at which latter place it pauſed for four days to recover from the fatigues which it had lately undergone.

On what ſide it would be moſt practicable to open an entrance into Poitou, became now the ſubject of debate. Some propoſed to make an attempt upon Saumur, but a majority of the council determined to attack Angers, which contained large magazines of clothing, proviſions, and military ſtores, and where they were aſſured of finding a ſufficient number of veſſels to effect the paſſage of the troops over the Loire. The facility with which Angers, on a former occaſion, had fallen into their hands, led them to believe that its reduction at the preſent moment might be accompliſhed with little trouble.

For a while the inhabitants of Angers remained in a ſtate of uncertainty whether the arms of the Poitevins would be turned againſt their city or againſt Saumur. So perſuaded indeed were the majority

fity that the latter place would be the object of attack, that the houſes in the ſuburbs of Angers were again occupied by thoſe who had abandoned them. All uncertainty was ſoon done away by the appearance of the royaliſt army, of which the march was ſo rapid that many Angevins, not having time to reach the town, were obliged to ſeek ſhelter at Ponts de Cé, and other places.

Angers, though not ſtrong, was, nevertheleſs, in a very tenable ſtate. Its fortifications had been repaired, and ſeveral new batteries, well provided with artillery, had been raiſed in the moſt vulnerable parts. The garriſon, conſiſting of the national guard, a portion of Boucret's diviſion, and the column of general Danican, was more than four thouſand in number. The command was entruſted to Danican, to whom the deputy Eſnue Lavallée pointed out the guillotine, at the ſame time emphatically aſſuring him that the commiſſion of the minuteſt fault in the defence would be puniſhed with the forfeiture of life.

At eleven in the morning the royaliſt army advanced to the conteſt. It entered the ſuburbs without difficulty, and opened upon the garriſon a heavy fire, which was kept up through the whole of the day. The republicans ſuffered ſeverely from the numerous ſharp-ſhooters, poſted in the houſes of the ſuburbs which overlooked the place; but this was productive of no ſerious advantage to the beſiegers, who would fain have provoked the garriſon to ſally forth and decide in the field the fate of the town. The defenders of Angers were, however, too conſcious of their own weakneſs to forego the ſhelter of their walls.

Dec 3.

Baffled in their firſt attempt the royaliſt chiefs aſſembled at the convent of St. Serge to deliberate. One party propoſed a general aſſault; the other, anxious to get back without delay to Poitou, adviſed to raiſe the ſiege, and ſend a detachment to make a falſe attack upon the Ponts de Cé, for the purpoſe of occupying the enemy's attention while the royal army effected at Ingrande the paſſage of the Loire. This latter plan, which was not without cogent arguments to recommend it, was rejected by a plurality of voices, and orders were in conſequence iſſued to the troops to prepare for an aſſault.

Three thouſand Vendéans were deſigned to fill up with faſcines the ditch before Ayrault gate, and by this means facilitate the ſcaling of the walls, but the fire from ſix pieces of cannon, and a large body of infantry, prevented their carrying this plan into execution. Some houſes, however, having been left ſtanding near St. Michael's gate, Herbault and Piron took poſt in them during the night, with a large detachment, filled up a double moat, and began a mine to force open the gate. The Poitevins now advanced to the aſſault with much ſpirit, and were received with equal valour. Finding that their artillery was inſufficient to check the progreſs of the enemy, the beſieged hurled from the walls ſuch a quantity of inflammable materials, that they ſucceeded in burning the houſes which covered the movements of the beſiegers. Boiſpreau and Couty being killed, and Deſeſſarts dangerouſly wounded, the Poitevins gave way to deſpondency,

dency, and, though every exertion was made to encourage them, they obſtinately refuſed to continue the aſſault. Their leaders therefore had no other alternative than to raiſe the ſiege, which was done without any interruption from the garriſon. The royaliſts left on the field three hundred ſlain, and three pieces of diſmounted cannon.

Receding from the Loire, on the banks of which they had ſo long wiſhed to arrive, the royal army once more marched into the interior. It took the route of Baugé, and entered that place on the fifth of December, after ſeveral ſmart encounters between the rear and the diviſion of Weſtermann, in all of which the latter was defeated. The Poitevins had to lament the loſs of the brave Royrand, who, from the wounds he had received at Granville, being unable to keep up with his companions in arms, was overtaken and maſſacred in his carriage by the enemy. Two days were ſpent at Baugé in collecting for the troops a ſcanty ſupply of proviſions from the ſurrounding country. The taſk of procuring ſubſiſtence was rendered extremely difficult by the precaution of the republicans, who had ſent off to Saumur every article which they could find means to remove.

The royal army retired from Baugé early in the morning, and directed its courſe to La Fléche. A ſtrong rear guard with artillery covered its retreat. It was followed by Weſtermann, who attacked the covering party, and having firſt thrown the cavalry into diſorder, next turned the right of the infantry which he put to the rout, and purſued to the bridge of La Fléche, where he found the whole of the royal forces drawn up in order of battle.

Dec. 7.

The poſition of the royal army was truly critical. In front was the river Loir, on the other ſide of which was the town of La Fléche, garriſoned by four thouſand men; in the rear was the republican army. The bridge of La Fléche was broken, and no poſſibility appeared of reaching the oppoſite bank of the river. A defeat, under ſuch circumſtances, would have brought down upon the Poitevins inevitable ruin. From this diſagreeable ſituation the royal army was extricated by the courage and conduct of La Roche Jaquelein. Leaving the bulk of his forces to make head againſt the diviſions of Weſtermann and Le Gros, he aſcended the river with only fifteen hundred men, and at length found a ford, at which, though it was dangerous and nearly impracticable, he contrived to get over with his troops. The garriſon of La Fléche, though thrice the number of the aſſailants, was inſtantly attacked, and almoſt as inſtantly routed. General Chalbos, the vanquiſhed general, fell back in diſorder to Le Mans, with the remains of his corps. The firſt care of La Roche Jaquelein was to re-eſtabliſh the bridge, which being expeditiouſly done, the whole of the royal army entered the town, where it raiſed batteries, and took ſuch other meaſures as were needful to provide for its ſafety.

Worn down by famine, fatigue, and ſtill more by diſeaſe, which ſpread its ravages among them in a terrible manner, the royaliſts were compelled to remain two days

lays at La Flèche to recruit their exhausted strength. Being in that time somewhat recovered they evacuated the town, and pursued their march to Le Mans, closely tracked by Westermann, who pitilessly massacred, to the amount of several hundreds, all those whom lassitude or despair of their cause had induced to linger behind. The great mass of the royal army did not, however, belie its antient reputation. After an animated combat it forced, on the tenth of December an entrance into Le Mans, though every avenue to that place was closed by several ranges of entrenchments and batteries, which were rendered almost inaccessible by chevaux-de-frise and other obstacles.

What were the projects of the royalists at the moment when they turned their backs on the Loire, it is, perhaps, impossible to ascertain. It is asserted, and there is some reason to credit the assertion, that, just after the siege of Angers was raised, an envoy from England having reached the camp of La Roche Jaquelein with intelligence of succour being at hand, that chief convoked his colleagues, and proposed to proceed by rapid marches to Cherburg, carry the place by a vigorous assault, and establish the royal army in the peninsula of the Cotentin, where, strongly posted and entrenched, it might hold the republicans in check till the landing of the promised aid. This plan, it is added, met with the approbation of the chiefs, and produced the return of the Poitevin forces into the province of Maine.

On the other hand it appears certain, that in a council, convened at La Flèche, the chiefs determined to make in two columns a movement towards the Loire, and endeavour to force a passage into Poitou by the way of Tours. In this determination there is, nevertheless, nothing which can lead to a disbelief that the scheme for penetrating to the coast was really brought forward by the generalissimo. It is highly probable that such a scheme was adopted, and that the Poitevins were subsequently induced to abandon it, as well by the difficulties which they encountered in their progress to La Flèche, as by the longing desire which they constantly felt to be restored to their native soil.

Had the advice given by La Roche Jaquelein been acted upon, it would probably have led to the most important and salutary consequences. The British armament, too long and unwisely delayed, was getting ready, with all practicable speed, at the very time when the royalists were retiring in despair from the Norman shores. Before the return of Raoul St. Hilaire and Fresion to England, M. M. Prigent, Bertin and Dufour, had been sent by the English cabinet to apprize the Poitevins that assistance was on the eve of sailing. These envoys unfortunately did not reach Dol till the royal catholic army had returned into the interior of Britanny, and the want of trusty guides disabled them from following it with the dispatches which they had brought.

The force destined for France consisted of five thousand men, with a large quantity of ammunition, military stores, and such other

articles as were moſt wanted by the royal army. The command in chief was entruſted to the earl of Moira, who received definitive inſtructions on the ſeventeenth of November, and by the twenty-ſecond had completed his arrangements, and proceeded to Portſmouth. He was accompanied by ſeveral emigrant and Britiſh officers of diſtinction; among others by the count d'Hervilly, colonels Clanard and Clinton, and majors Rawdon and Doyle.

A junction of the frigates with the fleet being for ſome days prevented by unfavourable weather, the ſquadron did not put to ſea till the firſt of December. It made the coaſt of Cherburg on the enſuing day, and ran along ſhore for a conſiderable diſtance, diſplaying repeatedly the preconcerted ſignals, to which no anſwer was given. Convinced at laſt that the royal army had retired, the commander in chief ſailed for Guernſey, which he was prevented from reaching before the twenty-fifth, by the ſtorminеſs of the ſeaſon. At Guernſey he learned the repulſe of the royaliſts from Granville, and was alſo falſely informed that one of their columns was in poſſeſſion of Caen. Though a tempeſt had deprived him of half his ſquadron and troops, and though a landing in the port of Caen was a matter of great difficulty, Lord Moira, anxious to attain his object, ſet ſail without delay for the Norman coaſt. This ſecond attempt being as fruitleſs as the firſt had been, his Lordſhip was reluctantly compelled to relinquiſh all hope of effecting his purpoſe, and he accordingly returned, in the beginning of January, to an Engliſh harbour.

While the ſquadron which bore the means of giving ſtability to the royal cauſe was fruitleſsly lingering on the verge of Normandy, the proſpects of the royaliſts were daily overclouding with a deeper gloom. The whole of the army of the Weſt, the command of which had been lately taken from Roſſignol and conferred upon General Marceau, aſſembled, on the eleventh of December, at Fouilletorte, a village midway between La Flèche and Le Mans. Marceau, young, active, and deſirous of ſignalizing himſelf, was reſolved not to ſuffer a ſingle hour more than was neceſſary to elapſe before he tried his fortune in the field.

On the part of La Roche Jaquelein, who was determined to hazard a battle in his preſent poſition, nothing was omitted which prudence could ſuggeſt for enſuring ſucceſs to the royal army. The Pont Lieu was protected by redoubts, batteries were thrown up, all the houſes commanding the principal ſtreet were occupied by riflemen, and the great ſquare, which was conſidered as the citadel of the place, was defended by the fire of a numerous artillery.

While advancing from Fouilletorte, at the head of the vanguard, Weſtermann was attacked by a corps of royaliſts, and driven back upon Muller's diviſion, aided by which he again moved forward, and became the aſſailant, but was repelled with ſerious loſs. The arrival of the diviſion of Cherburg enabled him, however, to reſume the offenſive, and to compel his antagoniſts to retire into Le Mans. Dec. 12.

Apprehenſive of the confuſion which might ariſe from a nocturnal combat,

combat, Marceau deemed it beſt to defer the aſſault till next morning; but the ſolicitations and arguments of Weſtermann finally induced him to change his opinion, and to give orders for immediate action. Weſtermann, to his great joy, was appointed to make the firſt onſet, with his own diviſion and that of Cherburg. It was nearly five in the evening when, hidden by the darkneſs, he marched ſilently and unobſerved towards the Pont Lieu, the entrenchments of which, the royaliſts being taken by ſurpriſe, were carried at the point of the bayonet. The republicans were puſhing forward to the town, when they were ſtopped ſhort in their progreſs by the fire of a maſked battery, which was opened upon them with the moſt terrible effect. Repeatedly reinforced they, at length, got a footing in the entrance of the ſtreets; but all their endeavours, at a lavith expence of blood, to force their way nearer to the great ſquare, were baffled by the vigorous reſiſtance of the loyal Poitevins. It was indeed only by a liberal uſe of his ſabre, on ſuch as diſplayed any ſigns of fear, that Weſtermann, himſelf foremoſt in the fight, kept his troops to their duty.

After five hours of a ſanguinary conflict, in which he had gained ſcarcely an inch of ground, Marceau was obliged to ſuſpend the engagement for the purpoſe of making new diſpoſitions, and ſtrengthening thoſe diviſions which had ſuffered the moſt ſeverely.

The battle ſhortly recommenced with greater fury than ever. On both ſides the carnage was dreadful; on the ſide of the royaliſts Verteuil, Herbault, and other chiefs, were either ſlain or mortally wounded. La Roche Jaquelein, under whom two horſes had been killed, having been called at this critical moment into the interior of the city, his men, diſcouraged by his abſence, began to waver, and their diſcouragement was increaſed by the groans of the dying, and the cries and lamentations of the women and children. In a little time he returned, but the courage of the Poitevins was gone, and flight now appeared to them their ſole reſource. The road to Laval was yet open, and thither they precipitately fled in ſuch crouds that the greateſt portion of the royal army was ſoon at a diſtance from Le Mans. Driven almoſt to madneſs by this defection, La Roche Jaquelein followed at full gallop the fugitives, and exerted himſelf in the moſt ſtrenuous manner to diſpel their fears, and prevail on them to rally. All his exertions were unavailing. Borne along by the torrent, and his voice drowned in the clamours of the multitude, he at laſt ſubmitted to his ill fortune, and put himſelf at the head of his cavalry to cover the retreat.

Maſters of every other part of Le Mans, the conventionaliſts were ſtill baffled in all their attempts to ſtorm the great ſquare, which was defended by a handful of faithful and intrepid ſoldiers, whoſe only wiſh ſeemed to be to ſell their lives as dearly as poſſible. Charge after charge produced no effect but to ſwell the number of dead among the aſſailants, whole platoons of whom were at once ſwept away by the fire of cannon loaded with grape ſhot,

and ſerved with the utmoſt quickneſs and preciſion. Wearied and weakened by the long duration of the ſtruggle the republicans, at two in the morning, diſcontinued the attack, and waited on their arms the dawning of the day. In this interval they were reinforced by a body of freſh troops and a powerful artillery. When the light appeared they advanced again to the aſſault, and their vaſt ſuperiority of force enabled them finally to triumph. The great ſquare was ſtormed, and its gallant defenders were put to the ſword, with the exception of a few, who were fortunate enough to open themſelves a paſſage through the ranks of their enemies. The baggage, ſeven-eighths of the artillery, the females, the children, the aged, and the ſick, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

Now commenced a ſcene of ſuch horror as no language can deſcribe, and imagination can barely conceive. Every houſe was ſearched for victims with a ſcrutinizing and barbarous care. Neither beauty, nor venerable age, nor helpleſs infancy, had power to inſpire a ſingle feeling of compaſſion in the ferocious ſoldiery. Hundreds of women were heaped together in the ſquares, and before the houſes of the conventional commiſſioners, and maſſacred by the firing of muſketry; and when the whole had fallen, their murderers beheld the yet palpitating bodies with looks and expreſſions of ſavage joy, or dragged them, naked and mutilated, through the ſtreets, which, in every quarter of the town, ran with blood, and were encumbered with piles of the dying and the dead. For above eighteen hours the work of ſlaughter was carried on with unwearied perſeverance, nor even at the end of that time would it have come to a termination had not Marceau imperiouſly ſummoned his brutal and diſgraced troops to rejoin their ſtandards. In the battle and ſubſequent maſſacre eighteen thouſand Poitevins of both ſexes, the major part females, aged and ſick perſons, are ſaid to have periſhed.

The royaliſts, meanwhile, continued their retreat in the greateſt diſorder till they came to the Chartreuſe du Parc, about twenty miles from Le Mans. From this place, finding themſelves not preſſed by the enemy, they retired with ſomewhat more of regularity to Laval, which they entered the ſame night. Convinced that not a moment ought to be loſt in reaching the Loire, Le Roche Jaquelein departed from Laval early on the following morning. The royal army took the route of Craon and Pouancé, and moved with ſuch rapidity that on the third day it arrived at Ancenis, whence it ſaw, with inexpreſſible delight, the ſhore of Poitou.

To croſs the Loire not a boat nor veſſel of any deſcription could be found. As ſoon, therefore, as the Poitevins had poſted guards on the heights round the town, they employed themſelves in collecting beams, trees, wainſcoting, and other materials for the formation of rafts. While they were thus engaged, Weſtermann approached from Angers, but was ſpeedily repulſed, and compelled to withdraw to a reſpectful diſtance. The rafts being finiſhed in much haſte, were on trial diſcovered to be ſo badly conſtructed

that

that the royaliſts, anxious as they were to reviſit their native province, would not venture to embark. To encourage his men, La Roche Jaquelein ſprang on board, and was followed by Stoſſlet, Delaville de Beaugé, and a few courageous ſoldiers. For half an hour the raft, alternately above and under water, appeared in the moſt perilous ſituation. It at length touched in ſafety the left bank of the river. Inſpirited by this ſucceſsful attempt, ſeveral hundred men took example from their commander, and were no leſs fortunate. The whole of the army was now reconciled to the mode of paſſage, and on the point of adopting it, when Weſtermann, through the means of his emiſſaries, artfully ſpread a report that a general aſſault would inſtantly be made upon the town by the republican forces from Angers. Already alarmed by this ſtratagem, the Poitevins were thrown into conſternation when they heard, on the road of Nantz, a briſk firing of muſketry, which aroſe only from a ſkirmiſh between one of their advanced poſts and a picket of the enemy. Concluding that the conventionaliſts deſigned to hem them in on every ſide they abandoned the rafts, ruſhed from the town by the road to Nort, and diſperſed in various directions. Great numbers ſtole ſeparately or in ſmall bodies to the banks of the Loire, and ſeized upon whatever they could find to facilitate their eſcape; while others penetrated into the neighbouring foreſts to join thoſe Bretons who had taken arms againſt the tyrannous authority of the reigning faction.

With infinite difficulty the Prince de Talmont, Doniſſant, Fleuriot, Roſtaing, Lyrot de la Patouilliere, Piron, and Bernard de Marigny, collected between ſeven and eight thouſand men, and a few pieces of artillery, from the wrecks of the royal army. To return to Poitou was impoſſible; the chiefs reſolved, therefore, to lead their troops into the Morbihan, the natives of which diſtrict were known to be generally of royaliſt principles. During their march their force was hourly diminiſhed by deſertion and the ſword. Three hundred horſe went and ſurrendered themſelves at Nantz, where they were immediately ſhot by order of Carrier. Falſe information alſo having been received that a body of loyal Bretons was aſſembled in the foreſt of Gavre, Talmont, Perault, Piron, and Roſtaing, with a hundred and fifty men, quitted their companions and proceeded to the foreſt.

At Blain, Fleuriot, who had been choſen general, found himſelf ſo cloſely preſſed by the enemy that he was compelled to run the riſk of a battle, and he accordingly poſted his little band as advantageouſly as the ground would permit. The rain falling in torrents, the republicans delayed their attack till next morning. Fleuriot, ſeizing the opportunity which this delay afforded him, ſilently evacuated Blain in the courſe of the night, and retreated to Savenay, through roads entirely broken up, and marſhes where the ſoldiers not unfrequently ſunk in water to the waiſt.

Furious that their prey had for a moment eluded them the republicans puſhed on to Savenay. The royaliſts were under the neceſſity of making here their final ſtand.

Shut in by the ocean, the Loire, the Vilaine, and the enemy, to escape was impracticable, and to conquer with their inferiority of force was an event beyond the bounds of probability. Death they were convinced was inevitable, and their only thought was to preserve in dying the glory which their lives had acquired.

Dec. 22. It was five in the afternoon when the conventional army began its attack upon the royaliſts, a part of whom had occupied Savenay, while the reſt took in its vicinity a poſition covered by hedges, ditches, and a wood. In their firſt attempt the aſſailants were driven back with loſs, and ſome of their battalions even ſeemed diſpoſed to fly from the field. It was conſequently thought proper by the generals to deſiſt till the morning from any further operations. During the whole of the night the ſoldiers on both ſides remained under arms, expoſed to a heavy rain which froze as it fell. The republicans, already numerous, were every hour reinforced by freſh diviſions.

Dawn had ſcarcely broken when Marceau put his columns in motion. Half his march was ſpared him by the Poitevins, who ruſhed on their foes with an impetuoſity ſo irreſiſtible that they carried all before them. This advantage, however, was but momentary. The ſtrength of the republican army enabled it not only to recover the loſt ground, but to turn and envelop the royaliſts, who, nevertheleſs, fought with a deſperate valour, which for a while held in ſuſpenſe the fate of the battle. Overwhelming numbers finally prevailed; the royal army was broken; and Savenay and its environs were heaped with the bodies of the ſlaughtered Poitevins. Lyrot, Deſigny, and many other gallant chiefs, with the greateſt part of their ſoldiers, laid down their lives on this melancholy day. The triumph of the conquerors was perfect, and they announced it to the uſurping faction with ſanguinary rapture. "The ſtreets, the roads, "the plains, the marſhes," ſaid the commiſſioners in their letter to the convention, "are ſtrewed with "dead; we march over heaps of "carcaſes; their cannon, their "ammunition, their baggage, are "captured, their cavalry has taken "to flight, a part of it is exterminated; our victory is complete. "The indefatigable ſoldiers have "ſince been beating about the "woods, the marſhes, and the "neighbouring farms, in parties of "rifle men, and thouſands of the "rebels have fallen before them."

The activity of the republicans in hunting down their vanquiſhed adverſaries, was indeed indefatigable, and their barbarity unbounded. No mercy was ſhewn. Between five and ſix hundred Poitevins, being cut off from retreat by two battalions of their purſuers, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners, but their ſubmiſſion was anſwered by a general diſcharge of muſketry. "Let thoſe riſe who are not kill-"ed," exclaimed the conventional officer. His order, in the hope that a pardon would be granted, was readily obeyed. Another volley was immediately fired, and thoſe who after this ſecond fire ſtill remained unhurt, were diſpatched by the ſabre and bayonet. Fifteen hundred men alſo, who had at once in like manner yielded, were conducted

conducted to Savenay, and tried before a military commiſſion, by which they were ſentenced to be ſhot, and not a ſingle individual was ſpared. For eight days the judicial maſſacre of the royaliſts, who were every hour brought in, was continued with ſcarcely a moment's pauſe. The walls of Savenay were ſprinkled with blood, and the ditches were filled with unburied corpſes. Savenay itſelf could not be entered without trampling upon the mangled dead, who lay thickly ſtrown over a league and a half of the circumjacent diſtrict. The crime of the republicans at laſt produced its own righteous puniſhment, and avenged that humanity which it had ſo flagrantly outraged. From the bodies of the ſlain putrid exhalations aroſe, and occaſioned a peſtilential diſorder, which ſpread its ravages even into Nantz, and in a little time ſwept from the ſoil of France a multitude of the blind and furious inſtruments of jacobin tyranny.

Of the royaliſt leaders many who ſurvived the combat of Savenay ſurvived it but for a ſhort period. The marquis de Doniſſant, and the chevaliers Beauvollier, Mondyon, and Deſeſſarts the younger, after having cut their way through their enemies, were captured near Ancenis, and put to death at Angers, where alſo the ſelf-created biſhop of Agra, whoſe impoſture had been detected and publicly diſavowed at Dol by his party, was delivered up to the guillotine. The chevaliers Deſeſſarts the elder, Deſigny the elder, Villeneuve, and Duhoux, likewiſe fell the victims of their loyalty, but in what manner they were ſacrificed is unknown. Piron having at length procured a boat, was on the point of landing in his native province when he was diſcovered, purſued, and mortally wounded. Perault, who had quitted the Prince de Talmont to protect an infant, which was committed to him by its expiring mother, was arreſted at Ernée, and though general Beaufort humanely ſtrove to ſave him, the members of the revolutionary committee condemned him to die, becauſe, as they ſaid, they had never yet had an opportunity to ſee a perſon ſhot. At the place where he was to ſuffer, he refuſed to allow his eyes to be covered with a bandage. "I can face death," ſaid he, "and I feel in dying no "other regret than that which "ariſes from ſeeing the French "transformed into aſſaſſins." The Prince de Talmont himſelf did not eſcape. He was ſeized at Bazouges, in the dreſs of a peaſant, and as it was imagined that information of great utility might be drawn from him, his doom was deferred for almoſt three months. Subjected to every ſpecies of hardſhip and inſult, and dragged from priſon to priſon while ſinking beneath the weight of a dangerous illneſs, he preſerved undiminiſhed his ſpirit and dignity. Finding that nothing was to be expected from him, his perſecutors no longer delayed paſſing his ſentence, which was put in execution before the principal entrance of his own caſtle at Laval. The cloſing ſcene of his life did not belie the courage which he had ſhewn in the field, and in chains. He met his fate with an heroic firmneſs worthy of the cauſe

for which he perished, and which excited admiration even in his bitterest foes.

The destruction of the grand army of Poitou and Anjou forms a marked epoch in the history of the struggle maintained by the friends of religion and royalty, against the inveterate enemies of the altar and the throne. By the decisive defeats of Le Mans and Savenay, the hopes which the royalists had indulged of raising the fallen monarchy, were nearly if not entirely blasted. The war thenceforth assumed a character essentially different from that which it had previously displayed. The conduct of the gallant Poitevins bore, it is true, ample testimony that the same zeal, the same courage, the same fidelity, still animated their bosoms; but the contest, though it was scarcely for an instant discontinued, ceased to give birth to events of such astonishing magnitude as those by which, for above ten months subsequently to its commencement, it was almost hourly distinguished.

Here then we shall close, for the present volume, our detail of military operations in the provinces of the West, and proceed to the performance of a task still more painful and disgusting than that which we have just concluded; the task of narrating the cruelties which, in cold blood, and with a wantonness of malignity truly diabolical, were, in various parts of the French empire, inflicted upon their victims, by those impious demagogues who at this moment insulted, degraded, and oppressed the people of France.

CHAP. V.

Frivolous decrees of the Convention. Immorality and indecency encouraged. Fantastical projects of equality favourable to plunder and rapacity. Liberty of the press restrained. Committee of public instruction. Project for reducing weights and measures to an unvarying standard. The telegraph invented. Measures adopted relative to national education. Oppression of the clergy. New calendar. Further attacks on religion. Death declared to be an eternal sleep. Apostacy of the bishop of Paris, the Abbé Syeyes, and others. Plunder of churches. Feast of reason. Infidelity on the decline. Influence of clubs and popular societies. Jacobin club. Cordeliers. Their rivalship. Clubs of women. Suppressed. Purgation of the jacobin club. Members of the convention attached to the Cordeliers arrested. State of Paris. Plunder of warehouses. Scarcity of bread. Maximum and other regulations respecting grain and articles of the first necessity. Decrees respecting assignats. Patriotic gifts. Forced loans. Jobbing. Deficiency of hard cash. New coinage. Ingots of gold and silver confiscated. People compelled to exchange their gold and silver coin for assignats. Great profits accrue to the state from the vast number of individuals guillotined. State of the departments. System of action and re-action. Deputies sent on mission. Their atrocious conduct. Leonard Bourdon.

Bourdon at Orleans. Andrew Dumont at Beauvais. Tallien, Beaudot, Chaudron-Rouſſeau, and Yſabeau at Bourdeaux. Tallien unexpectedly merciful. The cauſe. Barras, Freron, the younger Robeſpierre, and Salicetti, at Marſeilles. The ſame deputies at Toulon. Mitraillades and fuſillades. Various deputies in other departments. Decree of the convention againſt Lyons. Couthon, Maignet, and other deputies ſent there. Fete in honour of Chalier. Temporary commiſſion. Demolition of houſes. Revolutionary tribunal of Lyons. Collot d'Herbois arrives, accompanied by Fouché and La Porte. Their letters to the convention. Speech of Collot d'Herbois to the jacobin club, in vindication of his proceedings. Decree of the convention againſt La Vendée. Cruelties of Carrier, and other deputies. Noyades. Cruelties of the revolutionary army. Republican marriages. Murder of women and children. General ſummary.

WHILE the republican force was thus employed in reducing to ſubjection thoſe who oppoſed the new ſyſtem of government, the ruling power was engaged in a ſeries of acts and ſpeculations, at once offenſive to reaſon, and revolting to humanity.

Among the decrees of the convention, ſome were not leſs diſtinguiſhed for their frivolity and abſurdity than others for the contempt of all principles of right, and rules of juſtice. Theſe were rendered additionally abſurd by an affected zeal in diſcuſſion, and bombaſtic pompoſity in wording the reports. Thus while the tranſactions which enſued from the deciſions of the convention drew tears and exclamations of horror from all perſons of ſenſibility, it was impoſſible, at other periods, to reſtrain the ſmile of deriſion at the great labour diſplayed in deciding that aſſignats ſhould no longer exhibit the royal effigy, but be diſtinguiſhed by emblems of juſtice, liberty, and plenty, and that the coin of the republic ſhould bear for a legend, "the ſovereign "people," though this inſcription was not voted without a long debate on an amendment, affirming the people *alone* to be *ſovereign*. The declaration written by Monſieur as régent * was condemned to be torn and burnt, and the aſhes thrown to the winds. Gaming was carried to a dreadful exceſs, and the convention by their diſregard of all applications to ſuppreſs it, ſeemed afraid of interfering; but they ſhewed great vigour in attacking dramatic pieces which contained ſentiments adverſe to their ſyſtem, not only *l'ami des loix* fell under their zeal, but another piece called Pamela, was ſuppreſſed by a ſenatorial critique. Barrere declared that it exhibited, not a picture of virtue, but nobility rewarded. Ariſtocrats, *Modérés*, and *Feuillans*, he ſaid, joined all their forces to applaud all the maxims of *Milords*, and could endure to hear eulogies on the Britiſh government, at the moment the duke of York was ravaging their territory. A patriotic ſpectator, indignant at ſeeing on the ſtage the diſtinguiſhing marks of nobility, and the black cockade, and at hear-

* See this declaration in the ſtate papers of this volume, p. 301.

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ing the ariſtocratic government of England applauded, interrupted the performance; he was ſeized and inſulted: the committee of public ſafety, in conſequence decreed the arreſt of all the actors and actreſſes of the *Théâtre de la Nation*, and the author of the obnoxious play; and the convention confirmed the proceeding with loud and general applauſe. The theatres were compelled to give repreſentations thrice in the week of republican tragedies, ſuch as Brutus, William Tell, and Caius Gracchus. Sixty-ſeven volumes found in the chancery, containing the edicts and regulations of the eſtabliſhments of nobility were condemned to be burnt, and the game of cheſs was *diſroyalized*, and the pieces and ſituations incident to it received republican names. Some ludicrous ſcenes aroſe from the deſire to excite enthuſiaſm by an affected imitation of antiquity; ſuch as the fraternal embrace given by the preſident before the whole legiſlative body to a young child, who longed to tranſmit the kiſs to his contemporaries; ſwore to render himſelf the terror of tyrants, and demanded that the convention ſhould form a little republican catechiſm for their inſtruction.

But if the levity diſplayed in theſe ſcenes forces a ſmile; the ſenſation is widely different, when the decrees of theſe legiſlators were directed not only againſt the inſtitutes of religion and morality, but againſt the firſt principles of decency. Such an inſtance was afforded when St. Martin, deputy from Aveyron, complained of the conduct of Chabot at Thouloufe, where, among other brutalities, he addreſſed a mixed audience in theſe terms, "Maidens and wives, increaſe and "multiply; to do ſo requires no "aſſiſtance from prieſts or mini"ſters." The convention, far from countenancing the complaint, gave long and violent applauſes to the wretch whoſe obſcenities were ſubmitted to their correction. The alteration of the mode of ſpeaking from *you* to *thee* and *thou*, was ſtrenuouſly recommended, as indiſpenſably neceſſary to the maintenance of equality, but though it prevailed in converſation, and even crept into official correſpondence, the convention could not be prevailed on by popular addreſſes, or the eloquence of Bazire, to render this violation of good manners compulſory, by paſſing a law to enforce the vulgar mode of ſpeech. So much was the attention of this legiſlature devoted to words rather than acts, that two men, condemned to death for the murder of a prieſt, obtained from the convention a reſpite on their mere petition, and without difficulty; while on the ſame day, a woman condemned to the ſame puniſhment for *anti-civic* expreſſions, applied for ſimilar indulgence, alleging that the offence aroſe from ignorance and intoxication; but the legiſlature, after hearing the petition reviled by ſeveral angry patriots, paſſed to the order of the day.

July 12.

April 19.

The warmeſt patrons of revolutionary exceſſes became at length tired of the havoc, inſubordination, and perverſion, which reſulted from the general pretenſion to perfect equality, and the purſuit of reforms tending to introduce it into practice according to the caprice and miſunderſtanding of raſh or wicked individuals. The committee of

public

public inſtruction complained heavily of a decree, authorizing the deſtruction of armorial bearings, and other ſigns of feodality and royalty. Armed with this edict, the jacobins demoliſhed ornaments in bas relief in private houſes, ranſacked cabinets, and ſeized on mutilated ſtatues, bronzes, antique medals, pictures, maps, and books; in ſhort every thing which preſented to the eye the loathed image of a *fleur-de-lis*. The commune, on a complaint that pictures of Louis XVI. and his family decorated with royal and chivalric emblems were expoſed to ſale, authorized all perſons to deface ſuch pictures and buſts, and to break the plates and moulds. The convention, alarmed at the unexpected progreſs of devaſtation and plunder, reſtrained them by a new edict; but this was not a complete abrogation of the oppreſſive law; it merely limited the operation ſo as to render it an engine of corruption, injuſtice, and partial protection.

20th Dec. Robeſpierre and Couthon were the firſt who oppoſed a formal decree againſt the wide extended rage for equality, by procuring votes that all petitioners ſhould attend the convention uncovered, and that the members themſelves ſhould ceaſe to wear their hats during the ſitting.

The liberty of the preſs was alſo found too formidable an engine againſt the ſyſtem of uſurpation, to be allowed even in theory. In practice the freedom of publiſhing was of ſmall importance, when the revolutionary tribunal was ever ready to direct its thunders againſt offenſive individuals; but even the ſlight effuſion of ſarcaſtic wit which occaſionally appeared, gave unpardonable offence. The people were reminded from the tribune of the convention, that although the unlimited liberty of publication was neceſſary againſt tyranny; ſtill the people ought ever to protect a popular adminiſtration; and they had ſhewn by deſtroying the printing houſes of Briſſot's adherents, that they would not ſuffer the arms with which they were intruſted for the defence of freedom to be applied in re-eſtabliſhing deſpotiſm. Chabot, who made this ſpeech, followed it by a motion for a cenſorial democratic tribunal, authorized to exterminate all works oppoſed to the principles of government, and all authors of ſuch works; but although the convention paſſed to the order of the day on the motion, no diſapprobation was expreſſed againſt the ſentiments of the ſpeaker.

Yet in the midſt of the ribaldry, indecorum, and violence, which characterized the convention, ſome plans were adopted tending to form the baſis of reforms, eſtabliſhments, and national education. A committee of public inſtruction, compoſed of members of the legiſlature, was charged to receive and report on all matters ſubmitted to them reſpecting the improvement of the public mind, or the advancement of ſcience. Their reports to the legiſlature were frequent, and ſome ſagacious and beneficial projects were countenanced by them; others were futile and unimportant, and ſome abſolutely ridiculous. Among others, it was reſolved to alter the whole ſyſtem of weights and meaſures, reducing both to an unvarying ſtandard, founded on an immutable baſis.

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To execute this task, six committees of the academy of sciences had been appointed by the constituent assembly. The first a central committee, which directed the operations of all; the second for astronomical observations, to be made at the two extremities of the earth's meridian axis, and from the admeasurement of triangles on an area of more than two hundred leagues; the third to measure the length of a pendulum at Bourdeaux and Paris; the fourth to measure bases; the fifth to ascertain the weight of a cubic foot of distilled water at a constant temperature, such as that of congelation, and thus establish the relation and passage between measures of length, weight, and capacity; and the sixth to ascertain the relation between the different measures used in France, and those which should be finally adopted. A report on this subject was presented Aug. 1. to the convention by Arbogast, in which the bases of an universal calculation were recommended, founded on the measurement of a quarter of the arch of the meridian, a ten millionth part of which was to form the unit. Oct. 7. It was afterwards decreed that money, weights, and measures, should be divided into decimal parts, and a new coinage was directed on the plan thus proposed. If this plan contained any thing useful, it was at least open to the objection, that it would effect such a change in the customs of the nation, as would in time render history and science unintelligible without a glossary; the project was not however yet perfected, the new admeasurement was not immediately adopted, nor was the coinage issued, for want of gold and silver.

Another measure recommended by the committee of public instruction, to the legislature, was a rapid, and almost inscrutable mode of transmitting messages by signals, now well known by the name of a telegraph. Romme presented the first outline of April 1. this project, in a report which barely mentioned the advantageous uses of such a machine, and the formation of one by Chappe, and obtained a decree, authorizing the committees of public instruction, and war, to make a trial of the invention, on a line of correspondence sufficiently long for forming satisfactory conclusions; and two members of the committee of public instruction were nominated to attend its progress. On the 26th July, Lakanal reported the result, giving a correct description of the machine, and reciting their experiments on a line of eight leagues and a half*. The convention, satisfied of the practicability of the plan, decreed, amidst general plau-

* It may be matter of some curiosity, to recollect the first recorded message and answer by this valuable invention. On the 12th July, Lakanal and Arbogast took their stations at St. Martin du Therte, and Daunou at the park of St. Fargeau: they made the signal of attention, and he transmitted in eleven minutes these words: "Daunou is arrived here, and informs us that the national convention has recently authorized its committee of general safety, to place seals on the papers of the deputies." In nine minutes the following answer was returned. "The inhabitants of that beautiful country are rendered worthy of liberty, by their respect for the national convention, and its laws."

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dits, that Chappe ſhould be nominated telegraphic engineer, with the appointments of lieutenant of artillery; and that the committee of public ſafety ſhould aſcertain the lines of correſpondence neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed in the preſent ſtate of the republic.

The arts were alſo in a ſlight degree benefited by the exertions of this committee, on whoſe recommendation, the convention decreed a ſtipend of 2,400 livres, (£.165.) per annum, to twelve young men, for the purpoſe of perfecting their education in Rome and Flanders. Prizes were decreed to thoſe who excelled in painting and ſculpture, and a jury nominated to ſuperintend the diſtribution. The convention alſo decreed the permanent eſtabliſhment of the royal obſervatory, changing its title, according to the faſhion of the times, to Obſervatory of the Republic.

But in their main object, the committee of public inſtruction, and the convention itſelf, ſhewed equal ineptitude and inconſiſtency. Long reports on the ſubject of national education produced long ſpeculative ſpeeches, and haſty decrees, which were as haſtily reſcinded, but the whole reſult was a precarious ſtate of inſtruction for the riſing generation, equally remote from profoundneſs and politeneſs. On the 30th of May, Barrere obtained a decree to eſtabliſh in every place, containing from four hundred to fifteen hundred inhabitants, a primary ſchool, which might alſo ſerve for leſs populous diſtricts if not diſtant above a thouſand toiſes. Each ſchool was to have a maſter to teach elementary knowledge, reading to their pupils of both ſexes lectures of inſtruction once in a week. Another law eſtabliſhed a competition in the compoſition of elementary books. June 12. Theſe trifling propoſitions were laudable enough, but the draft of a detailed decree preſented by Lakanal, was a complication of trivialities and abſurdities. June 26. It eſtabliſhed a national ſchool to every thouſand inhabitants; or, according to their calculation of twenty-ſix millions of people in the whole republic, two hundred and ſixty thouſand ſchools; appointed officers of inſpection in each diſtrict, and inſtitutors or inſtitutrixes to each ſchool, whoſe mode of election was at once whimſical and arbitrary, and a central committee of twelve at Paris, to watch over all theſe two hundred and ſixty thouſand eſtabliſhments, correſpond with them, eſtabliſh an uniform mode of inſtruction, and preſent to the legiſlature ſchemes for their better regulation. The education of children of the republic was declared to be intellectual, phyſical, moral, and induſtrious, and a whimſical courſe was chalked out, forming a confuſed and inapplicable mode of education, but the decree permitted individuals to open ſeparate and free eſtabliſhments, ſubject to the officers of inſpection, and the central committee. This decree was debated with great eagerneſs; Lequinio, who had publiſhed, during the laſt year, a wild atheiſtical book, called *Les prejugés detruites*, complained that it did not make ſufficient proviſion for the deſtruction of prejudices. Robeſpierre read a poſthumous eſſay of Le Pelletier de Saint Fargeau, which chiefly recommended

mended that all parents, without exception, should be obliged to send their children to the primary schools; and that all should contribute to their maintenance in proportion to their wealth; the labourer one livre and ten sous, and the proprietor of an income of a thousand livres (£. 43. 15s.) a year, or upwards, a tenth part of his income. The name of the author and the popularity of the member who recommended this plan insured its favourable reception: the principles were discussed with considerable vehemence, but it was decreed that national establishments should be formed, where, at the expence of the rich, children should be taught, boarded, and lodged, and that some classes should be reserved for children, whose parents might only choose to send them once a week.

In their further progress the convention found their difficulties increase; to exclude science rendered their labours ridiculous, to include it, exposed them to the jealousy of the all-powerful sans-culottes. On the 14th of September they decreed, in compliance with a petition of the constituted authorities of Paris, three different ranks of instruction; next day Coupe de L'Oise complained vehemently against this regulation, as creating a new aristocracy, and omitting all notice of the education of labourers, vine dressers, and the inhabitants of the country. Chabot declaimed on the same side with the violence of a Cordelier. "The decree tends," he said, "to "revive all the abuses of the an-"cient system, to revive the aristo-"cracy of learning, when we have "destroyed every other: this was "the plan of the Brissotine horde; "for they attempted to create an "aristocracy of philosophers, when "we desired only a democracy of "sans-culottes. When we shall "have formed a civil code, adapted "to the level of every man's un-"derstanding, what need shall we "have of attornies, advocates, and "learned men. Recollect that "you rejected a plan of M. de "Condorcet, because it was too "scientific." These arguments procured a repeal of the decree. Long debates were maintained on other proposals connected with this subject, and at length a final decree was obtained, producing only a coarse imitation of a common charity school, where reading, writing, arithmetic, and a catechism, are taught, and to which parents may send their children after six years of age, if they will. Danton added a philosophical play-ground to the plan, by obtaining a decree that Olympic games should be celebrated in the Champ-de-Mars.

The anti-christian party, to whose exertions the character and conduct, if not the origin of the revolution, may be attributed, had, before this time, obtained their final triumph in the abolition of every vestige of divine worship. Although the plunder of the clergy might have been supposed sufficient to exceed the hopes, and gratify all the wants of the reformers, still it was not difficult to direct the national avarice towards the small remains of their property, and the renewed attacks in the established worship were first introduced by a plea of economy. A report from the committee of finance, recommended the suppression of part of the episcopal vicars.

July 1.

The pretence of diminiſhing the expences of the ſtate by a ſaving of eighteen hundred thouſand livres (£. 78,750.) a year, while the war coſt many millions a month, was ridiculed by Barrere, but many reproaches were uttered againſt the idleneſs, ambition, and ſelfiſhneſs of the eccleſiaſtics; a decree was obtained, requiring all epiſcopal vicars to ſerve their cures, and the project for reducing their numbers was referred to the committees of finance and legiſlation.

Although this propoſition had not fully anſwered the intended purpoſe, it had the effect of rendering the ſtate and property of the clergy again ſubject to diſcuſſion, and an early opportunity was taken to derive from their differences of opinion reſpecting revolutionary meaſures, the means of oppreſſing them, and rendering the religion of which they were miniſters odious. A motion was made in the convention, for depriving of their appointments all biſhops who refuſed the law, by oppoſing the marriage of prieſts: ſome doubts ariſing whether the allowance granted them by the nation could be legally confiſcated, Lequinio ſolved the difficulty by moving, that all the refractory prieſts ſhould be tranſported to Guiana. *Deportation*, he obſerved, includes confiſcation of property; and no man will doubt the right of the legiſlature to ſend from the country individuals who are deemed dangerous. Danton oppoſed the confirmation of the decree when reported from the committee of legiſlation, and his argument is ſingular and curious, indicating at once the ſtate of the public opinion, and the mind of the man. "We muſt not," he ſaid, "revenge ourſelves for the poiſon we have received from the new world, by ſending thither a poiſon not leſs mortal. Let the refractory prieſts rather be caſt on the ſhores of Italy; that is the country of fanaticiſm. The *ſacerdotal mephitiſm* ought to be concentrated in the empire of the holy father; there it will explode and deſtroy itſelf. Let thoſe fanatics go and augment the court of cardinal Maury, and if ever they reviſit France let death be their doom." This recommendation of mercy in the language of ferocity and inſult, did not produce the deſired effect; but as the convention foreſaw danger in every mode of diſpoſing of the prieſts, the meaſures were referred back to the committee, whoſe report produced a decree, pardoning all faults committed by biſhops, relative to the marriage of prieſts before the nineteenth of July; but denouncing baniſhment as the penalty for all future crimes againſt the conſtitution of the clergy. This decree was reinforced by another, ſubjecting all prieſts liable to deportation, and taken on the frontiers, or in the enemy's country, to trial by a military commiſſion, which might condemn on the ſlighteſt proof; and was at liberty to grant or refuſe a delay for the production of exculpatory documents. By this new decree all archbiſhops, biſhops, and inferior clergy, who had refuſed or retracted the revolutionary oaths, were ſentenced to be *deported* to the weſtern coaſt of Africa, between the degrees 23 and 28; and

July 19.

Aug. 12.

Aug. 21.

and any one who ſhould harbour any of theſe victims, was doomed to ſhare his fate. Having ſucceeded in this point, a decree was eaſily obtained for reducing the ſalaries of biſhops to ſix thouſand livres (£.262. 10s.) and declaring any failure of duty or reſidence a forfeiture of their penſions.

While many of the clergy ſubmitted to theſe perſecutions with the magnanimous firmneſs of the primeval martyrs, others fought an ignominious popularity by ſanctioning and aſſiſting the efforts of the atheiſtical faction. The biſhop of Perigueux led his newly married wife to the chair of the preſident of the convention to receive the fraternal embrace, declaring that he had elected her, poor in fortune, but rich in virtues, from the claſs of the ſans-culottes. Many other ſcenes of the ſame kind familiarized the proſpect of a total overthrow, not only of the prieſthood, but of all public worſhip.

A great leading meaſure towards the accompliſhment of this object was a change of the æra, and the denomination of days and months, and the abolition of weeks. This alteration was expected to eradicate from the minds of Frenchmen all memory of feaſts, faſts, holidays, and anniverſaries. The committee of public inſtruction, which had long been engaged on the ſubject, preſented to Sept. 20. the convention a report, which, after ſeveral modifications and diſcuſſions, formed the baſis of a law for eſtabliſhing a new calendar to be uſed throughout the French dominions. The incident of France being proclaimed a republic on the 22d of September 1792, the day when the ſun entered the autumnal equinox, afforded an opportunity of combining, for the preſent, the æra which the rulers moſt deſired to celebrate, with a poſition in the planetary ſyſtem comprehenſible to all. It was therefore decreed, that the firſt year of the republic ſhould date its commencement from the hour of midnight between the 21ſt and 22d of September 1792; every ſucceeding year was to begin from midnight preceding the day of the autumnal equinox. The term of four years was to be denominated a *Franciade*, in honour of the French revolution. The year was divided into twelve months, conſiſting each of thirty days, the names of the months were generally latin, ludicrouſly retrenched to accommodate the French pronunciation, and forming a curious gypſy jargon, each diviſion of three months having terminations in *aire*, *oſe*, *al*, and *dor*.* But as five days were ſtill wanting to complete the ſolar revolution, theſe were added at the end of the twelfth month, called *ſans-culotides*, and dedicated to functions of life, or abſtract ideas, as virtue, genius, labour, &c. This whimſical patchwork was completed by adding to every fourth year, inſtead of the twenty-ninth of February in Biſſextile, a day which, for the ſake of pre-eminent diſtinction, was called *le jour de la revolution*. In order to obliterate all reminiſcence of Sunday the month was divided into three decades, or periods of ten days, each of which was named

* See Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 195.

in

in ſucceſſion, in terms corrupted from the latin, primidi, duodi, &c. and a decree was ſubſequently obtained for tranſacting buſineſs in the public offices, on all days throughout the year, and forbidding the obſervance of holidays, except on the laſt day of each decade; but that obſervance was optional. Fabre d'Eglantine, an indifferent poet, preſented to the convention the final report on this ſubject, ſtating, with pompous frivolity, the motives of the change, and the cauſes of preference to the particular diviſions and denominations which were ſelected. The folly of this farce was completed by aſſigning to each day of the year, inſtead of the name of a ſaint, as was cuſtomary in the eſtabliſhed calendar, the denomination of ſome implement of huſbandry, domeſtic animal, or production of the earth. "The prieſts," ſaid the reporter, "had aſſigned to every "day of the year the commemoration of a pretended ſaint: "this catalogue preſented neither "utility nor method; it was the "repertory of lies, fraud, and im-"poſture. We have conſidered "that the nation, after expelling "the canonized crowd from its "calendar, ought to find in its "place all the objects which com-"poſe the real national wealth, "the objects worthy, if not of its "worſhip, at leaſt of its cultiva-"tion,* the uſeful productions of "the earth, the implements of "agriculture, and the domeſtic "animals, our faithful ſervants in "theſe labours, animals, undoubt-"edly, far more precious in the "eye of reaſon than beatified ſke-"letons drawn from the catacombs "of Rome." Every *quintidi* was therefore inſcribed to ſome domeſtic animal, (if indeed crickets, gudgeons, carp, and tench, may be called domeſtic animals.) Every *decadi* was marked with the denomination of ſome implement of huſbandry, intended to remind the labourer on his day of reſt, of the tools which muſt employ his cares on the morrow. This ſcheme, it was hoped, would convince the people that the republic paid more regard to the peaſant than to all the kings on earth, and enable every French citizen, from his infancy, to attain a crude elementary knowledge of rural economy. Such was the report on which the new calendar was founded, and the operation of the decree was intended to be ſtill more extenſive. It commanded an entire new ſyſtem of hoſometry; the day, from midnight to midnight, was divided into ten parts or hours; every hour was ſubdivided into hundredths, or decimal minutes, and every minute was ſimilarly ſubdivided into decimal ſeconds. But, as this innovation would render uſeleſs all exiſting clocks and watches, the operation of the decree was ſuſpended for a year.

Many perſons affected to conſider theſe changes in the computation of time as mere effects of national vanity and levity, while the diſcerning part of mankind viewed them as a ſerious, though feeble endeavour to eradicate from the

* It is impoſſible to do juſtice in tranſlation to the *pun* of the committee of public inſtruction, their expreſſion is, *Les dignes objets, ſi non de ſon culte au moins de ſa culture.*"

human mind all religious impreſſions. But the enemies of chriſtianity who purſued their object with all the zeal of fanaticiſm, preſſed eagerly forward toward their greateſt triumph, the complete degradation of all worſhip, and a national avowal of atheiſtical principles. The influence of the prieſts was ſtill dreaded as the means of keeping alive, or re-animating, the love of the ancient forms of devotion; and although already impoveriſhed to a ſtate of mendicancy by repeated decrees, deprived of all hope of amending their condition by prohibitions againſt exerciſing any trade or calling, and degraded to a miſerable degree of popular contempt by the conſtant calumnies of their enemies, and the profligate compliances of ſome of their own order, new attacks were ſtill meditated againſt them, and new meaſures adopted to render their ſituation ſtill more precarious and wretched. Hebert obtained an order from the commune of Paris, that no prieſt or nun, who had not taken the oaths to the republic, ſhould receive a certificate of reſidence, but ſhould be arreſted and impriſoned as ſuſpected. The ſale or exhibition of images of ſaints, rings, chaplets, and roſaries, was alſo prohibited; and the popular clubs concurred in refuſing to perſons of the perſecuted order admiſſions to their ſocieties, the want of which was a certain ſymptom of guilt in the eyes of the revolutionary tribunal.

A bolder ſtride toward the abolition of all religious recollections, and all hopes or fears of a future life, was taken by the commune of Paris, when an edict was read, iſſued by Fouché, a member of the convention, then on miſſion at Nevers. "Conſidering," he ſays, "that the French nation can acknowledge no privileged ſigns but thoſe of the law, of juſtice, and of liberty, no worſhip but that of univerſal morality, nor any other dogma but that of its own ſovereignty and omnipotence, and that, if all ſectaries were permitted to eſtabliſh in the ſtreets and public places the emblems of their ſects, and to celebrate their religious ceremonies, great confuſion and ſocial diſorder would enſue. It is decreed that all religious ſigns in the ſtreets and ſquares, and generally in all public places, ſhall be *annihilated*; and prieſts are enjoined, under pain of impriſonment, from appearing any where, but in their temples, in their religious garb. In every municipality, every citizen deceaſed, of whatſoever ſect, ſhall be carried, within twenty-four hours, from the time of his deceaſe, or forty-eight hours, in caſe of ſudden death, to the place deſtined for common interment, covered with a funeral veil, on which ſhall be a picture of *ſleep*, accompanied by a public officer, ſurrounded by his friends in mourning, and a detachment of his brothers in arms. The common place of burial ſhall be ſeparate from all dwellings, and planted with trees, under the ſhade of which ſhall be a ſtatue repreſenting *ſleep*, and on the door of the incloſure ſhall be inſcribed, 'DEATH IS AN ETERNAL SLEEP.'" The council general of the commune honoured this edict with loud applauſes, and on the report

Oct. 17.

port of a committee appointed for the purpoſe, adopted it as a regulation for the metropolis.

Oct. 27. The jacobin club paſſed a vote, for an application to the convention, requiring all prieſts to give up their letters of prieſthood to be burnt; and as no doubt could be entertained of the ſucceſs of the petition, many, actuated by hope or fear, anticipated it by voluntary tranſmiſſions of their letters, which were received with triumphant exultation.

When the public were thus prepared for further attacks on the remains of religion, a decree was obtained from the convention by a maſquerade, in which levity and atrocity were equally conſpicuous. A great body of men, calling themſelves deputations from the ſections, carrying banners, and diſ-

Nov. 6. guiſed in clerical veſtments, gained admiſſion to the hall of the legiſlature. The orator ſaid, they came to abjure the errors of ſuperſtition. Already had they decreed that the buſts of Le Pelletier and Marat ſhould ſuperſede the images of St. Peter and St. Paul, and that the ſtatue of liberty ſhould be placed on the great altar of their *ci devant* pariſh church, and they came to offer to the convention a reſumption of fifteen hundred livres (£.65. 12*s*. 6*d*.) a year, the pay of their curé, as they had no further occaſion for him. When the convention had paſſed a decree in conformity with this propoſition, the orator continued his harangue: "The Ro-" miſh prieſt, the biſhop of the de-" partment of the Seine and Oiſe " is dead. Legiſlators, will you " ſuffer a ſucceſſor to be appoint-" ed? Shall the epiſcopal canopy " ſtill ſubſiſt? If the republican con-" ſtitution confirms the liberty of " worſhip, it is without privilege to " any. The citizen and the legiſ-" lator know no worſhip but that " of liberty, no altar but that of " the country, no pontiff but the " magiſtrates of the people! Holy " mountain, let a rock, detached " from thy ſummit, roll down and " cruſh this coloſſus, engendered " by pride, ignorance, error, and " cupidity!"

Although theſe latter obſervations were not productive of an immediate decree, the applauſes with which they were received rendered the event certain. The tranſaction was the reſult of a powerful combination; the papers under the immediate direction of government commenced an irreſiſtible attack on the ſalaried prieſts; and in the enſuing ſitting of the jacobin club, Leonard Bourdon, applauding the zeal of thoſe communes where the churches had been plundered, and the chalices and other plate ſent to the mint, uttered a ſeries of invectives againſt prieſts, and of blaſphemies againſt the myſteries of the chriſtian religion, and moved for a petition to the convention, aboliſhing all churches and prieſts. "Let thoſe," he ſaid, "who are catholics, hire " a room where for a penny they " may procure all the ceremonies " which are agreeable to them, " but let the ſtate no longer pay " an uſeleſs and dangerous claſs of " men." This addreſs was followed by the impious buffooneries of an apoſtate prieſt, who declared that four years ago he had freed himſelf from the original ſtain of prieſthood, with which he had been ſullied againſt his will, and in obedience to the imperious will of

his parents. It was also declared, that the commune of Paris had that morning decreed the destruction of all the ecclesiastical playthings, and that soon no vestiges of their ancient folly would be left in the whole department.

Nov. 7. The ensuing day presented, in the convention, a scene in perfect conformity with these atrocious absurdities. It was introduced by reading a letter from a priest in the country, who declared he had been himself hitherto deceived; he had been a quack, though he had no intention to commit a fraud. He had no fortune but the twelve hundred livres (£. 52. 10s.) a year arising from his cure, and knew nothing but what he had been forced to learn, the contents of his breviary. He had discovered, however, that it was time to undeceive the people, that there was no true religion but the religion of nature, and that all the reveries, mummeries, and ceremonies, which were decorated with the name of religion, were no better than the history of Blue Beard.

When the convention had finished a short debate on this letter, the president announced that the constituted authorities of the department, and commune of Paris, accompanied by the bishop, his vicars, and several cures, demanded admission. Momoro, one of the administrators of the commune, made their introductory address: "Citizens legislators," he said, "we present to you citizens who "are desirous to regenerate themselves, and again to become men. "Led by reason they come to strip "themselves of the character with "which they were invested by superstition. This great example "will be followed by their colleagues; and thus will the very "favourers of despotism contribute to its overthrow; thus the "French republic will soon own "no other worship but that of "liberty, equality, and eternal "truth; a worship which, thanks "to your immortal labours, will "soon be universal!"

Gobet, the bishop of Paris, who at the age of sixty-seven, had been impelled to this disgraceful act of apostacy, by the joint effect of threats, persuasions, and bribes, now declared that he had ever considered the will of the people as his first law, and submission to it his first duty. In compliance with that he had accepted the bishopric of Paris, but now that all opinions would speedily be united, and no deities would be worshipped, but liberty and equality, he and his vicars renounced their functions as catholic priests, and deposited on the desk their letters of priesthood. This declaration was received with vehement applauses; the apostates were invited to the honours of the sitting; the bishop received from the president the fraternal embrace, and several members of the convention who were in orders, as Lindet the bishop, Coupe de l'Oise, Villers, Julien of Thoulouse, and afterwards Chabot and Gregoire, vied with each other in declarations replete with blasphemy and ribaldry, not forgetting at the same time to resign their pensions. The conduct and speech of Syeyes, on this occasion, were highly Nov. 10. applauded, and judged worthy of insertion in the bulletin: "Citizens," he said, "my wishes "long since aspired at the triumph "of reason over fanaticism and "superstition:

" ſuperſtition: the day is arrived, " and I glory in it as one of the " moſt beneficial to the French " republic. Though I have many " years ago reſigned every thing " belonging to the clerical charac- " ter, and, with regard to that " poſſeſſion, my belief is ancient " and well known, let me be per- " mitted to take advantage of this " new opportunity to declare " again, and a hundred times, if " neceſſary, that I acknowledge no " worſhip but that of liberty and " equality, no religion but that of " humanity and patriotiſm. I have " lived a victim of ſuperſtition, " but never was its apoſtle or in- " ſtrument; I have ſuffered from " the errors of others, but no man " has been a ſufferer by mine, no " man on earth can ſay he was de- " ceived by me; the conduct of " many has been calculated to " open my eyes to the truth. At " the moment when my reaſon diſ- " engaged itſelf from the ſad pre- " judices with which it had been " tortured, the energy of inſurrec- " tion entered my heart; from " that inſtant, if I was retained " in ſacerdotal chains, it was " by the ſame force which com- " preſſed free ſouls within the " ſhackles of royalty, and the miſe- " rable objects of miniſterial ran- " cour in the dungeons of the Baſ- " tille, the day of the revolution " laid them all low. I have only " appeared, I have only been " known by my exertions for li- " berty and equality. It was as a " plebian deputy of the people, " and not as a prieſt, (I was no " longer a prieſt,) that I was elect- " ed to the conſtituent aſſembly, " and I no longer remember that " I ever had any other character " than that of deputy of the peo- " ple. I cannot, like ſeveral of " my colleagues, give up the pa- " pers or titles of my ancient " rank, they have long ceaſed to " exiſt. I have no reſignation to " give in, becauſe I have no cleri- " cal ſituation, but one offering " remains for me to make to my " country, 'tis a penſion of ten " thouſand livres (£. 437. 10 *s.*) " which was allotted to me as an " indemnity for my ancient bene- " fices, and which I now beg leave " to reſign into your hands."

Theſe proceedings in the national convention, produced correſponding effects in the capital and departments; daily exhibitions were made of deputations, who came, with clumſy and profane jokes, to preſent at the altar of the country the images and ſhrines of ſaints and crucifixes taken from the churches. The conventional miſſionaries aided theſe unhallowed ribaldries by letters containing accounts of their efforts to propagate reaſon by their profaneneſs and the guillotine; and apoſtate prieſts and adminiſtrators of departments, in aid of theſe licentious buffooneries, tried every mode of wit and humour, from quaint pedantry down to falſe orthography, concurring always in two deſigns, to vilify chriſtianity, and make the legiſlators laugh.

Still the rage againſt religion was unappeaſed: frequent motions were made in the convention for ſubſtituting civic fetes for thoſe which had been ordained by the church. The new calendar afforded ſome hints on the ſubject; and Chenier, in the name of the committee of public inſtruction, preſented a report, tending to re-

vive the games, proceſſions, and idolatries of the Pagans, and force them on all claſſes and ages inſtead of the accuſtomed obſervances. The commune of Paris, decreed, that inſtead of pulpits, public tribunes ſhould be erected, where republican principles ſhould be preached, and they celebrated, in Nov. 10. the cathedral of Paris, a feſtival in honour of reaſon, to whom, as deity, the temple was now dedicated. Here were a mount, a temple inſcribed *à la philoſophie*, buſts of thoſe who had aſſailed chriſtianity, a torch of truth, and an altar of reaſon. The goddeſs herſelf preſided in the perſon of a ſuperannuated courtezan, wife of one Momoro. The ſections of Beaurepaire and *ſans culotte*, by ſeparate orators, made atheiſtical addreſſes to the convention; the goddeſs was introduced, borne by four men on an arm chair, ſurrounded with oak garlands; ſhe was eſcorted by women in white robes, and attended by martial muſic; the cap of liberty was placed upon her head; ſhe was covered with a thin veil and leant on a pike, Chaumette, *procureur de la commune*, harangued in her praiſe, and in honour of the ceremony of the day; the goddeſs received the fraternal kiſs from the preſident and the ſecretaries; and the convention, mixing with the mob, repaired to the temple, to aſſiſt in the feſtival, and join in the hymn to liberty.

This impious buffoonery was repeated in the ſucceſſive months in almoſt every town in France; and in many, young and modeſt women were compelled to act the ſhameleſs character which in Paris had been voluntarily aſſumed by the wife of Momoro. Yet the influence of infidelity was on the decline; new exertions were continually made to give a freſh ardour to the popular zeal, by deifying anti-chriſtian authors and revolutionary martyrs, ſuch as Voltaire, Rouſſeau, Le Pelletier, and Marat, whoſe ſtatues and buſts were profuſely exhibited in all public places and private houſes, and eſpecially in the new temple of reaſon. Frequent proceſſions were alſo made to the convention with new declamations againſt religion, and new boaſts of conqueſt over bigotry; but ſtill complaints were made in the council of the commune that devotees and fanatics would aſſemble around their fonts; that the prieſts ſtill retained undue influence; and Chaumette made an abſurd charge, that they had entered into an aſſociation with the women of pleaſure, to pervert the public mind by uniting the cauſe of religion with the purſuits of debauchery. A decree was iſſued, ordaining that all churches and places of public worſhip ſhould be ſhut, all miniſters of every perſuaſion reſponſible for commotions excited under pretence of religious opinions, and that they ſhould be watched with extreme circumſpection. This malignant power of perſecution was the only permanent reſult obtained by all the manœuvres in favour of atheiſm.

The cauſe grew, in fact, daily leſs popular: ſentiments of religion and humanity were not ſo entirely baniſhed but that ſome individuals were viſited by remorſe and compunction. The abandoned lives, and open peculation of the moſt conſpicuous reformers gave offence to the ſerious

part of the public. The plunder of the churches did not anſwer the expectations of the people; for ſtatues and ſhrines which were, for their workmanſhip, ineſtimable, produced, when thrown into the crucible, only a ſmall quantity of ore: the ſhrine of Saint Genevieve in particular, appears by the report to have greatly diſappointed the eager hopes of the plunderers. The neceſſity of providing for the prieſts, who in compliance with the popular dictates renounced their functions, and were now to be maintained in abſolute idleneſs, formed a new financial difficulty.

Nov. 26. The convention, at length fatigued with the impertinences of communes bringing in the ſpoils of their churches, and prieſts throwing off their habits, decreed, on the motion of Danton, that, for the future, "no anti-religious maſquerades ſhould be tolerated in the boſom of the aſſembly." Shortly afterwards it was decreed, that no ſect or perſuaſion ſhould predominate or be perſecuted; and thus the profeſſors of Chriſtianity obtained a precarious toleration, which, though it protected them againſt ſpontaneous violence, left them expoſed to all the effects of tyranny in a greedy, cruel, and oppreſſive government.

In theſe tranſactions, as in moſt others which had taken place during the revolution, the influence of clubs or popular ſocieties was eminently conſpicuous. Theſe aſſemblies had rendered ſuch important ſervices to the various parties who aſpired at aſcendancy, and formed ſuch a convenient medium for giving, to the prepared vote of a few, the denomination of the voice of the people, that no effectual attempt had yet been made to check their influence, or counteract their decrees, to which thoſe of the legiſlature itſelf were ſubſervient. The jacobin club was the parent and governing head of all theſe aſſociations; its correſpondence, affiliations, accredited character, enormous numbers, and extenſive influence, by means of which it had given places in adminiſtration to no leſs than nine thouſand individuals, aſſured its preponderancy; but the Cordeliers gave at the preſent moment the moſt decided colour to the proceedings in the city of Paris. Since the abolition of all acknowledged ſyſtems, both in government and religion, novelty ceaſed to claim regard, unleſs recommended by ſome daring or atrocious quality, or by ſome appearance of eccentricity or enthuſiaſm approaching to madneſs. In theſe qualities the Cordeliers excelled: they were the champions of an Agrarian law; they held the axiom that the terms rich and poor ſhould be equally unknown in a free republic; in dreſs they adopted and enforced a filthy diſguiſe, equally terrifying and diſguſting; dirty as the loweſt labourers on the quays, or in the mines, but ſtuck round with ſwords, daggers, and piſtols, like banditti in a picture. Their diſcourſe and writings abounded with the oaths and obſcenities of the loweſt vulgar; in their mode of living they were groſs, filthy voluptuaries; and the teſt of their character was a contempt of all divine revelation, all religious forms, and all moral ties. That ſuch a faction ſhould long ſubſiſt was obviouſly impoſſible, the nature of ſociety could not endure ſuch an anomalous

monſter, but the ſervices of their club in overthrowing the hypocritical faction of Briſſot made them, for the preſent, fearleſs of attack. The members of their body held all the chief offices in Paris, and were among the moſt conſpicuous perſonages of the mountain party in the convention. Hanriot, commander of the national guard, Chaumette *procureur general de la commune*, Hebert, his deputy, notorious as being author of the journal called *Le pere Ducheſne*, Danton, Fabre d'Eglantine, Camille Deſmouliers, Chabot, and Anacharſis Clootz, were all leading members of this ſociety. The judges and jury of the revolutionary tribunal, the officers of the national guard, and the keepers of the priſons, were alſo elected from among them. They ſucceeded in rendering decency of appearance a kind of treaſon; all who did not conform to their hideous apparel were decried as *muſcadins*, and *meſſieurs*, terms which, by their oppoſition to the denomination of *ſans culottes*, amounted to a ſuſpicion of treaſon. Under their influence it became faſhionable to change the baptiſmal name, and men who, in quiet times, would have travelled from the font to the grave with ſuch appellations as André, Pierre, or Nicolas, were now metamorphoſed into Brutus, Scævola, or William Tell.

The leaders of the jacobins were known to entertain a rooted diſlike to the Cordeliers, and although the convention long endured their impertinences and abſurdities, the courſe of their decrees had a manifeſt tendency to annul the domination of inferior clubs, though no wiſh was entertained of enfeebling the jacobins. This taſk was, however, to be undertaken with great caution; a decree had been obtained ſoon after the triumph over the Briſſotines, declaring that popular ſocieties had ever been centres of patriotiſm, rocks againſt which the efforts of ariſtocracy had been wrecked, and denouncing ſevere penalties againſt all who ſhould attempt to contravene their meetings. But, ere long, complaints were made againſt aſſemblages of ariſtocrats in certain cities, who aſſumed to themſelves the faſtidious title of *republican ſocieties*, and their papers were ordered to be put under the ſeal of the nation. The next attack on the ſyſtem of clubs, was directed againſt aſſemblages of women, which were become frequent in Paris, and formed potent auxiliaries to the Cordeliers. Theſe amazons paraded the halls of the jacobin club and the convention, with red caps and three-coloured cockades, made harangues on their own patriotiſm, and compelled women, who were not diſpoſed to aſſiſt in their fooleries, to aſſume the head-dreſs which they conſidered as appropriate to liberty.

July 25.

Aug. 17.

The ſpeaker of a deputation from one of theſe ſocieties complained to the convention of the injuſtice done to her ſex by aſſimilating them in general to a Medicis, an Elizabeth of England, a Maria Antoinette, or a Charlotte Corday. "Our "ſex," ſhe ſaid, "has produced "but one monſter within theſe "four years, while the nation has "been betrayed and aſſaſſinated by "monſters of the maſculine gender. "Our rights are thoſe of the people,

Oct. 7.

"and

" and, if oppreſſed, we ſhall op-
" poſe reſiſtance to oppreſſion."
Theſe martial ſentiments were coldly received by the convention, and referred to a committee; but on a ſubſequent day, theſe revolutionary ladies met a vigorous and merited reprimand. They
Oct. 29. were treated as the adventurers, female knights-errant, and petticoat grenadiers; all compulſory interference with dreſs was prohibited, and the propriety of permitting ſocieties of women to exiſt was referred to a committee.

A report was on the next
Oct. 30. day preſented by Amar, containing many uſeful and judicious obſervations, which ſerved as the baſis of a decree, forbidding all clubs of women under any denomination, and ordering that the ſittings of all popular ſocieties ſhould be public

Theſe obſervations and decrees were not calculated to pleaſe the Cordeliers, who talked loudly of enforcing a general mode of parſimonious habiliment, and of ſtripping the muſcadins to clothe the army; and about the ſame period their paſſion for innovation received another check from the jacobin club. An individual, whoſe name was Dubarri, but who had changed it to Brutus, preſented himſelf to that ſociety in expectation of the cuſtomary compliments; but, to his great mortification and diſappointment, was received with murmurs and ſarcaſms. One member moved that no one ſhould aſſume the appellation of an illuſtrious republican, without giving proofs of his own civiſm: another ſaid, the name of Brutus could only be due to the man who ſhould bring into France the head of the traitor Dumouriez. Dubois Crancé followed theſe remarks by ſtigmatizing, as cowards, thoſe who thought, by change of appellation, to gain for themſelves a brevet of patriotiſm. It was better, he continued, to render one's own name illuſtrious by acts of virtue, than to aſſume the burthen of a celebrated appellative, without force to ſuſtain the character, but with a certainty of diſgracing it. He concluded by moving, that all who, in future, made ſuch changes, ſhould be declared cowards and traitors to the country.

The rivalſhip between the jacobins and Cordeliers had now broken forth in acts of indirect hoſtility, portentous of fatal conſequences to the leaders of one or the other faction. Their ſtrength was often balanced, and might, perhaps, have been more equally divided, but for the contempt and hatred attached to the characters of ſome principal Cordeliers. Thus Jaques Roux, the conſtitutional prieſt, whoſe brutality inſulted the laſt moments of the unfortunate Louis XVI, was perſecuted even by his own party; Chabot, and ſeveral of his perſonal adherents, were known to hold a precarious exiſtence by time-ſerving expedients; and the viciſſitudes in the fate of general Roſſignol, who, though patronized by the Cordeliers, was twice diſmiſſed from his command and impriſoned by the jacobins; proved the ſtrong rivalſhip of the parties. The overthrow of Chriſtianity raiſed many enemies againſt the Cordeliers, and the aſcendancy of the jacobins became daily more evident; their rivals ſeemed anxious to compromiſe and retreat; Chaumette himſelf pronounced in the commune a vehement philippic againſt Nov. 17.

the

the female clubbists; but the jacobins were too sagacious to omit the favourable moment for ruining their opponents. In the hall of their club they adopted the measure of purifying their members by a strict scrutiny into their past lives and conduct. In consequence of this *epuration*, as it was called, Chabot, Bazire, Thuriot, and some other members of the convention attached to the Cordeliers were arrested; Camille Desmouliers found great difficulty in vindicating his conduct, and was supposed to owe his safety to the friendship of Robespierre only; and Anacharsis Cloots and Thomas Pain were deprived of their seats in the legislative body, arrested, and seals put on their papers. The contest, however, was less apparently directed to any public good or reformation of morals and manners than to the advancement of one party and suppression of the other. The writings of both were filled with execrations and obscenities, their manners seemed calculated for the express purpose of abolishing all traces of civility, and even in the convention, both members and petitioners violated the rules of ordinary decency in a most flagrant manner; nothing is more common in the debates than to find deputies calling each other "Liars "and infamous impostors;" and petitioners introducing their papers by styling the members of the right side "Scoundrels and traitors." No efforts which the convention was capable of making could alter this disposition in the populace; it even surpassed their power to maintain order in their own hall; they might decree regulations against clamour and hooting in the gallery, but the sovereign people, too powerful and fierce to be controuled, persevered in a tyrannical display of these signs of disapprobation, in defiance of every effort to impose on them the restraints of decency.

Nov. 16.

Dec. 30.

The state of Paris during this whole year was a compound of horrible vice, and deplorable calamity. The mob, always unimpeded, and generally encouraged in their violences, plundered all who appeared to possess the articles of which they felt a real or imaginary want. Besides the grocers who were robbed of their property in February, the proprietors of some boats loaded with soap had to complain of the same violence. The washerwomen demanded from the commune a decree that soap should be sold at a certain price; but failing in that, their friends took it without payment; and when those who were ruined by this exploit presented complaints to the legislature, the transaction was treated merely as a trick of designing persons, to prevent the acceptance of the constitution. But the continual clamour respecting the dearness of bread, and the difficulty of procuring, even at an exorbitant price, that indispensable aliment, could not be attributed entirely to a predatory or factious spirit, or evaded by general answers or partial expedients. For this great evil, different legislators proposed various remedies, characteristic of the violence of their own tempers, or their facility in yielding to the inclinations of the populace, without regard to liberty or propriety. The complaints to the convention and the commune were numerous, urgent,

June 27.

urgent, and varied in every form which extreme diſtreſs could ſhape; deputations and individuals, clubs and claſſes, men, women, and children, all beſieged their doors from day to day, repeating with diſtreſſing and emphatic clamours, bread! bread! bread!

April 5. Danton propoſed that the price ſhould be fixed at a certain ſum, bearing an exact proportion to the earnings of the labourer; and the loſs which might be ſuſtained by the farmer and baker, ſhould be repaid by an arbitrary tax on the wealthy. This raſh and impracticable project was decreed and forgotten.

April 17. A deputation from the department of Paris, after drawing an affecting picture of the miſeries and privations of the people, required, firſt, the eſtabliſhment of a *maximum* in the price of grain throughout the republic, which for the year enſuing might be twenty-five or thirty livres (£. 1. 1*s*. 10½*d*. or £ 1. 6*s* 3*d*.) for a ſetier, or twelve buſhels; ſecondly, the abolition of commerce in grain; thirdly, the ſuppreſſion of all middle men between the farmer and the conſumer; and fourthly, a general account of all the grain in the republic after every harveſt. This petition was not immediately acceded to, but the meaſures it recommended being highly favoured by the commune and the jacobin club, they were often afterwards debated, and finally, for the moſt part, decreed. The diſcuſſions were highly animated, and the ſpeeches of ſome members diſplayed conſiderable ingenuity in aſcertaining the cauſes of the public calamity, but no effectual means of relieving it. The great cauſe of the defective ſupply of the markets was generally avowed to be the diſappearance of caſh, and the forced circulation of paper; to which were added the extraordinary means uſed to raiſe a numerous army, which rendered men greedy of preſent enjoyment, and unſolicitous about future proviſion; a third cauſe might have been adduced, in the number of agents employed by government, who received ſalaries, not in caſh, but free quarters, and were therefore extravagant and voluptuous, in proportion to the baſeneſs of their origin, and to the means which exceſs afforded them of triumphing over the penury of their late equals. To obviate theſe cauſes was not in the power of the legiſlature, but in conſequence of a report from the committees of agriculture and commerce, they paſſed a decree in thirty-one articles, founded on the petition of the department, obliging every farmer, merchant, and proprietor, to deliver to the municipality of his department a declaration of the quantity of grain and flour in his hands, and a calculation of the produce of his unthreſhed ſtock; in eight days the municipality was to verify the return, by inſpection, to the convention. Thoſe who neglected to make the required declaration were ſubjected to domiciliary viſits; and thoſe who refuſed, or falſified their declarations, were to be puniſhed by confiſcation of their whole ſtock. No grain or flour was to be ſold but in public markets, except ſmall quantities in conſequence of licenſes from the municipality. The adminiſtrative and municipal bodies

May 3.

dies were authorized to require, on pain of total confiscation, from every holder of grain, so much as they thought requisite for supply of the market; and, in case of refusal, on pretence that it was not ready, to employ labourers to thresh it without the consent of the proprietor. The executive council, under the inspection of the committee of public safety, was authorized to take such measures as should be judged necessary for securing the subsistence of the republic, and the minister of the interior to draw, from those departments which were overstocked, provisions for those which were deficient. Every trader in corn was to take out a licence and exhibit it wherever he went, and to keep entries of all his purchases and sales, with the names of those with whom he dealt, which were to be constantly certified by municipal officers. Agents of government, and army and navy victuallers were subjected to the same laws; they were prohibited from trading on their private account, under heavy penalties, and all public functionaries were enjoined from interfering, directly or indirectly, in such trade, on pain of death. For the purpose of ascertaining a maximum of price, it was decreed, that tables should be made out in every department, of the fluctuations in price, from the first of January to the 1st of May, and that the average should be the *maximum*, beyond which the price of grain could not be permitted to rise. This *maximum* was to decrease in the following proportions: on the first of June, one-tenth; a twentieth of the remainder on the first of July; on the first of August one-thirtieth; and on the first of September a fortieth. Neither purchases nor sales were to be made at a higher price, on pain of forfeiture, or a pecuniary penalty. Those convicted of maliciously wasting, destroying, or burying their grain or flour were to be punished with death, and informers against them rewarded with a thousand livres (£.43. 15s.)

This absurd and tyrannical decree was not calculated to produce the desired effect; it was an engine of severe oppression in the hands of the agents of government, but it gave a fatal wound to commerce, and rendered the farmer indolent and fearful. The people were no better supplied, and they soon complained that the arts of monopoly and forestalling extended to cattle, and the fodder for cattle, so that their misery could know no alleviation. Before the passing of the law, the women of Versailles had complained that they wasted their hours from four in the morning till ten, in crowds at the bakers doors, and could obtain only loaves of two pounds weight: similar complaints were now common; and the department of La Creuse stated at the bar of the convention a most calamitous tale of misery. "We were "formerly," they said, "supplied "with grain by means of com- "merce, but the late laws have "dried up that source of prospe- "rity to our barren district. Every "thing, even to the grossest ali- "ments is exhausted, bread sells "at eleven sous a pound, and even "at that price cannot be procured "in sufficient quantities. Inani- "tion ravages our families, and "spreads on every countenance a "death-

June 14.

a death-like langour." The ſtatement was corroborated by Barailon, the deputy from that department, who affirmed that his conſtituents lived on bran and roots, and even of theſe had not a ſufficient quantity. A letter from Clermont declared that bread had riſen to eighteen ſous a pound, and that the people would be ſtarved, but for the aſſiſtance granted by the adminiſtrators of the department of Puy de Dome, who had collected fifteen hundred ſetiers of grain, which they delivered out, at the rate of the eight part of a ſetier to each perſon. To obtain this moderate ſupply every individual was obliged to wait two days for his turn, and the throng was ſo exceſſive that people were ſqueezed to death, or ſeverely wounded. Yet, in ſpite of theſe ſtrong evidences, the legiſlature perſiſted in maintaining that their decree would give general plenty; and the government committees treated the complaints which aſſailed them as the productions of intriguers, enemies alike to the people, and to the conſtitution.

The commune of Paris, however, decreed ſeveral regulations reſpecting the delivery of flour and bread to and from the bakers; and the convention, on a report preſented by Collot d'Herbois, enforced their former rigorous decree by one ſtill more ſanguinary. They declared foreſtalling a capital crime; thoſe who ſubtracted from circulation merchandizes or proviſions of the firſt neceſſity, by buying and keeping them ſhut up in any place whatever, without daily and publicly expoſing them to ſale, and thoſe who deſtroyed or ſuffered to periſh ſuch merchandizes, were declared foreſtallers. Merchandizes of the firſt neceſſity were, bread, meat, wine, grain, flour, garden ſtuff, fruit, butter, vinegar, cider, brandy, coals, tallow, wood, oil, ſoda, ſoap, ſalt, cured, ſalted, or ſmoked meat or fiſh, honey, ſugar, hemp, paper, wool and worſted, leather, iron and ſteel, copper, linen and woollen cloth, and generally all ſtuffs, as well as the raw materials of which they were made. All perſons poſſeſſing any of theſe articles were bound, within eight days, to give a liſt of them to their municipality or ſection, accompanied with a declaration whether they were willing to diſpoſe of them in ſmall lots to all perſons indifferently, under the inſpection of a commiſſioner. If the proprietor refuſed to ſell in ſmall lots, or could not find purchaſers, the municipality or ſection was to ſet a price on his goods, allowing, if poſſible, ſome profit, but if the prime coſt was ſo high as to prevent the allowance of profit, a reaſonable price was, nevertheleſs, to be ſet. All who failed in making the required declarations in eight days after the publication of the law; all who made falſe declarations, or lent their names as ſuppoſed proprietors of goods which were not their own; and all public functionaries who abuſed their authorities to favour foreſtallers; were to be puniſhed with death. All hucſters, or perſons with whom goods of the firſt neceſſity were depoſited to be ſold for the benefit of others, were obliged to exhibit, on the outſide of their houſes, a liſt of the quantity, quality, and real proprietors names of the goods in their hands, and

July 26.

all

all army contractors were to declare what goods they had purchaſed, and prove that they were really for the uſe of the army, on pain of being treated as foreſtallers. Beſides the penalty of death, the goods were to be confiſcated in thirds, one to the informer, one to the poor, and the other to the republic.

Such a complicated decree, extending the means of tyranny to ſo many articles of commerce was little calculated to afford to the people that relief from ſcarcity which could only have been produced by ſimplifying all commercial regulations, and encouraging the free trade in grain. The capital was, indeed, ſcantily ſupplied with bread, which, in ſmall portions, and after much crowding, and long waiting, was delivered out at three ſous a pound; but in the departments the price could not be reduced lower than ten or twelve ſous. New problems were ſubmitted to the committees of agriculture and commerce, and anſwers returned with oracular poſitiveneſs and obſcurity, which ſerved as the baſis of new decrees, enlarging, enforcing, and extending thoſe which already terrified the merchants without relieving the people.

As the harveſt approached, the convention decreed, on the motion of Barrere, that in every diſtrict, granaries of plenty ſhould be formed, and that government ſhould take from the treaſury an hundred million of livres, (£. 4,375,000.) to be laid out in grain. The dwellings of emigrants, and other houſes which were become national property, were recommended as the moſt fit, and the people were invited to pay their contributions in kind into theſe repoſitories; they were to be received at the price current; and meaſures purſued for enforcing payment of arrears. Public ovens were alſo to be erected in every ſection of the towns, and bakers put in requiſition. It was ſoon found, however, that the new law was prejudicial to that which fixed a *maximum*, and Barrere again obtained from the convention a decree for enabling the executive council to iſſue requiſitions for ſupplying thoſe departments to which nature had not been ſufficiently liberal.

Aug. 9.

Aug. 25.

Notwithſtanding all theſe efforts of the legiſlature, and although the harveſt was reaped, the people continued to complain with increaſing clamour of the miſery to which they were expoſed. The grain which ought to have ſupplied the neighbouring diſtricts was bought up for Paris, in defiance of the law of *maximum*, and when the country people came to the capital to buy bread, their hardly-acquired purchaſe was forcibly wreſted from them at the *barriers*, and they were compelled to return without proviſion to their famiſhed families. The autumn and the winter paſſed away in the renewal of vehement petitions, affecting complaints, and protracted debates. Sometimes the exiſtence of ſcarcity was affirmed, at other times it was ſaid that there was grain enough in France for two years conſumption; ſometimes foreſtallers were blamed; ſometimes Pitt was execrated for making a freſh famine by means of Engliſh guineas; ſometimes both famine and complaints were attributed to malevolence

levolence and intrigue. "They "are produced," ſaid Chaumette, "by a very reſtive, counter-revo-"lutionary focus, which exiſts at "Paris." The convention added decree to decree for extending the liſt of articles of the firſt neceſſity, compelling an obſervance of the *maximum*, and extorting from the people the means of repleniſhing the granaries; but they could not prevent bread from being very ſcarce and enormouſly dear; nor could they always delude the country, or ſhut their own ears againſt the piercing cries which famine and every other privation occaſioned in all quarters. Teazed at length by inceſſant and inſurmountable difficulties, Barrere, in the name of the committee of public ſafety, uttered a ſevere philippic againſt all farmers and merchants, deſcribing them as men who had received every benefit from the revolution, and, in return, had fought only for ſelfiſh emoluments, and the ruin of the public. He reviewed, at length, the laws which had been enacted, and the cauſes of their failure, and obtained a decree, authorizing commiſſioners to make out a table of articles of the firſt neceſſity, with the prices they bore in 1790, increaſed by one-third. This was to be taken, whether truly or not, as the prime coſt to the poſſeſſors; and on this the wholeſale dealer was to gain a profit of five, the retail dealer of ten per cent. with a proportionable allowance for carriage from the place of growth or manufacture. This was to be the irrevocable baſis of price throughout the republic; thoſe who had loſt their whole property by the operation of the *maximum* were to be indemnified, but thoſe manufacturers who had ceaſed to work ſince its eſtabliſhment were to be treated as ſuſpected. The commune of Paris decreed, that only one kind of bread ſhould be baked, to be called *pain de l'egalité*; and the convention, in order to reanimate hope, and direct the public view to the probable benefits of a future harveſt, decreed, that all the ponds and dykes throughout the republic, except thoſe uſed for mills and manufactories, ſhould be dried, the fiſh ſold, and the ſoil planted with early grain, or nutritious vegetables.

Nov. 1.

Dec. 3.

In the numerous debates on the ſubject of ſcarcity, it could not eſcape obſervation, that much diſtreſs aroſe from the diſcredit into which aſſignats were fallen. Thoſe who poſſeſſed property changed it with great reluctance for paper which was iſſued without reſtraint, diſtributed by jacobin agents to the mob by handfuls, and known to be forged in ſuch large quantities, that the value was already depreciated to leſs than one-fourth of its nominal import. Thoſe diſtinguiſhed by the royal effigy bore a premium above thoſe which had been iſſued ſince the depoſition of the king, becauſe it was underſtood that the former could not be increaſed in quantity, nor ſo eaſily forged; but the convention paſſed a decree putting them out of circulation; an expedient which augmented difficulties without inſuring the deſired end. In vain were violent meaſures reſorted to; in vain did the convention decree, that every Frenchman, convicted of refuſing aſſignats in payments, or giving or taking them

Aug. 1.

them at a loſs, ſhould be condemned to a fine of three thouſand livres, (£.131. 5s.) and ſix months impriſonment; and that, on a ſecond offence, his fine ſhould be doubled, and his impriſonment extended to twenty years. Commerce can only exiſt on the baſis of confidence, and all efforts to compel the acceptance of an arbitrary ſign, inſtead of the univerſal circulating medium, tend only to deſtroy the effect intended to be promoted. In vain were all jobbing tranſactions prohibited under penalty of baniſhment and total confiſcation of property; aſſignats were daily ſold at reduced prices, and the government, by an increaſed emiſſion of this imaginary money, aggravated the evil, and rendered the reception additionally difficult.

Surrounded as the government was by want and danger, two only reſources were employed to recruit their finances, force and fraud. Theſe were diſguiſed and rendered more effectual in different manners, according to the ſtate of the public mind, or the preſſure of immediate exigency; but they were, in fact, the principles on which it was propoſed to extort ſpecie for the public treaſury, under the oppoſite names of a forced loan, and patriotic gift, and to give circulation to paper, which few conſidered as a ſign of property, either preſent or eventual. For the forced loans, various plans were propoſed. One May 20. member moved, that all merchants ſhould be taxed at half their income, and that all bills of exchange ſhould be regiſtered, and none iſſued exceeding in value a thouſand livres (£.43. 15s.) Another propoſed, as a more ſimple method, that as June 3. there were too many aſſignats in circulation, the convention ſhould ſay to the rich, "Give us a part "of the aſſignats in your hands, "and you ſhall be paid in receipts, "entitling you to *the gratitude of "the nation.*" At length, June 9. however, it was decreed, that a thouſand millions of livres, (£.43,750,000.) ſhould be raiſed by a tax on property, from which were excluded the labouring claſs, and certain modifications made in favour of perſons who had children.

The patriotic gifts were chiefly collected in the departments; and the reports of them, ſent by members on miſſion, were calculated ſometimes to excite deriſion, and often pity for the people who were thus made acceſſary to their own robbery. Three deputies announced in great form, that the citizens of Melun, actuated by the moſt pure and ardent patriotiſm, had confided to them a patriotic donation of a hundred and nine livres, (£.4. 15s. 4½d.) to be depoſited on the altar of the country; but Fouché, in a letter from Nevers, informed the convention, that he was tranſmitting to them the fourth contribution he had levied under the name of gifts, amounting to ſeveral millions. "So great," he obſerved, "is the "contempt for ſuperfluities in this "place, that he who poſſeſſes "them conſiders himſelf marked "with reprobation." The reaſoning which produced this extraordinary ſelf-denial may eaſily be imagined.

The ſuppoſed baſis of all loans was the forfeited lands of the church

church and emigrants, the value of which, remaining free from every engagement, was ſtated in May to be two thouſand one hundred and ſixty-four millions of livres (£. 94,675,000); but the mode of multiplying aſſignats, which were underſtood to be charged on theſe lands, prevented all confidence, and the people choſe rather to bury their gold and ſilver than riſk it on ſo precarious a ſecurity. This ſpirit gave birth to a ſyſtem of jobbing againſt which the decrees of the convention were thundered in vain. The exchange, where the brokers met for an hour in each day, was ſhut, but they aſſembled at the Palais royal, and carried on their ſpeculations without intermiſſion; foreign bills of exchange bore a premium, while aſſignats were proportionably under rated; the convention endeavoured to reſtrain this partiality by a tax, and by ordering the bills to be regiſtered; but the ſubtle genius of commercial ſpeculation evaded every reſtraint, and perſevered in ſpite of terror. The total deficiency of caſh, eſpecially for ſmall change, occaſioned much diſtreſs; as the fabrication of aſſignats, under a certain value, was more expenſive than their amount would pay. The convention therefore decreed, Aug. 24. that a ſmall coinage ſhould be formed of bell metal, and copper, in pieces of two ſous, one ſous, and fix, and three deniers; and Aug. 27. they paſſed a long ſeries of futile decrees reſpecting the liquidation and arrangement of the public debt, which only proved their inability to preſent even a reaſonable hope of accompliſhing that object.

At length the convention, taking the hint from the popular ſociety of the Upper Garonne, decreed, that all ingots Oct. 16. of gold and ſilver ſhould be confiſcated; and the revolutionary committees, under their inſtruction, excited ſo much alarm among the poſſeſſors of ſpecie, that a ſum far more conſiderable than had reſulted from any other effort was ſpeedily collected. Cambon reinforced it by ob- Nov. 21. taining a decree revoking all grants of national domains, and repaying the money which had been depoſited for the purchaſe in aſſignats. In his report, which introduced this meaſure, he ſaid, "He was come to give a new "pledge of fifteen hundred mil- "lions (£. 65,725,000) to the "ſecurity of the aſſignats; not "that they needed it, for he could "pronounce to all France that "the aſſignat was on par with "ſpecie, and that people fought "at the doors of the treaſury for "a priority of inſcription in the "great book, as contributors both "to the forced and voluntary "loans. The egotiſts (ſelfiſh perſons) who, but a little while "ago, were at a loſs to pay for "the domains they had bought of "the republic even in aſſignats, "now bring forward their gold; "thanks to the meaſure you have "adopted of confiſcating all con- "cealed treaſures. Theſe egotiſts, ſeeing the revolutionary "committees in ſearch of their "wealth, now think themſelves "too happy if we will receive "their metal in payment; we "have

"have already obtained from "thirty-eight to forty millions "(about £.1,700,000). I ſhould "obſerve," he proceeded, "that "the fear of the revolutionary "committees has operated ſo ſucceſsfully, that receivers general, "who had buried their gold, have "come to offer ingots in payment "of what they owe to the nation; "but they were refuſed, and for a "good reaſon, the convention had "decreed the confiſcation of all "ſuch property. Thus, then, as "to ſecurity for the aſſignats, I "ſhall not even repreſent to you "the amount; you muſt be ſenſible that the goods of the emi"grants which are ſelling every "day at a general price, thoſe of "the traitors who fall under the "axe of the law, and the great "ſums which your preſent decree "will render to the public treaſury, are more than ſufficient to "eſtabliſh our paper credit. The "ſecurity for the aſſignats is abſolutely inexhauſtible; I ſhould "add that the finances of the re"public are in as flouriſhing a "ſtate as its domains, and it will "be clear that all calculation on "them is ſuperfluous." The iniquitous decree thus obtained was followed by one compel-

Dec. 1. ling all perſons poſſeſſed of ſpecie to bring it to the treaſury, and receive inſtead aſſignats at par. This tyrannical meaſure could never be univerſally enforced, but it formed a pretext for endleſs vexations, informations, domiciliary viſits, and every ſpecies of oppreſſion; yet it was far from true that the quantity of money which had been obtained equalled, or even, at a remote diſtance, approached, the ſums boaſted in Cambon's ſpeech. His declaration, that great profit accrued to the ſtate from the number of traitors who fell by the hand of the executioner, developed one of the moſt horrible principles of the revolutionary government, a principle which was diabolically illuſtrated by the ſarcaſm of Barrere, who termed the guillotine, the national mint.

While this was the ſtate of the capital, and portraiture of the mind and proceedings of the legiſlature, correſponding effects were exhibited throughout the departments. A main principle of the revolutionary government was that of creating what were termed action and reaction; that is, of goading thoſe who were tranquil into ſome exertion which could be deemed hoſtile to the ruling party, and then puniſhing thoſe who had been ſo ſtimulated, without pity or diſcrimination. For ſome time this ſyſtem had ceaſed to be effectual in Paris, where nothing was ſeen but the moſt abject and ſpiritleſs ſubmiſſion to the will of the ruling party. In the departments means were found to attain the deſired end. In ſome places the people were excited to reſiſtance by immediate inſult and oppreſſion; in others they acted under the impulſe of their affection for the perſon and family of their ſovereign, or for the party which the triumphant faction had deprived of power, and the great leaders of which they finally deſtroyed. Whatever might have been the cauſe of reſiſtance, the vengeance of government and its agents was equally extenſive and ſanguinary. To give

full

full vigour to the syſtem of violence and extermination, members of the convention were deputed on miſſions to various parts of the country; and theſe, all animated with one ſpirit, ſeemed to vie with each other in cruelty, brutality, and a contempt of every ſocial and humane feeling. Thus, for the purpoſe of enforcing ſubmiſſion by terror, of filling the public coffers by plunder, and maintaining the national credit by confiſcation, were the departments made ſcenes of horrors unparalleled in the annals of modern ages. The deputies themſelves were not backward in gratifying all their own baſe and ſordid paſſions, and indulged without controul in all the exceſſes inſpired by luſt, avarice, caprice, and rage. Of their conduct, and the ſufferings of their victims, a few leading ſpecimens are ſelected.

Leonard Bourdon, a deputy on miſſion to the department of Jura, turned out of the direct road to diſplay importance, and create commotions at Orleans, his native city. His viſit was anticipated, and partial inſurrections at the bakers ſhops were excited, as a pretext for further diſturbances. On his arrival he went to the popular club, and endeavoured to exaſperate the people by declamations againſt the rich, the merchants, and the municipality. Failing in theſe endeavours, he dined the enſuing day with a party of thirty or forty at a tavern, and when they were all intoxicated, eſſayed, by all imaginable inſults, to provoke the patient inhabitants to reſiſtance. Taught by the fatal experience of the preceding September, they abſtained from all oppoſition, and Leonard Bourdon, on the point of retiring, diſappointed, made a laſt attempt at the popular club, by pointing out, to an audience of the loweſt claſs, the wealth and luxury of the rich, inviting them to plunder, to inſiſt on an Agrarian law, to conſider the mountain party as the only repreſentatives of the people, and the municipality of their city as a neſt of traitors. Inflamed by theſe diſcourſes, and animated with the hope of plunder, a drunken party ſallied forth, headed by Bourdon; one of them fired a piſtol at a guard on his poſt; a ſcuffle enſued, in which the deputy was ſlightly wounded. His end was now attained; he ſwore implacable vengeance, and forwarded to the convention a pompous account of his aſſaſſination by the ariſtocrats of Orleans. Abandoning his intended journey to Jura, he returned to Paris, to ſolicit vengeance in perſon, and by the authority and influence of his party, a decree was obtained, declaring the city in a ſtate of rebellion, till the perpetrators of the horrible attempt were delivered up to juſtice. But the inhabitants, unawed by theſe menaces, augmented their inſults on the commiſſioners, and the people made ſuch repreſentations to the convention, that the decree was repealed.

March 15.

April 28.

Meaſures of leſs open violence, but more coercive oppreſſion, were, however, adopted againſt the inhabitants of Orleans; the tyranny exerciſed by the commiſſioners of the convention filled the jails with victims, and the people with terror and indignation. It was no longer the aſſaſſination of Bourdon, but

the common, undefined clamour againſt ſuſpected perſons which cauſed theſe cruelties, and hope of eſcape from the graſp of oppreſſion was conſequently precluded. Rendered eloquent by deſpair, a deputation of women May 12. travelled to Paris, and preſented their petition to the legiſlature, demanding their huſbands, fathers, relations, friends, and fellow-citizens, who had been ſnatched from their ſides in the darkneſs of midnight. "For "theſe ſix weeks," they ſaid, "no "buſineſs has been allowed to be "tranſacted without doors, only "a few privileged paſſports have "been granted; in ſhort, three "perſons cannot walk or diſcourſe "together without danger of im-"priſonment!" They deſcribed many particular ſcenes of miſery, and acts of oppreſſion, and particularly one of brutal inſult, when forty women, who attended the commiſſioners of the convention, were treated with deriſion, had deſert plates thrown at them, were made to dance, and wear the red cap; but when they perſiſted in requeſting the enlargement of their huſbands and friends, they were threatened with inſtant death, and diſmiſſed without obtaining their requeſt.

May 19. The petition was diſcuſſed in the convention; Collot d'Herbois, who had been one of their oppreſſors, affirmed, that it contained a lie in every line, and although ſome members corroborated all the principal aſſertions, it produced no effect.

From Beauvais ſome accounts were ſent of diſpoſitions to impede the revolutionary mode of recruiting; and grievous complaints made of the conduct of the clergy, and the coldneſs of the popular ſociety. Andrew Dumont, who was ſent on miſſion there, adopted the uſual courſe of endeavouring to drive the people to inſurrection. He began, according to his Oct. 24. own account, by diſplacing the mayor and municipal officers; the popular ſociety he found, inſtead of joining in his meaſures, diſpoſed to juſtify the conduct of the town, which had ſhewn no ſign of counter-revolution, but deſerved well of the country. Dumont, however, ſoon convinced them that mere regularity and tranquillity did not, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, render men good ſubjects. "You call "yourſelves republicans," he ſaid, "and yet no criminals are de-"nounced; do not hope to delude "the convention, or to receive "any indulgence from me, till all "the royaliſts, *modérés* and *feuil-"lans*, within your walls, are de-"nounced!" He obſerved, that Beauvais was not *up to the level of the revolution*; the *public functionaries* knew nothing of the *capital reſponſibilities*; and neither the *ſans culottes* nor the people had any idea of *republican energy*. The revolutionary cavalry conſiſted of fine young men, perfect in their manœuvres, and remarkable for ſubordination. Theſe circumſtances, which might in other times have been reputed as merits, paſſed now for crimes; the popular club was engaged to aſſiſt the revolutionary army in ſaving the country, the gates were ſhut, and a rigorous domiciliary viſit inſtituted for the purpoſe of finding foreigners and ſuſpected perſons.

In a few days a deputation was enabled to Nov. 8. attend

attend at the bar of the legiſlature with an account of the reſults of this unprovoked violence. The energy of Dumont and his colleague, Levaſſeur, the ſpeaker of the deputation ſaid, had made the people of Beauvais good republicans, but ſome acts of ſeverity were neceſſary; *moderantiſm* was conſpiring actively, though ſecretly; one conſpirator had been ſtruck by the ſword of the law, and many others were about to undergo the ſame fate. *Egotiſm* had alſo oppoſed ſome obſtacles to the republican ſpirit, but it could not reſiſt the impulſe given by the deputies; and the corrupt heaps accumulated by ariſtocracy and commerce, and found in cellars, were depoſited on the altar of the country. Theſe *corrupt heaps*, diſcovered by theſe bloody and tyrannical meaſures, conſiſted in ſeventeen thouſand two hundred and eight livres (£.752. 17*s.*) in gold; forty-five thouſand five hundred and fifty-nine livres and four ſous (£. 1,971. 6*s.* 9*d.*) in ſilver; eighteen old golden medals, a hundred and twenty-four marks in ſilver, and twenty croſſes, which the ſpeaker ſaid had decorated knights of the Poniard. This contemptible plunder was received with loud applauſes by the convention, although, in the ſame ſitting, they were obliged to paſs a ſeries of decrees to prevent the total ruin of the manufactory of tapeſtry eſtabliſhed at Beauvais, which had ſtagnated in conſequence of the meaſures they thought fit to ſanction.

The oppoſition of Bourdeaux, and the neighbouring towns and departments, to the proceedings againſt the Briſſotines, and the ſubſequent ſubmiſſion of Bourdeaux to the prevailing party, were noticed in the preceding volume. The deputies on miſſion in this department, Tallien, Beaudot, Chaudron Rouſſeau, and Yſabeau, a renegade prieſt, had all given bloody proofs that they were ſufficiently inclined to put in execution any reſolutions, however furious, which might be adopted. They Sept. 20. commenced by convoking a proviſional council general of the commune, to whom Boiffel, the attorney general, obſerved, that the time for deliberating was paſt; they could only fulfil the truſt repoſed in them by ſtriking in a terrible manner all the conſpirators in Bourdeaux. The council, in obedience to theſe inſtructions, declared it their duty to proceed againſt the members of the popular committee of public ſafety, the ſautors, conſpirators, and accomplices who occaſioned, and the perverſe men who cemented its exiſtence, and maintained by their counter-revolutionary repreſentatives the ſtandard of federaliſm and rebellion. Theſe were all to be arreſted, ſeals put on their papers, as well as on the offices of the department and diſtrict, and domiciliary viſits were to be made for the purpoſe of diſcovering ſuſpected people and monopolizers of proviſions.

But, notwithſtanding theſe appearances of compliance with the will of the convention, the deputies on miſſion declared themſelves not ſatisfied with the loyalty of the Bordelais. Tallien, from his retreat at Rêolle, for he would not reſide in Bourdeaux, conſtantly aſſerted the contrary. None of the revolutionary laws, he ſaid, were exe-

cuted; the Muſcadins compoſing the companies of grenadiers and national cavalry ſtill inſolently paraded the city; ſcarcely a dozen good patriots could be found among the fifty-ſix who compoſed the new municipality; they had celebrated, to be ſure, fetes in honour of Marat and Lepelletier, but it was mere grimace, and the favourable appearaances were adopted through fear and famine alone. More active meaſures were, however, ſpeedily adopted; the obnoxious perſons diligently arreſted, and ſome of the chief ſent to Paris. The repreſentatives on miſſion alſo announced that they had made great exertions in diſarming the Girondiſts to equip *their dear ſans culottes*. "Some muſkets," they ſaid, "are "mounted with gold; the gold "ſhall go to the mint, the muſkets "to the volunteers, and the fede-"raliſts to the guillotine!"

Oct. 21.

In all theſe proceedings there appears a ſurprizing forbearance and ſloth utterly inconſiſtent with the general character of the deputies; men from whom great execution and few words, inſtead of long diſpatches and few murders, were undoubtedly expected; but the myſtery is ſolved when we are informed that Tallien, from whoſe ferocity the greateſt effects were hoped, was entangled in the ſnares of love. A beautiful lady, daughter of a Spaniſh banker, named Gabarus, and divorced from her huſband, whoſe name was Fontenay, had captivated the furious miſſionary; and by her addreſs, he was induced to waſte thoſe hours in ſitting for his picture, attending the duties of the toilet, inventing fetes, and viſiting plays, which the impatient *ſans culottes* wiſhed him to employ in acts of revolutionary violence, ſuited to his natural diſpoſition, and congenial to theirs. In his moments of negligent compliance, his favourites obtained from him ſome warrants for exerciſing oppreſſive peculation; but Madame Fontenay, by her benevolent dexterity, prevented his ſanctioning their ſchemes of murder.

Complaints were ſoon made of his conduct to the committee of public ſafety; and he found it neceſſary to wake from his amorous dream in order to inſtitute a military tribunal, and give impulſe to the revolutionary government. "Now," ſaid Beaudot, exultingly, to the Jacobin club at Paris, "now "every thing at Bourdeaux is tranſ-"acted in the military manner, and "the government only moves by "ſtrokes of the ſabre and the guil-"lotine." But even yet the paſſy of love crippled the arm of Tallien; his general correſpondence did not breathe ſlaughter and vengeance; he talked till near the end of the year of ſuppreſſing ſocieties, and planting trees of liberty. Once, in general terms, he informed the miniſter of the interior of ſtrong meaſures purſued againſt the conſpirators, ſuſpected, *modérés*, *infoucians*, and egotiſts; but plunder rather than murder ſeemed for the time his object, and his great boaſt was, that from Bourdeaux alone he ſhould raiſe a hundred millions of livres (£. 4,375,000) for the republic.

Nov. 30.

Theſe proceedings ſtill excited the indignation of the ſection in Bourdeaux, which had aſſumed the name of Franklin, and was inhabited by the moſt furious devotees of the

the ſyſtem of terror; and their repeated complaints obtained at length, from the committee of public ſafety at Paris, the miſſion of Peyrin d'Herval, ſecretary to Couthon, and celebrated for his atrocious cruelty, as a ſort of a ſuperintendant of the conduct of the too lenient deputies. This man began the exerciſe of his authority by acts calculated to provoke reſiſtance, and involve the city in proſcription; but ſtill he was in ſome degree counteracted by Iſabeau and Tallien, who even went ſo far as to ſuſpend the military commiſſion, on account of the acknowledged iniquity of its judgments. Diſguſted at length with the reduced ſtate of their authority in conſequence of the arrival of d'Herval, theſe two deputies returned to Paris, and were ſoon followed by Madame Gabarus, who was immediately, by order of the committee of public ſafety, arreſted and thrown into the priſon called La Force. The military commiſſion, now re-eſtabliſhed and freed from all impediments, proceeded in its career of blood with zeal and alacrity; from thirty to forty perſons were daily condemned on the moſt ſlight and frivolous pretences; in a very few days 350 individuals were thus aſſaſſinated, and meaſures of ſtill greater ſeverity were publicly ſaid to be in preparation.

Marſeilles, equally zealous with Bourdeaux, eſpouſed alſo the cauſe of the Girondiſts, and perſevered in oppoſition to a greater extent, but was, without much difficulty, ſubdued. The inſurgents, while their power laſted, formed a new court, under the name of a central committee of the ſection, which iſſued ſeveral warrants of arreſt againſt certain turbulent individuals, warm partizans of Marat; and they alſo appointed a popular tribunal, which condemned ſeveral of theſe people to death. June 19.

The convention, when triumphant, was not unmindful of theſe acts, but paſſed a decree putting all the members of this committee and tribunal, together with all perſons who had ſigned liberticide orders, or deliberations, out of the law. The meaſures to be taken in conſequence of this decree were at firſt confided to two deputies, named Pomme and Charbonnieres; but theſe, being found too tardy, were removed to make room for Barras and Freron, who were afterward reinforced by various members, and particularly by the brother of Robeſpierre, and a furious individual named Salicetti. Immediately on their arrival, Barras and Freron iſſued a proclamation, declaring that truth and juſtice ſhould now ſucceed to the diſaſtrous ſyſtem of moderantiſm and royaliſm. "Behold," it ſaid, "the thouſand "veſſels locked up in your ports! "behold your induſtry impriſoned, "your commerce paralized! It is "to them ye owe it! But now ter"ror is the order of the day! We "will be indefatigable, inacceſſible "to every perſonal conſideration; "we will brave alike the ſeductions "of beauty, and the dagger of the "aſſaſſin!" To aid the views of theſe deputies, great reliance was placed on the criminals condemned to the gallies, and the numerous bands of deſperadoes with which the neighbouring ſhores of the Mediterranean always ſupplies Marſeilles as well as Toulon. Fury againſt the town as well as the

people was here carried to an extraordinary pitch. The deſtruction of the place and demolition of the port were deemed indiſpenſable. It was decreed that the name of Marſeilles ſhould be aboliſhed for ever, and, with childiſh petulance, the legiſlators called it *Ville ſans nom*. The rich merchants, bankers, and contractors, who had inhabited the town, were marked for general deſtruction. "Let no new "deputies be ſent here," ſaid Barras, in one of his letters to the committee of public ſafety in Paris, "to impede us in our revolutionary career; we are going to take "meaſures extraordinary. We will "make the merchants dance the "carmagnole. The military commiſſion which we have eſtabliſhed goes on tremendouſly!" This military commiſſion, aided by a criminal tribunal, did indeed rapidly advance the work of depopulation. More than 1100 perſons were impriſoned, with circumſtances of extreme barbarity, many being abſolutely ſtarved to death, while upward of 400 were in a ſhort time ſent to the guillotine. At the head of the judgments againſt priſoners was printed the law of the convention, declaring that there ſhould be neither peace nor truce with ariſtocrats and enemies of the revolution, but putting them all out of the law. Many of the inhabitants, juſtly alarmed at theſe ſcenes and orders, fled to the woods, or concealed themſelves in caverns, truſting their lives to chance, to change of place, or to the dangerous perſeverance of their friends.

Toulon, more criminal in the eyes of the convention than either Bourdeaux or Marſeilles, was alſo more ſeverely puniſhed. Some circumſtances diſtinguiſhing the fury of government toward this town were mentioned in the preceding volume. In the ſcenes of deſtruction and ſlaughter which enſued, the deputies moſt active at Marſeilles were alſo moſt conſpicuous. After the ſurrender, Freron, by proclamation, ordered all citizens who had armed to maintain the rebellion, or accepted any place in the name of Louis XVII. to repair, on pain of death, to the Champ-de-Mars. Fear of the conſequences of diſobedience, and hope that ſome degree of mercy might be ſhewn, brought together 8000 perſons. So numerous an aſſembly appalled thoſe who had prepared the maſſacre, and who had engaged a portion of the artillery for the purpoſe. To reduce the number, a ſelection was made, chiefly as caprice or intereſt directed, and 2000 victims, placed along a wall, were mowed down by a diſcharge of grape ſhot. To complete the work of barbarity, a voice exclaimed, "All who are not dead, "riſe!" the wounded wretches, ſtill indulging the deluſive dream of mercy, raiſed themſelves as well as they could, and were again brought down by a freſh diſcharge. The ſword, the bayonet, and the butt-end of the muſket, were then uſed, completely to extinguiſh any ſparks of life remaining in the devoted band. This mode of execution, by means of grape-ſhot, obtained, in the cant of the revolution, the name of a *mitraillade*; when the muſket alone was uſed, it was termed a *fuſillade*; and both theſe means were frequently reſorted to in executing the vengeance of the convention againſt the inhabitants

habitants of Toulon. The decree for deſtroying the city was carried ſo eagerly into execution, that a ſupply of 1200 maſons from Paris was demanded to accelerate the progreſs of devaſtation. "There "is a great mortality," ſaid Freron, in one of his letters, "among the "ſubjects of Louis XVII. Had it "not been for fear of deſtroying "ſome innocent victims, ſuch as "children, infirm women, and im-"priſoned patriots, every one "ſhould have been put to the "ſword; and had it not been for "fear of burning the arſenals and "the magazines belonging to the "port, the whole town ſhould have "been given up to the flames; but "it ſhall nevertheleſs diſappear "from the ſoil of liberty. To-"morrow and the following days "we ſhall go on with our demoli-"tions; fuſillades will be repeat-"ed till there are no more trai-"tors!"

To continue theſe narratives of deſtruction would only be to repeat the ſame facts and the ſame phraſes reſounding from various parts of the republic, as the vengeance of the convention gave effect to the ferocity of its miſſionaries. The extermination of thouſands, and the deſolation of cities, towns, and villages, furniſhes the matter of ample volumes; but their uniformity of narration fatigues even thoſe who are moſt intereſted in ſuch recitals. The individuals moſt diſtinguiſhed in theſe tranſactions by their remorſeleſs barbarity were Jean Bon St. André, Treilhard, and Lequinio, at Breſt and L'Orient; Beaudot, St. Juſt, and Le Bas, in the departments of the upper and lower Rhine; Fouché, in the department of L'Allier; Maignet, an ex-prieſt, in the department of Vaucluſe, and particularly at a village called Bedouin; and Joſeph le Bon, at Arras. To two ſcenes alone ſhall the attention of the reader be called, on account of their peculiar enormity; they are Lyons and La Vendée.

Lyons, the ancient pride of France, and one of the moſt flouriſhing of its commercial cities, might have intereſted the feelings and claimed the mercy even of the moſt ſavage conqueror; but far from the boſoms of the French legiſlators was every thing in the nature of feeling or mercy. On receiving the news of the ſurrender of this city, Barrere made one of his bombaſtic reports to the convention, in which, among others equally violent, were the following expreſſions: "Will you ſuffer "the exiſtence of a city which by "its rebellion has cauſed the blood "of patriots to be ſhed? Who will "dare to intercede for this infa-"mous city? The place inhabited "by conſpirators is not a city; it "ought to be buried in its own "ruins. What ſhould you ſpare "in your vengeance? only the cot-"tage of the indigent, oppreſſed "by the rich; over all the reſt "the ploughſhare ought to paſs. "The name of *Lyons* muſt exiſt no "more; let it be called *Ville af-"franchie*, and on its ruins let a "monument be erected with an "inſcription, LYONS WARRED A-"GAINST LIBERTY! LYONS IS "NO MORE!" A decree was framed in conformity with this propoſition, with the addition that the inhabitants ſhould be diſarmed, and their weapons beſtowed on the ſoldiers of the republic, and on the perſons

perſons oppreſſed by the rich and the counter-revolutioniſts; in other words, on the wretches prepared to cut the throats of the proprietors.

The ſavage vengeance prepared for the people at Lyons was the more cruel, as pains had been taken by the conquerors to prevent it from being expected. When the beſiegers entered the city, they affected humanity and moderation, and even beſtowed proviſions on the inhabitants who had been famiſhed during the ſiege. The moſt blood-thirſty of the troops who took the city, the national guards of Auvergne, the volunteers of the Alps, and the Berchigni huſſars, required that it ſhould be given up to plunder according to promiſe, but their demand was rejected. Thus the people of Lyons, who might otherwiſe have endeavoured to gain ſafety by flight, were lulled into a fallacious and fatal ſecurity; and, even before the decree of the convention, great numbers were confined in priſon.

Furniſhed, as a baſis of their future proceedings, with the names of 20,000 citizens, who had ſigned the letter to Dubois Crancé,* four deputies, Couthon, Maignet, Chateauneuf-Randon, and La Porte, were ſent on miſſion to the devoted city, and afterwards joined by Javogues. The clubs were formally and pompouſly re-eſtabliſhed; and Chalier, whoſe name was joined with that of Marat, became, like him, an object of popular adoration. Robeſpierre pronounced his eulogy in the jacobin club at Paris, and Dorfeuille, at Lyons, where a ſolemn feſte was performed to celebrate his memory. As part of this impious ceremony, an aſs, covered with a prieſt's veſtments, having on his head a mitre, and the volumes of holy writ tied to his tail, paraded the ſtreets; he was loaded with church plate, and had drink given him in a chalice. After many other abſurd and profane mockeries, the remains of Chalier were burnt, and the aſhes diſtributed among his admirers; while the books were alſo conſumed, and the aſhes ſcattered in the wind. It was propoſed to terminate the ceremony by murdering all the priſoners; but a ſudden ſtorm drove the people to their houſes.

Nov. 10.

Meanwhile the deputies were not idle in promoting the objects of their miſſion. They eſtabliſhed a moſt iniquitous court of inquiry, for the purpoſe of receiving denunciations, calling it the temporary commiſſion, at which the ſlighteſt informations were received, and produced to the parties accuſed the moſt fatal conſequences. The uſual accuſations were, having carried arms during the ſiege; being fanatic and fond of prieſts; deſpiſing the ſans-culottes; being rich, and therefore incapable of loving equality; and other charges equally unimportant and equivocal. That this commiſſion might not want employ, the deputies urged with all their eloquence the duty of accuſing. "Denounce," ſaid Javogues, in a public ſpeech, "all thoſe who are rich, and all "who conceal their property! Denounce the "lawyers! Yes, to denounce even "your own fathers is a ſacred obli-

* See Vol. XXXV. p. 409.

"gation

"gation among republicans!" The poor too were invited to demolish the dwellings of the rich, that they might share the materials, and thus be raised to that sublime equality which is the basis of genuine liberty. Couthon, completely crippled with the palsy, and carried about the streets in a litter, presided at these demolitions. The form was this; the deputy struck the devoted building with a silver hammer, saying, "in the name of the law, I "demolish thee:" two hours were then allowed for the inhabitants to remove, at the expiration of which the masons and the mob fell to work. In this manner it was proposed to destroy 1200 houses per month; and the wages of the persons employed in this task of devastation amounted monthly to four hundred thousand livres, (£.17,500).

Another commission, called the revolutionary tribunal, pronounced sentence of death with equal facility and disregard of justice and evidence, or even of the existence of a charge. Some were executed as fanatics, for declaring they believed in God and a future state; others as immoral hypocrites, because they denied any such belief. Many were condemned for having, during the siege, obeyed orders which they could not resist; and many for having, during the same period, spent their substance in relieving the distressed and famished citizens.

Still, with all the activity of these two commissions, the work of desolation proceeded too slowly, and the limited cruelty of the cripple Couthon was to receive extension and vigour from the more robust Collot d'Herbois. This man, who as a low comedian had been hissed from the stage by the people of Lyons, came, full of the pride of power and bitterness of malice, to gratify the ferocity of his nature, and avenge the insult he considered himself to have received. He had two adjuncts, subordinate in power, but not inferior in malice or ferocity, the ex-priest Fouché, and the deputy La Porte, who came together reeking with the blood they had shed in the departments of La Nievre and L'Allier. These men openly professed that the population of the city ought to be reduced by four-fifths; to execute their intents, a body of the revolutionary army was put in motion, and *mitraillades* and *fusillades* multiplied till 6000 persons had been put to death. In the midst of these furious proceedings, rendered additionally offensive by the most atrocious circumstances of lust and barbarity, Collot d'Herbois and Fouché made a merit of their cruelty, and considered themselves entitled to the highest honours for their republican virtue. "Convinced," they said, in one of their letters to the convention, "that there are no innocent men "in this infamous city, but those "who are oppressed and loaded "with irons by the assassins of the "people, we are on our guard "against the tears of repentance, "and nothing can disarm our se- "verity. They have not yet dar- "ed to solicit the repeal of your "first decree for the annihilation of "the city of Lyons; but scarcely "any thing has yet been done to "carry it into execution. The de- "molitions are too slow. More "rapid means are necessary to re- "publican impatience. The ex- "plosion

" plosion of the mine, and the de-
" vouring activity of the flames,
" can alone adequately represent
" the omnipotence of the people.
" Their will cannot be checked
" like that of tyrants. It ought
" to have the effects of thunder!"
To give effect to the savage passions which inflamed him, Collot d'Herbois made a journey to Paris, and in a speech in the jacobin club, displayed and defended his principles. " We are accused," he said, " of
" being cannibals, men of blood:
" but it is in counter-revolutionary
" petitions, hawked about for sig-
" nature by aristocrats, that this
" charge is made against us. They
" examine, with the most scrupu-
" lous attention, how the counter-
" revolutionists are put to death;
" and they affect to say, that they
" are not killed at one stroke! Ah!
" jacobins, did Chalier die at the
" first stroke? A drop of blood
" poured from generous veins goes
" to my heart, but I have no pity
" for conspirators. We caused two
" hundred to be shot at once, and
" it is charged upon us as a crime!
" They do not know that it is a
" proof of our sensibility! When
" twenty criminals are guillotined,
" the last of them dies twenty
" deaths. But these two hundred
" conspirators perished at once!
" They speak of sensibility; we al-
" so are full of sensibility. The
" jacobins have all the virtues.
" They are compassionate, hu-
" mane, generous! but they re-
" serve these sentiments for the
" patriots who are their brethren,
" which the aristocrats never will
" be!"

All the horrors and cruelties which raged in other parts of France, with different degrees of violence, were accumulated in number and concentrated in force in La Vendée. Against the departments engaged in the rebellion, which began in that quarter, the convention and its missionaries poured forth all their fury, in all its excess, and in all its varied modes. On the first tidings of success, Merlin proposed a punning decree to change the name of *La Vendee* to that of *Le departement venge*. Projects were formed for dividing the possessions of those who remained, to teach them humility, by reducing them to poverty; and for the extermination of all religious prejudices, it was proposed to colonize these fanatical regions with Parisian *sans culottes*.

Happy indeed had it been for the unfortunate people of La Vendée if these measures had been the worst efforts of republican vengeance; but cruelty and persecution now marked them out as victims to their utmost fury. On the eighth of October, Carrier, a new missionary, fitly intrusted with the destructive powers for executing the furious dictates of the French government, arrived at Nantes. Under the auspices of this wretch, who added to unbounded cruelty and insatiate lust a horrible brutality of manners, a revolutionary committee was formed; reports of conspiracies were forged; the prisons filled with real or pretended aristocrats, and the guillotine, though constantly in motion, could not dispatch with sufficient rapidity the objects of his hate. The circumstances attending his administration in this part of his office would fill a volume with horrors unparalleled, except in the annals

of

of French cruelty. The defeat of the royalists afforded him and his colleagues fresh opportunities of gratifying their ferocious propensities; nothing was talked of in their dispatches but arresting and executing the *brigands;* some who attempted without arms to return into La Vendée were permitted to swim across the Loire, and butchered by patroles stationed for the purpose. Vast numbers were executed by order of military commissioners, as rebels taken with arms in their hands; and in this number were included many, against whom no proof of such conduct could be adduced. The thirst of blood and rage of depopulation seemed daily to increase; and as the ordinary modes of murder, and even the *mitraillade* and *fusillade* were found not sufficiently rapid to gratify the views of the tyrannical proconsuls, new inventions were resorted to for the speedy destruction of great numbers. One was afterwards called the *noyade;* it was performed by shutting up the intended victims in the hold of a vessel, which, being provided with a large valve, was suddenly thrown open, and the persons inclosed precipitated into the Loire. This invention originated with Carrier, and soon became so popular, that a narrative of a *noyade*, especially if the victims were priests, would at all times raise the mirth of the convention. The inventor of this mode of destruction seems at first to have doubted the popularity of his project, as he announced it at the close of a dispatch, in terms partaking at once of facetiousness and mystery. "An event of another kind," he says, after describing the conduct of some priests who had renounced their order, "seems to have intended the diminution of the number "of clergy; ninety of those, who "were termed refractory, were shut "up in a boat on the Loire; I "have just learned, and you may "rely on the truth of the intelli-"gence, that they all perished in "the river!"

In vindication of these proceedings, Lequinio, a colleague of Carrier, wrote to the convention in these terms: "I must tell you, that if "you hesitate about adopting such "measures, you will never get rid "of La Vendée; the abominable "moderantism of the administra-"tions occasioned La Vendée, and "the moderantism of the admini-"strators and generals still che-"rishes it. I have exclaimed in "every quarter, *you must make no "prisoners! and I wish the same "measure were adopted by all our "armies;* then would our enemies "retaliate, and we should no more "be plagued with cowards. La "Vendée wants republicans, and "possesses nothing but well mean-"ing men, who in their proceed-"ings are slow as the tortoise!"

Lequinio's horrible expedient contributed much to terminate this sloth, for *fusillades, mitraillades*, and *noyades*, became afterwards very common: not only insurgents, but women and children were subjected to these modes of execution.

"No more rebels on this side the "Loire," said Francastel, Dec. 25. in a letter from Angers, "and every preparation is making "that all those of La Vendée may "undergo the fate of rebels—death! "Thousands are collected in the "different *communes*, and soon suf-"fer for their crimes. I have col-"lected

"lected in one ſpot all thoſe whom "their tender age ſeems to excuſe "and render ſuſceptible of re- "publican impreſſions; they are "watched, attended by patriots. "This affords ſome conſolation "amidſt the fuſillades and guillo- "tinings which accompanied the "national vengeance!" Thus amid the horrors of pillage, burning, unbridled licentiouſneſs, and indiſcriminate maſſacre, the inhabitants of the moſt fertile, and, before the revolution, the happieſt provinces in France, were doomed to expiate the crime of having dared to worſhip after their own manner, and to receive all the ſacraments comprized in their faith from thoſe hands which had communicated to them the firſt. Their religion alone was the motive for commencing a perſecution againſt them, more bloody and horrible than moſt of thoſe which the ſevereſt aſſailants of religion allege among their motives for contemning its doctrines.

The deputies ſent on miſſion to theſe parts were purpoſely ſelected from the moſt barbarous, ferocious, and brutal of the people; they carried to exaggeration the faſhionable manners of the Cordeliers, adding to the diſguſting deportment, obſcene diction, and unrelenting cruelty, required by the prevailing diſpoſition in Paris, all the violences which an unbridled indulgence in the worſt and moſt deteſtable paſſions could prompt, or the moſt diabolical imaginations could invent. Carrier, their patron and leader, excited the people to pillage and murder the rich; he publicly reproached the judges for permitting ſcruples of any kind to prevent the condemnation of criminals; he mingled with his cruelty and extortion a brutal jocularity, not leſs afflictive to the mind than pain was to the body of the ſufferers; he diſmiſſed petitioners who pleaded for their friends or relatives with reproaches, threats, and even blows: the conſequence of theſe barbarities was univerſal dread, and general deſolation; and mental agony often occaſioned delirium and death. An inſtance is even recorded where the executioner was ſo affected with the innocence and graces of ſix young ladies periſhing on the ſame day under his hands, that he was ſeized with a profound melancholy, which terminated his exiſtence in a week. Yet the directors of theſe barbarities were not merely unmoved, but ſatisfied with themſelves. Carrier boaſted of his cruelties; his diſpatches to the convention were filled with accounts of deſtroying five hundred in a day, of burying four thouſand and fifty in a ſingle pit; and the convention applauded theſe ferocious narratives, enjoying as excellent wit the deſcription of the guillotine under the name of the national razor, and the little window; and the noyade, by the title of the republican baptiſm, the bath, and drinking in the great bowl!

But even theſe exceſſes were not equal to thoſe by which the commanders of troops of the revolutionary army ſpread terror and devaſtation far and wide. Their ſavage atrocities combined the extremes of rapacity, cruelty, and luſt: by them whole generations were ſwept away in brutal ſport; the hoary grandſire, with the youthful props of his years, and his ſecond hope, the offſpring of

of his children, lay in one general heap; women even in pregnancy, and children at the breaſt, were devoted to ſimilar deſtruction. Prieſts, women, and children, were marked out for peculiar barbarities; prieſts were the firſt victims of the *noyade*, being put on board boats and ſhips under pretence of tranſportation; but when they were drowned, Carrier amuſed the legiſlature with a joke in his own ſtyle, that they were tranſported *vertically*. The unfortunate men, ignorant that they were deſtined to this unexpected death, cried out to their executioners for help, but their ſtruggles and exclamations only occaſioned mirth in theſe monſters, and if any were perceived making ſuch exertions as promiſed to ſave their lives, they were diſpatched with ſwords, poles, or pikes!

One Pinard, a member of the revolutionary committee, at the head of a troop of negroes and mulattoes, boaſted that women and children were the favourite objects of his vengeance, and on them he exerciſed his greateſt cruelties. The deputies and other agents of the convention were equally ſavage in their conduct towards that ſex which ſeldom fails of finding protection where nature has not entirely forgone her rights. The tragedy of colonel Kirk, which Engliſhmen regard with ſo much horror and ſhame, was frequently acted by the friends of France, who even augmented the horrors of the cataſtrophe by ſacrificing, without remorſe, the unhappy objects of their brutal deſires. One of the moſt horrible and wicked inventions for deſtroying, with the individuals perſecuted, all ſenſe of ſhame and decency in the ſurviving race, was the murder called a republican marriage. It was performed by tying two perſons of different ſexes face to face ſtark naked; ſometimes both the parties were young, ſometimes both old, and occaſionally the extremes of oppoſite age were thus conjoined; after theſe miſerable victims had been thus expoſed for an hour, and undergone the immodeſt deriſion and brutality of the deputies and adminiſtrators, they were cut down with ſabres, and thrown into the river! In one day fourſcore women were ſhot, and their carcaſes ſtript ſtark naked, left for three days to aſtoniſh and ſhock all beholders! Another day ſaw five hundred children of both ſexes, the oldeſt not exceeding fourteen years, ſubmitted to a ſimilar execution, with circumſtances of cruelty too painful for deſcription; and the deputies juſtified this dreadful carnage of unoffending innocence, by calling them little wolves, who muſt be deſtroyed; young vipers, whom it was neceſſary to cruſh! The Loire was diſcoloured with blood in a courſe of ſeveral miles; whole weeks were conſumed in burying the dead, who, lying putrid on the ground, and thrown on ſhore by the reflux of the ſea, rendered the air peſtilential; the unburied corpſes of thoſe who died in priſons, made thoſe diſmal abodes unſafe to perſons confined, and to their goalers; fiſh which had fed on ſo many human carcaſes could not be deemed fit food for man; the furies ſeemed in full poſſeſſion of every mind, and the rage for extermination was not ſatisfied, though the deſolation of the country

try and gloomy ſolitude of the towns bore dreadful teſtimony to the effect of their exertions.

"I have left to the people of "La Vendée," ſaid General Hoche, who was employed on this ſervice, "nothing but eyes to weep!"

In this delirium of ſlaughter in all parts of the republic, the number of French people who fell by various means of deſtruction, on the ſcaffold, in the waves, and in the field, by the hands of Frenchmen, is eſtimated at 900,000, of whom 15,000 were women, and 22,000 children; and more than 20,000 dwelling houſes were deſtroyed! Nor were theſe perſecutors of their ſpecies more anxious to exterminate the exiſting, than to inure to depravity the riſing generation. Every act and art, public and private, by which modeſty in both ſexes could be deſtroyed was put in force. The moſt beaſtly indecencies were openly practiſed and encouraged, and any exhibition of virtuous feeling in the female ſex was puniſhed by words, acts, and public penances calculated to efface every trace of ſuch impreſſions. Such was the gloomy and frightful picture exhibited by France, when mock philoſophy had deſtroyed religion, and when a mad deſire of freedom had ſuperſeded all lawful government!

CHAP. VI.

State of the public mind in Great Britain. Increaſing audacity of the ſocieties. Suppoſed inertneſs of government. A general convention held in Edinburgh. Delegates ſent from London; their inſtructions. Proceedings of the convention; its ſuppreſſion. Seizure, trial, and ſentence, of ſome leading members. Meeting of Parliament. The King's ſpeech. Debate on the addreſs in the Houſe of Commons. Eloquent ſpeech of Lord Mornington. Arguments of Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox. An amendment moved, requeſting the King to treat for peace. Reſiſted by Mr. Windham, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Pitt. The addreſs carried. Debate in the Houſe of Lords. The addreſs moved and ſeconded by Lord Stair and Lord Auckland. Oppoſed by ſeveral peers. Their argument. An amendment, moved by the Earl of Guilford, rejected. Motion of Earl Stanhope rejected without a diviſion.

HAD the enormities commemorated in the preceding, and ſome other chapters of this work, been doubtfully communicated by travellers, or obſcurely intimated in the publications of the country where they took place, it would ſtill have afforded room for ſurprize, that in this kingdom a party ſhould be found to admire and defend a ſyſtem of revolution, againſt which ſuch charges were advanced, and not effectually diſproved. But when all the atrocities committed in France, and all the diſguſting circumſtances of horror and vice with which they were accompanied, were daily detailed and boaſted of, it became at once aſtoniſhing and afflicting, that promoters and advocates ſhould ſtill be found: that their number was in danger of being

being increaſed, and their ſentiments were not without patrons among thoſe who moved in the higher claſſes of the Britiſh community.

In our former volumes, notice has been taken of the proceedings in various ſocieties formed in Great Britain, with different names and oſtenſible motives, but ſeveral of which, after the commencement of the French revolution, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by an affected zeal in defending the conduct of thoſe who uſurped the powers of government in that country, and in endeavours to make their principles and proceedings popular in this.* The royal proclamation iſſued towards the cloſe of the year 1792, and the laudable exertions of the loyal aſſociations, have likewiſe been mentioned in the ſame volumes.

Though the barrier which the friends of order had united to raiſe round the conſtitution, checked for a while the revolutionary torrent, it was inſufficient to oppoſe to its progreſs an effectual reſiſtance. The tone of hypocritical humility, which, either from real fears or from prudential motives, the jacobins of Great Britain had adopted, was ſoon dropped, and in its ſtead was ſubſtituted a language of ſtill greater inſult, defiance, and menace, than that which they had formerly employed. The ſeditious ſocieties, and eſpecially the London correſponding ſociety, the centre and ſoul of them all, now, as if they had derived freſh vigour from their momentary depreſſion, carried on their operations with undiſguiſed and unremitting activity and ardour, and with a ſucceſs commenſurate to the magnitude of their efforts. Such indeed was their audacity, and ſo little was done to depreſs it, that much wonder was excited at the ſupineneſs of thoſe to whom was committed the ſafety of the ſtate. Government, however, though it appeared to ſlumber, was awake to the danger, and, knowing the miſchief which might ariſe from a premature and abortive attempt to puniſh the conſpirators, was only waiting to obtain entire and irreſiſtible proof of the meditated crimes.

During the courſe of the year 1793, the ſyſtem of employing miſſionaries from the ſociety in London, under the name of delegates, had been carried to an alarming extent throughout England; but in Edinburgh, under the auſpices of theſe perſons, and by inſtructions from the ſocieties, a general convention was actually held in October. The inſtructions given by the London correſponding ſociety to its delegates were, in the firſt place, by no means to depart from the original arguments and principles of the ſociety, namely, the obtaining annual parliaments and univerſal ſuffrage by rational and lawful means. But the ſame inſtructions alſo told them, that it was the duty of the people to reſiſt any act of parliament repugnant to the original principles of the conſtitution, as would be every attempt to prohibit aſſociations for the purpoſe of reform.

In the convention thus aſſem-

* See Vol. XXXIV. part II. p. *128 to *170, and *344 to *350.—Vol. XXXV. p. *75 to *83.

bled, the delegates from different places were formally enrolled; the ſitting commenced with prayers; letters were read from individuals, and from ſocieties in England and Ireland; the body was organized in diviſions, or ſections, as they were termed, containing fifteen or ſixteen members in each, which were appointed to meet in different places, ſome of which received new names, as Liberty Stairs, Liberty Court, Liberty Hall; they alſo, in imitation of the French, ſtyled themſelves and each other citizen; the reports from their ſections were dated the firſt year of the Britiſh convention, one and indiviſible; they inſtituted primary aſſemblies and departments, appointed committees of various kinds, as, of organization, of inſtruction, of finance, and of ſecrecy; denominated their meetings ſittings, invited individuals to the honours of the ſitting, and made honourable mention of particular perſons in their minutes. They ſhewed particular attention and reſpect to two gentlemen named Muir* and Palmer, who had been tried for ſedition, and ſentenced to be tranſported for ſeven years; and, at length, being emboldened by the apparent inattention of government to their proceedings, and encouraged by the acceſſion of numbers, they fancied themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to contend, if it ſhould be neceſſary, with the government itſelf, and with unuſual ſolemnity formed a committee of emergency, and agreed to reſiſt all efforts to diſperſe them. They determined that the committee of emergency ſhould meet at a ſecret place, to be appointed by a ſecret committee; it was to be contained in a ſealed letter given to each delegate, and to be by him handed over unopened to his conſtituents, and preſerved till the period ſhould arrive, at which it ſhould be deemed neceſſary for the delegate to depart. And they voted that all the members both of the convention and the primary ſocieties ſhould ſubſcribe a ſolemn league and covenant. They alſo reſolved, that the firſt notice given for the introduction of a Convention Bill, or any bill of a ſimilar tendency to that paſſed in Ireland in the laſt ſeſſion of their parliament, or any bill for the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act, or the act for preventing wrongous impriſonment, and againſt undue delays in trials in North Britain; or in caſe of an invaſion; or the admiſſion of any foreign troops whatſoever in Great Britain or Ireland; all, or any one of theſe calamitous circumſtances, ſhould be a ſignal to the ſeveral delegates to repair to ſuch place as the ſecret committee of the convention ſhould appoint; and the firſt ſeven members ſhould have power to declare the ſittings permanent, and twenty-one ſhould conſtitute a convention, and proceed to buſineſs. The proceedings for giving effect to theſe reſolutions had at length reached to ſuch a height, that on the 5th and 6th of December, the magiſtracy of Edinburgh, with a proper force, attended at two of their principal places of aſſembly, diſperſed the meeting, ſeized the papers, and impriſoned the ſecretary and ſome of the leading members. Three of

* See Muir's trial, Vol. XXXV. p. *74.

theſe

Jan. and Mar. 1794.

theſe perſons, William Skirving, the ſecretary, and Maurice Margarot, and Joſeph Gerald, delegates from the London correſponding ſociety, were tried before the high court of juſticiary in Scotland, for the ſhare they had taken in the acts of this convention, and being all by an unanimous verdict, found guilty of the crime of ſedition, they were ſentenced to be tranſported for fourteen years.*

Jan. 21.

Such were the domeſtic circumſtances, more particularly intereſting the country, when the ſeſſion of parliament was opened, by a ſpeech from the throne, in which his Majeſty called the attention of parliament to the ſerious nature of the conteſt in which they were engaged. He enumerated with pleaſure the principal advantages obtained by ourſelves and our allies during the late campaign, noticing alſo the ſuperiority we had maintained at ſea, and the ample protection our commerce had received; the check which the allied arms had lately met with, was attributed to a temporary exertion in the enemy, which, as it was founded in violence and injuſtice, muſt neceſſarily be of ſhort duration; the evils of war were lamented, but the continuance of it was affirmed to be neceſſary, as long as the attainment of a ſecure and honourable peace was obſtructed by the ſyſtem now prevailing in France. Towards the concluſion, parliament were directed to bear in mind the true grounds and origin of the war; an attack made on us and our allies, founded on principles which tend to ſubvert all laws and religion, and to introduce univerſally a deſtructive ſyſtem of anarchy, rapine and impiety. In oppoſition to this ſyſtem they were exhorted to perſevere, relying on the powerful confederacy with which we acted, our own valour and reſources, and the inconteſtible juſtice of our cauſe.

In the houſe of commons, an addreſs having been moved in the uſual form by lord Cliffden, and ſeconded by ſir Peter Burrell, a long and animated debate enſued, which was ſupported by the moſt diſtinguiſhed leaders of both parties. The queſtions agitated were thoſe which naturally aroſe out of his Majeſty's ſpeech. The juſtice and policy of the war in its commencement, the able and ſucceſsful conduct of it during the late campaign, the neceſſity of its continuance, and the encouraging proſpect of affairs, were ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on and argued at great length on one ſide, and oppoſed in every inſtance with equal vehemence on the other.

After theſe topics had undergone ſome deſultory diſcuſſions, lord Mornington aroſe, and in a ſet ſpeech, which, for perſpicuous and manly argument, as well as powerful eloquence, extorted the admiration of all who heard him, undertook the defence of miniſtry in all theſe points. His lordſhip ſupported and illuſtrated his poſitions as he went along, by reading numerous extracts from a pamphlet publiſhed by Briſſot ſoon after his fall, entitled, "An Addreſs to his Conſtituents," in which he developes all the ſtate ſecrets of the revolu-

* See a copious abſtract of theſe trials, Appendix to the Chronicle, p. *174 to *191.

tionary government at the time when he was the main ſpring of affairs himſelf, and makes a free confeſſion of the principles on which France carried on her intercourſe with other powers, the means which ſhe employed, and the ultimate deſigns ſhe entertained. He referred alſo occaſionally to general Dumourier's correſpondence, and other printed documents relating to the views and internal ſtate of that country, the authenticity of which was not diſputed. The ſpeech itſelf, of which we can attempt but a bare outline, if it be not allowed, as indeed it cannot be, to vie with thoſe unpremeditated effuſions of other orators in that houſe, which have ſometimes faſcinated the imagination of their hearers, and filled them with a mingled feeling of delight and wonder, may yet fairly lay claim to the diſtinction of ſolid, maſculine reaſoning, and judicious arrangement. It has ſince been publiſhed in the form of a pamphlet, and has become the ſtandard and text-book of many who want leiſure for the peruſal and compariſon of various publications, and who require ſome rallying point to which they may betake themſelves amidſt the diſtracting diverſity of opinions they daily hear.

If, ſaid he, the queſtion for our deliberation was, whether we ſhould return to the ſecure enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace, or wantonly commit thoſe bleſſings to the doubtful chance of war, no man could heſitate in his deciſion. But unfortunately we had no ſuch alternative before us. Our choice was limited either to a vigorous proſecution of hoſtilities, or to an ambiguous ſtate, in which we ſhould ſuffer moſt of the inconveniences of war, without enjoying the ſolid advantages of peace; in which we muſt be content to behold the rapid progreſs of the arms and principles of France among our allies, and await patiently with the axe ſuſpended over our heads the moment of our own deſtruction. We could not have forgotten what the conduct of the French was before their declaration of war, or the manner in which the houſe pledged itſelf in the face of all Europe to oppoſe their projects of aggrandizement and ambition. Before we receded therefore from this pledge we ſhould require ſatisfactory proof, either that our original opinion of the views of France was erroneous, or that, by the courſe of ſubſequent events, the ſucceſs of the war was become deſperate and impracticable; or that, from ſome improvement in the ſyſtem now prevailing, or in the deſigns and characters of thoſe who exerciſed the powers of government in France, the motives of juſtice and neceſſity, which compelled us to enter into the war, no longer continued to operate.

His lordſhip then proceeded to prove, from the teſtimony of the French themſelves, and principally from Briſſot's pamphlet, that the war was conſidered by themſelves as aggreſſive on the part of France, and that their political views were really ſuch as had been aſcribed to them by our government.

The particular acts by which thoſe views had been manifeſted were, 1ſt, the decree of the 19th November, in which France made a grant of aſſiſtance to all citizens of whatever country in the cauſe of

of liberty, a term ſufficiently defined by the reception which the convention had given to ſeditious and treaſonable addreſſes from Britiſh ſubjects, and by the ſpeeches of the Preſident expreſſing a wiſh for the eſtabliſhment of a Britiſh convention, neceſſarily founded on the overthrow of our conſtitution.

2dly, The conduct of France in incorporating the territories of other powers with her own, under colour of voluntary acts of union; particularly in the cafes of Savoy and the Netherlands.

3dly, The opening of the Scheldt, in direct violation of ſolemn treaties; and, laſtly, her general deſigns againſt Holland.

As to the decree of 19th November, it was aſſerted by Briſſot to be "abſurd and impolitic, juſtly exciting uneaſineſs in foreign cabinets:" not that he diſapproved of the project, as appeared from other extracts, only he conſidered that the beſt mode of ſpreading the principles of liberty in other countries was "by writing, and by proving to the people the facility and advantage of inſurrections." To remove all doubt, however, of the authority of this evidence, it was uſeful to obſerve how cloſely the acts and language of the agents of France, correſponded with the deſigns here aſcribed to their employers.

In America, citizen Genet, who had been appointed reſident by Briſſot and le Brun, commenced his operations by the inſtitution of a jacobin club, publicly inſulted their magiſtrates, diſputed the acts of government, eſtabliſhed a conſular tribunal under the authority of the French republic, and in an official remonſtrance talked of an appeal from the Preſident to the people of the United States. Citizen Deſcorches, employed by the ſame party at Conſtantinople, proceeded in the ſame ſpirit to the inſtitution of jacobin clubs, and the holding of primary aſſemblies among the janiſſaries at the Porte. Nor could there be a ſtronger evidence of this general ſyſtematic conſpiracy againſt the order of ſociety and the peace of mankind, than the project to free the negroes in the Weſt Indies, and to put arms into their hands. By this ſimple operation, ſays Briſſot, I would have accompliſhed the deſtruction of the Britiſh colonies in that quarter.

Having thus proved that the miſchievous ſpirit of the decree of the 19th November had been avowed by the author and contriver of all their plans, and that the conduct of the French agents corroborated this interpretation, he proceeded to the next grand feature in the policy of France, the incorporation of new territories. This was demonſtrated by copious extracts from the ſame work, to have been forced on Savoy, Nice, and the Netherlands, and in the latter inſtance to have been conſidered merely as a financial operation, in order, by the acquiſition of freſh plunder, to retrieve the ſinking credit of the aſſignats. With reſpect to the Scheldt, the declaration of the executive council renouncing all pretenſions to its navigation, now appeared ſo evident an inſult and mockery, that nothing need be ſaid on that ſubject; while their general deſigns againſt Holland might be inferred as well from their avowed maxim, that France ought to know no

barrier eastward but the Rhine, as from the lately published correspondence between Pache, the minister of war, and Dumourier. For from this we learnt that so early as the 30th of November 1792, a plan was delivered in by that general for the invasion of Holland, and it was on the ground of expediency only that the execution of it was delayed.

Such were the various proofs that confirm these impressions; in consequence of which we thought it our duty to enable his Majesty to augment his forces previous to the declaration of war.

The aggression of France, the immediate cause of hostilities, formed another material part of the argument. On this head, the testimony of Brissot was ample and unequivocal: that warlike preparations were making in the ports of France long before the alledged act of hostility on our part, in detaining the corn vessels; and that Monge, the minister of marine, being directed by the committee, so early as in October 1792, to provide against a maritime war, had promised a fleet of 30 sail of the line to be ready by the month of April, and 20 more in July. In addition to this, what stronger proof could be required than that the crime of having provoked a war with England, constituted the charge of each party against the other? Robespierre imputes it to Brissot, and Brissot retorts on Robespierre. But who is the British subject, exclaimed his lordship, that shall acquit both these sanguinary factions of the crime, and by charging it on the councils of his sovereign, shall impair the confidence of an united people in the justice of their cause, and weaken the energy of their exertions?

If then the original justice of our cause, so far from being diminished, had received confirmation from subsequent events, unless it could be shewn that our efforts must be vain, and our enemy invincible, it was both our right and our duty to persevere. That such however was by no means the case, might be demonstrated from the general result of the campaign, both in its effects upon our own situation, and upon that of the enemy. At the opening of the campaign, France was in full possession of the Netherlands. By the possession of Ostend, the intercourse between England and Holland was interrupted. Antwerp gave her the command of the Scheldt, and Mentz of the Rhine. She had a powerful army ready to invade Holland, and her fleet had the undisputed command of the Mediterranean. Notwithstanding the gloomy predictions which were made, what was our situation, he asked, at the conclusion of the first year of the war? Holland was saved; the Netherlands recovered; and an impression even made on the frontier of France, by the capture of Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoy. On the Rhine, the recapture of Mentz had effectually protected Germany; and although the French had regained a considerable part of the country, they had as yet been contending with us for our conquests, not for any advantages they had not possessed before the commencement of the war. In the Sardinian territories the French had not advanced; on the side of Spain they had suffered considerable

conſiderable loſs. The blockade of Toulon had been effected by an inferior force, and the ſevereſt blow had been given to the naval power of France at the evacuation of that harbour. In the meantime our advantages abroad were of the moſt important nature—the acquiſition of the fiſhery of Newfoundland, the iſland of Tobago, and a footing gained in St. Domingo; while, in the Eaſt Indies, the French had been expelled from all their ſettlements, except Pondicherry, the capture of which could not, by the lateſt advices, be long delayed.

If then our ſucceſs had been ſo great, great beyond the example of any ſingle campaign ſince the Revolution, and ſtill we were diſſuaded from renewing the conteſt, it muſt be from an opinion that the power of France is ſo unconquerable and her reſources ſo inexhauſtible, that theſe advantages, which againſt any other ſtate or againſt herſelf at any other time would have been looked upon as eſſential, are nugatory and ineffectual. But if we cloſely examined the real foundation of her apparent ſtrength, and compared them with the nature and ſources of our own power, we ſhould find that the probability of ultimate ſucceſs and the neceſſity of continuing our exertions were ſo far from being weakened, that they were greatly increaſed by the extraordinary character of that ſyſtem now exerciſed in France. Inquire, ſaid he, from what ſources and through what channels it draws the public revenue—how it affects agriculture and commerce—with what attention to the internal proſperity of the country it levies and maintains the public force—what is the real condition of France with reſpect to the ſecurity of liberty of property, and of life. And if in all theſe points the government failed, what muſt be the ſtability of its power, or what the diſpoſition and temper of the people whom it oppreſſed?

Having then ſtated the expenditure of laſt Auguſt only, which amounted to 18 millions ſterling, his Lordſhip entered at large upon their tyrannical and rapacious ſchemes of finance, their forced loans, requiſitions and confiſcations, the pillage of the church, arbitrary taxes of individuals, every income being reduced to £.400 ſterling, and the ruinous regulations adopted reſpecting commerce and agriculture, from all which it appeared that a ſum had not been procured adequate to the ſupply of a ſingle month. In the execution of theſe ſchemes, the moſt eſſential maxims of juſtice had been diſregarded: arbitrary impriſonment and puniſhment upon mere ſuſpicion, the moſt odious inſtruments of deſpotic power, had been employed by the revolutionary government, with a violence far ſurpaſſing all that is recorded of the moſt vigorous tyrannies that ever afflicted mankind. If the people of France were really animated with a zeal for liberty, what muſt be their temper when they daily beheld the mercileſs and ſanguinary proceedings of the revolutionary tribunal—when they ſaw 200,000 perſons arreſted on no ſpecific charge, and condemned without a trial—1000 executions within the laſt month in Paris only—and a military corps eſtabliſhed for the expreſs purpoſe of traverſing

the country, accompanied by judges and a guillotine?

And, indeed, the ſpirit of the nation had broken out againſt their unnatural governors. In no leſs than forty departments this ſpirit had been manifeſted. At Bourdeaux, at Lyons, it had been found impoſſible to ſtifle the ſentiments of the inhabitants, or to ſhake their conſtancy, notwithſtanding the moſt cruel and ſavage executions; and in the north weſtern departments, although the convention had repeatedly boaſted that they preſented nothing to the view but a "heap of aſhes be-"dewed with blood," the royaliſt army ſtill oppoſed a vigorous reſiſtance to every force which had been yet employed againſt it.

From this diſguſting ſcene of maſſacre and pillage, if we turned our eyes to our own ſituation, the contraſt was ſtriking. Here we beheld public credit riſing under all the diſadvantages of war; an ample revenue flowing from the opulence of a contented people; from agriculture, improved even in the midſt of hoſtilities; from commerce, unreſtrained and ſupported in its enterprizes. Inſtead of proſcriptions, confiſcations, requiſitions, crouded priſons and ſcaffolds, we beheld property protected, juſtice allied with mercy, and liberty with law; a regard for perſonal freedom and a reverence for religion; and in the public mind, together with a due ſenſe of theſe bleſſings, a general conviction that their continuance was involved in the iſſue of the preſent conteſt.

The reſult of this comparative view was, that the whole fabric of government in France was unfound in every part; that the meaſures by which their late extraordinary efforts had been maintained, were at this moment exhauſting the reſources of the country, and by their own confeſſion were not to be repeated; that cauſes ſo unnatural, ſo odious to the feelings, and ſo ruinous to the intereſts of every claſs of people, muſt neceſſarily yield to the ſteady exertions of natural and genuine ſtrength; and that they had already alienated the minds of a large proportion of the inhabitants from the government.

Such then being the reaſons on which we might ground our hopes of ſucceſs, from the ſame conſiderations might be deduced the neceſſity of perſeverance. In proportion as the facts which had been enumerated, proved the domeſtic tyranny of France and the ſpeedy conſumption of her internal powers, ſhe muſt endeavour to ſupply the want of her own reſources by foreign plunder. It was equally evident, that a government of ſuch a character and founded on ſuch principles muſt ſeek to aſſimilate every other to itſelf, to deſtroy every conſtitution which afforded a contraſt to its own vices.

Whilſt nothing, therefore, could ſecure us againſt their future violence but a reduction of their preſent power, yet to a peace concluded on this principle the jacobin government of France were neither able or willing to accede. By an article of her conſtitution, ſhe cannot make peace with an enemy that occupies any part of her dominion; and the penalty of death is enacted againſt any one who ſhall propoſe to treat on other terms. We are required therefore

to make a free ſurrender of all our conqueſts in Flanders, in Newfoundland, and in the Indies, we muſt acknowledge her right to the poſſeſſion of Savoy, of the Netherlands, and of Leige, as a preliminary to any negotiation; and having thus abandoned all means of indemnity, we are to rely on the good will of the Convention for ſuch ſecurity as they may vouchſafe to grant us: beſides which, we muſt recognize the principles of French liberty; we muſt ſanction and ratify thoſe pernicious doctrines, againſt which we have but juſt entered our proteſt, which equally militate againſt the fundamental maxims of our own conſtitution, and the common duties and common intereſts of all mankind. And ſuppoſing it poſſible for a moment, that we were inclined thus perfidiouſly to deſert our allies, to betray our own dignity and ſafety, and to abjure the principles we have hitherto maintained, ſtill there appeared no ſymptom of pacific diſpoſition in the enemy. From the language of all the leaders of the jacobin faction it was evident, that the ruin and annihilation of England was their object, as connected with their general ſcheme for the ſubverſion of all regular government. As long therefore as the ſyſtem conducted by their influence remained the ſame, or without changing its character ſhould be adminiſtered by other hands, we had no means of vindicating our honour or our ſecurity, but by a ſtrenuous perſeverance in the war.

The reply which this ſpeech drew forth from Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox, exhibits a memorable inſtance of the readineſs with which our parliamentary ſpeakers can purſue and adorn the moſt complicated argument: the former gentleman in particular was uncommonly brilliant and ſevere.

It was ſaid to be impoſſible to comply with the recommendation in his Majeſty's ſpeech, to bear in mind the real grounds of the war, for thoſe grounds had never been explained. All the detail of atrocities which had been recited proved nothing, but that a long eſtabliſhed deſpotiſm ſo far degraded and debaſed human nature, as to render it unfit for the exerciſe of its rights when they were recovered: and the only leſſon which they ought to teach was, a tenfold horror of that ſyſtem, which, in its ruin as well as in its exiſtence, was the curſe of mankind. Although it had been ſtated, that theſe acts of folly and madneſs were not confined to the dominions of France, but were to be dreaded by all the powers of Europe, yet it was the wanton attack of the ſurrounding ſtates which had been the cauſe of all this miſchief, and had goaded on a people, ſuddenly poſſeſſed of power which they had not learnt to manage, into a ſtate of fury and deſperation.

The facts which had been adduced in ſupport of the noble lord's arguments were admitted, but his concluſions were diſputed. Let it be granted, that Briſſot and Robeſpierre each entertained views hoſtile to the liberty of Europe, yet it appeared from the ſame evidence, that they ſoon retracted their opinions; and their mutual accuſations, ſo far from warranting the inference that had been drawn from them, only ſhewed that there was not a party in France

France but was inclined to avoid a rupture with this country. The ſyſtem of fraternizing, which had been objected to the French, was formally renounced by themſelves; nevertheleſs, we ſtill continued to reproach them with their conduct towards Brabant and Geneva, although we acted preciſely in the ſame manner ourſelves towards the neutral ſtates of Genoa, Switzerland, Tuſcany, and, as far as we dared, towards Sweden and Denmark.

With reſpect to America, the facts alledged equally militated with the concluſion drawn from them. It had been ſtated, that citizen Genet had acted as an emiſſary for the purpoſe of exciting rebellion in the United States, that he had inſulted and outraged the government of the country. But why, it was aſked, had the event been overlooked? America remained neutral, proſperous and free. America thus inſulted, had found no cauſe for war in the novelty or madneſs of French principles: ſhe looked on an undiſmayed and undegraded ſpectator of the ſavage broils of Europe, while we were engaged in a ſtruggle, as was this day diſtinctly acknowledged by the miniſters, not for our glory or proſperity, but for our exiſtence as a nation.

The fact of aggreſſion on the part of France, it was obſerved, the noble lord had endeavoured to prove by words rather than by actions. To what purpoſe was it to quote from this French pamphletteer, the gaſconade of the miniſter Monge, that he would have a fleet of 30 ſail ready by April? The threat was held out at the time we were inſulting them; and that it was nothing more than a threat was clear from its execution never having been attempted. The fair way to determine the queſtion was, not by inquiring which party firſt ſaid the words "we are at war," but by comparing the conduct of each previous to the rupture. The hoſtile diſpoſition of this country was diſplayed in the countenance given to the treaty of Pilnitz, the withdrawing our miniſter from Paris, the ſeizure of French property in neutral veſſels, the baniſhing of French ſubjects, the violation of the commercial treaty, and, finally, by the diſmiſſal of their ambaſſador, all which had been borne with a ſubmiſſion on the part of France, that nothing but an earneſt deſire of remaining at peace could have produced. Without agitating, therefore, the queſtion of the juſtice or policy of the war, it was clearly a war of choice on the part of Great Britain, and till the experiment of peace ſhould be tried, it was a meanneſs in the miniſter to call it a defenſive one. It ſpread a contradiction over his whole argument: for let him, it was ſaid with an air of triumph, diſtinctly anſwer this queſtion: If France had abſtained from any act of aggreſſion againſt us or our allies, would he or would he not have entered into the conteſt? If not, it followed that he would have left this, which is called a war of civilized ſociety againſt the common enemy, a war for the preſervation of the rights, the morals, and the religion of the world, to its own fate, and ſat ſtill with folded arms a tame ſpectator of the mighty conflict. Such, however, was not the language he would

would hold with our confederates —with Auſtria, Pruſſia, or even thoſe petty ſtates whom he was hourly dragging into the conteſt on this only plea, that a perſonal ground of complaint was not neceſſary, but that the league againſt France was the cauſe of human nature at large. The king of Pruſſia at this moment told us, it was our own war: if it were not ſo, he was bound by treaty to furniſh us aſſiſtance; but, inſtead of that, he had demanded pecuniary aid himſelf. From this hour then, let the miniſter either abandon the narrow ground that this is a war of neceſſity; or, let him give up the lofty boaſt of its being a war of principle, undertaken for the good of mankind.

In oppoſition to the aſſertion, that peace with the preſent rulers of France was not to be obtained, or, if obtained, could not be ſecure; it was anſwered, that we never need deſpiſe to treat with thoſe againſt whom we condeſcend to make war. Beſides, what favourable change in the government were our arms likely to effect? We had ſucceſſively reviled the parties of La Fayette, of Briſſot, of Robeſpierre and Danton: were we waiting until Hebert and Chaumette ſhould have ſupplied their place? If theſe were not the changes we deſired, was it a general reformation we expected in the public mind of France, founded on a deep ſenſe of their paſt calamities and of their crimes? Then when all inteſtine diſcord ſhould be huſhed, and the republic firmly ſeated on the baſis of juſtice and public virtue, would we condeſcend to treat! admirable prudence! conſummate policy! not avail ourſelves of the period of diſſenſion and diſtreſs, but wait for that of union, ſtrength and proſperity, in order to obtain advantageous terms in the negotiation!

If this diſtinct avowal, it was ſaid, had been made by the miniſter laſt year, it would have ſaved the nation much diſgrace; for it now appeared, that he had firſt ſeduced them into the war by artifice, and then came forward to tell them that they had gone too far to recede, and muſt perſiſt in it through neceſſity. That this neceſſity nevertheleſs did not exiſt, Mr. Fox profeſſed himſelf prepared to ſhew.

However we might abhor the conduct of the French, mere hatred of vice was no juſt cauſe of war, nor ever had been among nations. If it were, with which of our preſent allies could we be at peace? All declamation therefore on that topic was ſuſpicious, and had the appearance of a deſign to miſlead. But if it were meant only that with ſuch characters no peace could be ſecure, it was affirmed, that a peace concluded now would be as ſecure as any we had made with France at any other time. Was not Louis XIV. the declared enemy of our revolution? Did he not attempt by force and artifice, to overthrow our eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate? But if the language which we now heard from our new-fangled politicians, had been advanced againſt the peace of Ryſwick, King William and his miniſters would have thought thoſe who held it fitter for Bedlam than the cabinet.

Again, what was the ſecurity which our miniſters propoſed! Admitting, for the ſake of argument, that

that France was brought to receive a king at our hands, ſhould we ſurrender to him all our conqueſts? No, ſays the Secretary of State, we ſhall reſerve an indemnification for our expences. What then would be the language of Frenchmen? Would they not exclaim that France was ſhorn of her ancient luſtre, and that no occaſion ſhould be loſt of regaining what had been raviſhed from her? Thus theſe two objects, advantage to ourſelves, and the reſtoration of monarchy in France, ran counter to each other. The French king would have a right to demand a reſtitution of our conqueſts: if we complied with the demand, we had no indemnity; if we refuſed, the peace could not be laſting.

As to the advantages which were boaſted of, let them be as great as was pretended they were, had they brought us nearer to our object than we were before the opening of the campaign? If this could not be maintained, it was idle to ſtrike a balance of paltry ſucceſſes which conduce nothing to the main deſign. On the contrary, our conqueſts in Flanders, when compared with the advantages gained to the cauſe of France, would ſink into inſignificance. With her the war had produced an union, and a degree of energy which it was impoſſible to withſtand. The royaliſt party once ſo flouriſhing, on which the hopes of the moſt ſanguine reſted, after being vainly flattered with expectation of ſuccour from us, was for the moſt part deſtroyed and annihilated; while the proſpect of internal weakneſs from the oppoſite factions that divided the republic was removed, by the triumph of one and the total extinction of the other.

To oppoſe this growing ſtrength in our enemy, what was the ſituation of the grand alliance? The armies of Auſtria and Pruſſia had ſhamefully fled before untrained recruits and unpractiſed generals. The fleets of Holland and Portugal neither aided our operations, nor lightened our expence. No impreſſion had been made by the Italian ſtates whom we had bribed or bullied into the confederacy; while, to revive our drooping ſpirits under theſe misfortunes, our great ally, the empreſs of Ruſſia, had contributed nothing but her praiſes and her prayers.

In the meantime the enemy were emerging from defeat to victory. That their exertions and their ſucceſs were forced and unnatural was a ridiculous ſolution. Whilſt we were ſmarting under the evil, it was but poor comfort to be told that the power of the enemy was indeed great, but that it had not a *ſound* foundation; that their treaſury was full, but that their proſperity was *unſound*; that the people obey the government, but that their ſubmiſſion is *unſound*. If their commerce was ruined, it might indeed have abridged them of the luxuries of life, but it had not curtailed their military preparations, nor ſlackened the ſinews of war. If their finances were ſupported by arbitrary taxation and enormous requiſitions, what did this prove but that the people were ſo devoted to the cauſe for which they ſtruggle, as to acquieſce in ſuch unprecedented demands, and that the government which made theſe demands poſſeſſed no ſcanty portion of power and popularity.

The contraſt which had been drawn

drawn between the finances of this country and thoſe of France met with its full ſhare of ſarcaſm. That the miniſter of this country would reduce the incomes and ſalaries of his adherents for the ſupply of the nation, was doubtleſs an event not much to be apprehended. It was far more eaſy to imagine him laviſh of the public wealth, and ſcattering it with profuſe liberality, not only on the immediate ſervants of the crown, but on the former oppoſers of his meaſures, as the price of their apoſtacy.

Mr. Sheridan here remarked with great ſeverity on the different favours and appointments which had been beſtowed on gentlemen lately in oppoſition, deſcribing the ſeveral individuals with ſufficient accuracy by the offices they held. The argument of Mr. Fox breathed leſs of a party ſpirit. He ſaid we had been too much accuſtomed of late to invective and declamation, addreſſes to our prejudices and paſſions rather than to our reaſon: that the true queſtion was not what degree of abhorrence we ought to feel againſt French cruelty, but what line of conduct it was the policy of Great Britain to purſue; that on this footing only he had argued the ſubject, and on this account he ſhould move the following amendment: "To recommend to "his Majeſty to treat, as ſpeedily "as poſſible, for a peace with "France upon ſafe and advanta-"geous terms, without any refer-"ence to the nature or form of "the government that might exiſt "in that country."

In reply to theſe ſpeakers the part of adminiſtration was defended by Mr. Windham, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Pitt. But the whole matter had been ſo fully handled, that little remained to be done except to vindicate and enforce the arguments of the noble lord who ſpoke before them.

It was admitted, that the mere abhorrence of crimes was no juſt cauſe of war, except directly bearing upon our own ſafety; but it was to this point that all the reaſoning deduced from the character of the jacobin government immediately applied. As to the vindication which had been ſet up for that government, Mr. Windham remarked, with his uſual acuteneſs, on the inconſiſtency of attributing to the war the oppoſite effects of uniting the diſcordant parties of France in the common cauſe, and of goading them on to the commiſſion of thoſe ſavage cruelties, of which they were guilty towards each other.

With regard to the charge of having cajoled the nation into war upon falſe pretences, the miniſter denied his having ever ſhifted his ground. In the laſt ſeſſion he had declared that indemnity for paſt injuries and ſecurity for the future was his only object. For the attainment of theſe ends he had held out the propriety of interference in the government of France; not that the ſubverſion of that government was a point in itſelf to be inſiſted on, but that it was deſirable only as inſtrumental to the other. To the queſtion whether peace could ever be made with the jacobin government, it would be neither rational nor prudent to give any definitive anſwer. As circumſtances might vary, a different line of conduct muſt be purſued: but he would unequivocally declare, that the moment would never come, when he would not think any alternative

ternative preferable to that of making peace with France upon the ſyſtem of its preſent rulers. The example of Louis XIV. afforded no parallel to their ſyſtem; nay, the utmoſt that we could have ſuffered from his ambitious projects would have been a deliverance when compared with the conſequences of their ſucceſs.

Mr. Pitt recapitulated the leading arguments of lord Mornington's ſpeech, reſting particularly on the proſpect of ſpeedy decay from the deſperate reſources of France, and the impoſſibility of obtaining peace on any other conditions than by making a free tender of all our conqueſts, and ſubſcribing to the doctrines of liberty and equality. The amendment therefore which had been moved was not only uſeleſs, but he ſhould oppoſe it alſo, becauſe it went to negative the addreſs—becauſe it meant and ſaid, that this houſe entertained ſentiments different from thoſe expreſſed in his Majeſty's ſpeech, and would thus weaken the confidence of our allies, while it encouraged the enemy.

The groſs miſconduct of miniſtry throughout the whole of the late campaign, formed a leading feature in every ſpeech from the oppoſition on this night's debate. Lord Wycombe, col. Tarlton, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox, all joined in condemning the imbecility of the cabinet, and the diſgraceful manner in which our arms had been employed both by ſea and land. When the Britiſh lion was rouzed, it was ſaid, the world predicted he would make his enemies tremble. But what had been the reſult? After twelve months of hoſtility we could not boaſt of one vigorous effort, one achievement worthy of our character and ancient fame. The ſtrength of Great Britain had been frittered away and rendered almoſt contemptible by a total miſapplication of her powers; and inſtead of thoſe enterprizes which formerly added luſtre to our arms, and which might at leaſt have ſerved to uphold our dignity in the eyes of Europe, we could only ſpeak of feeble, paltry, ineffectual detachments. The attempt on Martinico was aſſerted to be ill planned and ſhamefully executed; while the defence of Jamaica had been entirely neglected, and from the river St. Lawrence to the Savanna in Georgia, the whole coaſt of America had been left to the uninterrupted range of the enemy. The expedition under Sir Charles Grey was ſaid to have been ſtarved and crippled, becauſe its diſtance precluded the arrival of good news before the meeting of Parliament. With reſpect to tranſactions nearer home, it was ſufficient to mention the arrival of a Weſt India fleet while Lord Howe was in Torbay, and the defenceleſs ſtate of the Channel, in which, while the whole Jamaica fleet waited for a convoy, a few French frigates were parading, making prizes of our merchantmen and chaſing our cruizers into our ports. The retreat from Dunkirk, and the evacuation of Toulon, both attributed to the ignorance and neglect of miniſtry, together with the deficiency of convoys, would, it was threatened, be made ſubjects of parliamentary inquiry: and, laſtly, to their charge alſo was laid the miſerable ſlaughter of the royaliſts in la Vendée, and the total ruin of their cauſe.

On the other hand Mr. Dundas contended,

contended, that as far as adminiſtration were concerned, the war had been proſecuted with energy and effect. It was eaſy, he ſaid, after events were paſſed, to ſpeculate on the ſuppoſed advantages of a different mode of proceeding; but he frankly confeſſed, that there had been no plan adopted by government, which, under the ſame circumſtances, he would not be again ready to recommend. There never was a period in which the augmentation of the army and navy had been ſo rapid, or ſo great. Our ſeamen in the beginning of the year were only 15,000, and we had only thirteen ſhips of the line and thirty frigates fit for ſervice. In the courſe of the war 54,000 ſeamen had been added, our navy had been increaſed to eighty ſhips of the line and one hundred frigates, and the army recruited by 30,000 men. With regard to the diſtribution of this force, there were but two ways of protecting trade, one by having large armaments by ſea, the other by having convoys for different fleets, and both theſe methods had been tried. Excluſive of the coaſting trade, not leſs than fifty fleets of merchantmen had gone from the ports of Great Britain in the laſt year under convoy, and not one veſſel that failed under convoy had been taken. Powerful fleets had alſo been ſent to the Weſt Indies and into the Mediterranean, nor had the glory of the Britiſh navy ſuffered in any ſtation. Lord Hood for ten days, with only thirteen ſail of the line, blocked up a fleet of more than twenty ſail in the port of Toulon, and in the channel lord Howe had not ceaſed his endeavours to bring the enemy to action, who had on every occaſion fled from it.

The attempt at Martinico had been blamed without reaſon, as government had received information that they might gain poſſeſſion of a great part of it with 1,400 men; and nothing was more probable, if we might judge from the reception we had met with at St. Domingo.

Upon the whole, if we recollected the low ſtate of our force at the commencement of the war, and the extenſive preparations neceſſary for maintaining the ſafety of our numerous dependencies, it could be no matter of ſurprize that ſufficient troops could not be ſpared for enabling Toulon to hold out againſt the formidable army that attacked it, nor for the intended deſcent upon the coaſt of France: but he ſtill affirmed, that more had been done in the way of preparation and of actual ſervice in the firſt year of this than of any former war.

The queſtion being at length loudly called for, the houſe divided on Mr. Fox's amendment, Ayes 59, Noes 277. The addreſs was of courſe carried by the ſame majority.

In the houſe of lords a ſimilar addreſs was propoſed by lord Stair, and ſeconded by lord Auckland; and the ſtatements of miniſtry were combated nearly on the ſame grounds as in the other houſe by the earls of Guildford, Derby, Stanhope, and Lauderdale, the duke of Norfolk, and the marquis of Lanſdowne.

They contended that the object of the war was now changed, and that nothing leſs was profeſſed than the reſtoration of the ancient government

vernment of France. That it was but too obvious now that the miniſters were inſincere from the beginning; for if the end had merely been to protect Holland our ally, it might much more effectually have been obtained by negotiation; at leaſt it was their duty to try that expedient before they plunged us into our preſent difficulties. And even if the period of the firſt ſucceſs of France ſhould be ſtated to have been unfavourable to negotiation, a poſition by no means admitted, ſtill the period of their defeat, when they had been forced to abandon their conqueſts as rapidly as they gained them, was an opportunity not to have been loſt. That opportunity however was loſt, and ſuch another it was in vain to expect.

They laughed at the notion that there was no government in France competent to conclude a peace. Let the miniſters, ſaid they, aſk general Wurmſer, let them aſk the duke of Brunſwick and the king of Pruſſia: let them aſk lord Hood and ſir Gilbert Elliott: let them aſk the royaliſt army in La Vendée, and the unfortunate Lyonneſe. All theſe, they believed, muſt confeſs that there was a government in France, and it was greatly feared that the prince of Saxe Cobourg and the duke of York would ſoon be obliged to allow the ſame.

The language of lord Guildford was temperate and candid. He admitted that the progreſs of the French was at one time alarming, and that they threatened the annihilation of the Dutch. But now the caſe was quite reverſed. They were ſeparated from Holland by a ſufficient diſtance; and ſome regard ought to be paid to the declaration of their government, that they did not mean to interfere with the internal affairs of any country. He had no doubt therefore that if we offered them terms of peace which were ſafe, they would cloſe with us, and the treaty which it was their intereſt to conclude, the ſame intereſt would bind them to obſerve.

Lord Guildford having then moved an amendment to the ſame effect, and nearly in the ſame words with Mr. Fox, the original addreſs was ſupported with great ability and energy by the duke of Portland, marquis Townſhend, lords Spencer, Coventry, Kinnoul, Mansfield, Hardwicke, Abingdon, Carliſle, and Grenville.

The line of argument which they purſued reſembled of courſe the miniſterial doctrines in the other houſe. The origin and objects of the war, the views of France, and the impracticability of immediate peace having been explained in the ſame manner, and with the ſame commanding eloquence, a ſtrong analogy was drawn by lord Hardwicke between the preſent criſis and that of the laſt year of William III.; and he particularly called the attention of the houſe to the ſpeech then made by that prince to his parliament, a ſpeech ſo much admired by every friend of the revolution, that it was long preſerved as a decoration of many houſes in England and Holland. His lordſhip read ſeveral extracts, in which the abſolute neceſſity of repreſſing the ambition and aggrandiſement of France was maintained as eſſential to the welfare of this kingdom. That the ſame reaſons exiſted at the preſent moment and in a greater degree, could not, he ſaid, be diſputed;

puted: and, if we were not able, engaged in the same cause with the rest of Europe, and contending for every thing that was valuable to mankind, to restrain the overgrown power and vindictive spirit of the French republic, when could we hope for another opportunity?

The debate was maintained with much spirit till a late hour; when the question being put upon Lord Guildford's amendment, it was rejected by a majority of 97 to 12.

In the course of this discussion Lord Stanhope gave his firm support to the amendment; but, thinking the words in which it was put not sufficiently clear and positive, he declared his intention of speedily moving "an address to his "Majesty to acknowledge the "French republic." Accordingly, on the following Thursday, he prefaced his motion with an attack on the ministers for having deluded the nation in a variety of instances as to the situation of France. They had asserted that if the French could not get arms and ammunition from this country, they would be unable for any length of time to carry on the war: that their government had no money and no credit: that their troops were undisciplined, and could not possibly withstand the armies of Austria and Prussia; and lastly, with cruelty equal to their ignorance, they had held out the idea of subduing them by starvation. On all these points, he affirmed, they had grossly erred. Paris alone furnished an annual supply of 300,000 muskets. They had gunpowder enough for seven years, and the excellence of their artillery was undisputed. Their assignats were rising in value, their armies were every where victorious, and they had provisions in abundance.

He spoke in high terms of the enthusiasm which prevailed in France for the cause of liberty; and passed warm encomiums on what he termed the *permanent* as opposed to the *provisional* constitution. The latter he represented to be a temporary expedient adapted to the turbulent state of affairs; but the former recognized the sacred principles of equality, liberty, and property, and expressly renounced all interference with other governments. In defending the French from the charge of atheism also, his lordship was proceeding to state some facts in order to shew that the priests and aristocrats were most infected with it, when he was called to order by the Bishop of Durham. Having then delivered his motion in express terms, he concluded with exhorting the house to do that which was just and right, and to leave the rest to God.

As no one appeared to second the proposal, little was said in reply to this extravagant language, except a few remarks from Lord Warwick, Lord Darnley, and Lord Abingdon, the latter of whom observed, that the speech of the noble earl required no other answer than a loud horse-laugh. The motion was negatived without a division.

CHAP. VII.

Notice by Mr. Adam of an intention to bring in bills for allowing an appeal from the Scotch Court of Juſticiary to the Houſe of Lords. His ſpeech on moving for leave to bring in a bill. Anſwer of Mr. Anſtruther. Obſervations of Mr. Fox and Mr. Serjeant Adair. The motion rejected. Mr. Adam gives notice of another motion, relating peculiarly to the caſes of Meſſrs. Muir and Palmer. Mr. Sheridan brings up a petition from Mr. Palmer. Mr. Adam's able ſpeech on making a ſeries of motions on the ſubject; oppoſed by the Lord Advocate, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Windham. Arguments on the other ſide, and particularly of Mr. Fox. The motion rejected. Mr. Adam makes another motion for referring the conſideration of the law of Scotland, reſpecting leaſing-making, and ſome other ſubjects, to a committee. He is ſupported by Mr. Serjeant Adair and Mr. Fox. Anſwered by Mr. Dundas and the Lord Advocate. Obſervations of Mr. Dundas, on the too great lenity of the law, with reſpect to ſedition. The motion rejected. Motion of Lord Stanhope, for the Houſe of Lords to reverſe the ſentence againſt Meſſrs. Muir and Palmer, rejected, the Houſe having no ſuch power. Lord Lauderdale makes a motion in their favour, which is alſo loſt.

THE late proceedings in Scotland were not allowed to paſs without conſiderable animadverſions in the Britiſh ſenate. Early in the ſeſſion, Mr. Adam gave no- Jan. 27. tice of his intention to introduce two bills relative to the criminal law of Scotland. The object of the firſt, he ſaid, would be to allow a right of appeal in criminal caſes, from the Scotch Court of Juſticiary to the Houſe of Lords; and, in conſequence of ſome late judicial proceedings, he ſhould move to include within this regulation all caſes that had occurred during the year 1793, in order that the unfortunate perſons now under judgment of that court, among whom he particularly named Mr. Muir and Mr. Palmer, might, if they thought themſelves aggrieved, apply for redreſs. This being conſidered in the light of an attack on the conduct of the Scotch Court of Juſticiary, concerning the two gentlemen mentioned, the challenge was accepted by Mr. Dundas, who pledged himſelf to be ready to defend that proceeding, whenever the queſtion ſhould be agitated.

Accordingly, Mr. Adam Feb. 4. opened the buſineſs by a modeſt and candid exordium, in which he related the motives that impelled him to undertake it, among which he mentioned, that, when the ſubject was argued ſome years ago, before the Houſe of Lords, then ſitting as a court of judicature, it had been determined that no appeal lay from the Scotch courts; but, in the courſe of that judgment, Lord Thurlow ſignified his opinion, that though he was bound to decide according to the ſtrict law, yet ſome parliamentary regulation was deſirable. This interference of Parliament was, he obſerved, not only not repugnant to the ſpirit of the Act of Union, but was perfectly congenial with it, for in the 18th article it was expreſsly ſaid, "that the laws

"which concern public right, policy, "and civil government, may be "made the same throughout the "whole United Kingdom; but that "no alteration be made in laws "which concern private right, ex- "cept for evident utility of the "subjects within Scotland." It was clear therefore that the framers of the act had in view the gradual assimilation of the Scotch to the English law; and the practice of various Parliaments since the union fully confirmed this interpretation; not less than nine or ten acts having passed for incorporating parts of the English law into that of Scotland, and all of them on the footing of improvements, upon the union between the two countries. Of these the most remarkable were the abolishing of heritable jurisdictions, and the alterations made in the Scotch law of treason, now rendered strictly conformable to our own, as well with regard to the crime, as to the mode of proceeding and redress after trial.

Having thus strengthened his cause by the authority of precedent, he proceeded to shew that the propriety and justice of the alteration he now proposed was unquestionable. It rested upon one clear, distinct, universal principle of jurisprudence, which, with this single exception, pervaded the whole system of judicial polity both in England and Scotland, namely, that the decision of no court should be final, where the business originated. Why the Court of Justiciary alone should be excepted from this rule, he could not see how a shadow of reason could be suggested. If it was objected that to bring cases of criminal law from Scotland to a tribunal which did not understand the system of Scottish law would be attended with inconvenience, this was an objection which held much more strongly in matters of civil right, and yet in all such matters an appeal lay of course to the British Parliament: whereas, the criminal law of every country was extremely alike, and between that of England and Scotland, the analogy was peculiarly strong, both in its principle, and in the mode of proceeding. He disclaimed any intention of disrespect towards the judges of Scotland; it was impossible, he said, that such a regulation could reflect dishonour on any court of justice: if it did, the Judges of England were disgraced every day. On the contrary, this principle of revision and controul, besides being essential to the very nature of a well-constituted jurisprudence, was also a great relief to the judges themselves, and no wise magistrate would wish to act, or would even feel himself happy and comfortable without it, unless an increase of responsibility could possibly be a source of pleasure to his mind. In conclusion, he moved for leave to bring in a bill conformable to his notice.

It was urged in reply by Mr. Anstruther, that the principle of appeal had not that universal influence in our law which was ascribed to it. It certainly did not apply in the instances of the trial of a peer, or of a member of the House of Commons by the peers. He objected also to the measure, as a direct innovation of the ancient law of Scotland —that it did not go to the clearing up of any doubtful point, nor to the restoration of the law to its original principles, (for it appeared by the records of the Court of Justiciary, which were perfect from 1672, the time of its first institution, that no

right of appeal had ever been allowed,) but to introduce something new and unprecedented, which he should oppose on the full assurance that the people of Scotland were satisfied with the law, as it then stood, and desired no change.

That this alteration was unnecessary, as not being called for by the Scotch themselves, was an argument much insisted on by other gentlemen, and among them, by the Master of the Rolls. He differed also from the mover, on his interpretation of the act of union, the principle of which he conceived tended rather to secure the laws of Scotland against innovation, than to assimilate them to those of England; and asserted that great confusion would arise in the administration of criminal justice from the technical distinction of legal forms.

On the other hand, Mr. Fox and Mr. Serjeant Adair reprobated the new and dangerous doctrine, that no law should be made until called for by the complaints of the people. As to the objection founded on the novelty of the measure, it was answered, that this would equally have applied to all the alterations which the law of Scotland had undergone since the union. It was absurd to suppose that the parliament of Great Britain could be controuled by the act of union, even admitting for argument's sake, that this measure was not countenanced by the act itself.

On the question being put, for leave to bring in the bill, the numbers were, ayes 31, noes 126, majority 95, being a greater proportion than might have been expected from the little effort that was made by the ministerial speakers, and from the moderation and candour shewn by the mover, which, if the matter had been kept clear of all party differences would probably have ensured a more successful issue.

Although the main object of admitting a right of appeal in criminal cases was thus lost, Mr. Adam still persevered in his endeavours to obtain some interference of Parliament in behalf of the persons he had before named, as then suffering under judgment of the Court of Justiciary. For this purpose he gave notice of a motion to revise the proceedings of that court relating to the cases of Messrs. Muir and Palmer, and a day was appointed for the discussion. Feb. 12 & 14.

In the mean time a petition was presented by Mr. Sheridan from the Rev. Fische Palmer, stating that he conceived himself to be suffering under an illegal sentence, and praying such relief as to the wisdom of the house might seem meet. It was objected by Mr. Pitt, that it would be extremely improper for the house to interpose between a sentence pronounced by a competent court and the execution of that sentence; and therefore he was of opinion that the petition ought not to be received. On the other hand, to appoint a day for the consideration of the legality of a sentence, and till that day not to suspend the execution of it, was styled a mockery of justice. Mr. Palmer was said to be then on board a tender which only waited for a convoy in order to proceed on the voyage; and a motion was made by Mr. Whitbread to address his Majesty to stop the sailing of the vessel, until the business should be settled. This motion was negatived, and the house adjourned: but the minister's doubts being at length removed as to the propriety of receiving Feb. 24.

ceiving the petition, it was on the following Thurſday ordered to lie on the table, and Mr. Adam brought forward his motion for reviewing the proceedings of the court.

March 10.

He began by ſaying that he ſhould require ſuch parts of the records of the trial to be laid before the houſe as contained the indictment, the plea, the verdict, and the ſentence; and alſo ſuch parts as related to the proceedings of the court in the admiſſion of objectionable perſons to ſerve on the jury, in certain determinations concerning the admiſſibility of evidence, and the commitment of William Muir and John Ruſſell, two of the witneſſes that were examined on the occaſion. If theſe ſhould be granted, it was his intention to move an addreſs to his Majeſty in behalf of the ſufferers, and he ſhould think it equally his duty to move it, ſhould they be refuſed, becauſe he was entitled to aſſume the facts he was about to alledge as true, unleſs the contrary could be ſhewn.

On the firſt part of his argument, which reſpected the legality of the ſentence, he maintained, with great learning and ability, theſe three propoſitions: 1ſt. That the crimes ſet forth in the indictment are what the Scotch law terms *leaſing-making*, which, by the Engliſh law, is a miſdemeanor; 2dly. That the puniſhment of tranſportation cannot, by the law of Scotland, be inflicted for the crime of *leaſing-making*; and, 3dly. That if this be not the crime alledged in the indictment, there is no crime at all alledged, known to the law of Scotland.

The term *leaſing-making* he explained to be the ſpeaking words tending to excite diſcord between the king and his people. This he ſaid, was the expreſs charge againſt Mr. Muir, with the addition only of his having addreſſed ſuch ſpeeches before meetings; which circumſtance was introduced not abſolutely or ſubſtantively, but merely as matter of aggravation to the other. In the caſe of Mr. Palmer it was ſtill clearer, for no ſuch aggravating clauſe appeared in his indictment, and the ſimple act of publiſhing what is termed a libel, was charged againſt him.

In ſupport of his next propoſition, that by the law of Scotland the puniſhment of tranſportation could not be inflicted on the crime of leaſing-making, Mr. Adam's reaſoning was peculiarly acute and forcible. He contended that the term *baniſhment*, which by the ſtatute of 1703 was enacted for that crime, did not include *tranſportation*; by which latter term he underſtood not only the expulſion of a perſon from the realm to which he belongs, but his being ſent to another place, which he cannot quit, and in which he muſt remain in a ſtate of ſervitude; whereas, by the former, ſimple expatriation was meant, with the power of going anywhere, except of returning home. And this interpretation of the word baniſhment he confirmed by authorities, not only from philology and common uſe, but alſo from various Acts of Parliament, where the term was clearly diſtinguiſhed from tranſportation.

Whenever any doubt aroſe on the meaning of a ſtatute, it was, he ſaid, the fair, obvious, and conſtant practice to look back and examine the law it altered. The ſtatute of 1703, on which the preſent ſentence was grounded, took its riſe from that of 1609, and was evidently built upon it:

it: it retained all the proviſions enacted by that ſtatute againſt leaſing-making, namely, fine, impriſonment, or baniſhment, with the exception only, of "*more* rigorous "corporal pain." Whatever points therefore it left unaltered, muſt bear the ſame interpretation with the preceding law; but the term baniſhment, could not, in 1609, expreſs the puniſhment now underſtood by transportation, for Scotland was not in poſſeſſion of any colony or foreign dependency prior to the preſent century. The ſtatute of 1703 was moreover profeſſedly a mitigation of the other, but it would have been a ſtrange mitigation, if it made that ſubject to tranſportation which only incurred ſimple baniſhment before, and annexed the penalty of death in caſe of return, when the avowed purpoſe of the act was to aboliſh all corporal puniſhment whatever for the offence.

From the records of the Court of Juſticiary likewiſe it might be proved that the term baniſhment was ſo underſtood by the judges, and that the puniſhment of tranſportation was never inflicted on any crimes except ſuch as are puniſhable by death. To this purpoſe he cited a ſeries of caſes from 1703 downward, particularly one in 1738, where ſentence of baniſhment was pronounced on a perſon convicted of perjury, and in caſe of return, tranſportation; eſtabliſhing thereby, as well the gradation of puniſhments, as the diſtinction between them.

Having thus argued that the crime of leaſing-making was not puniſhable by tranſportation, Mr. Adam proceeded to ſhew, that if that was not the crime for which the priſoners were tried, there was no other crime ſet forth in the indictment known to the law of Scotland. Between leaſing-making and *ſeditio regni*, which is treaſon, there was, he affirmed, no intermediate offence. Sedition as a *crimen in ſe* did not exiſt in Scotland, for it was neither recognized by ſtatute nor by the common law of the realm, in proof of which he cited the authority of Sir David Dalrymple and other great lawyers, and alledged, as a ſtrong confirmation, that no inſtance occurred in the records of the Court of Juſticiary of any trial for ſedition, excluding always that ſedition which amounts to treaſon. On this head he pointed out the diſtinction between the two claſſes of crimes *mala in ſe* and *mala prohibita*. If a ſtatute, enacted againſt any of the former deſcription, were repealed (ſuch, for inſtance, as that which made it treaſon for a guardian to kill his ward) the act would ſtill be criminal, and puniſhable as murder at common law. But in crimes of poſitive inſtitution (and ſuch were ſedition and all ſtate offences) the caſe was widely different. Their criminality reſted ſolely upon particular ſtatutes, and when thoſe ſtatutes were repealed, the criminality of the actions ceaſed.

After a comprehenſive review of the law and practice of the Scotch courts on this head, Mr. Adam ſummed up the whole of his perſpicuous and learned argument, and drew from it this concluſion—that what ſhould lead to the reverſal of a ſentence on the ground of legal error, in all caſes where an appeal lay, ſhould, where no ſuch remedy could be had, determine the houſe to addreſs the throne for mercy, as the only means left to attain the ends of juſtice.

But there were other circumſtances, he added, which, though they

they were not ſufficient to conſtitute a legal error, would in this country induce a court of juſtice to grant a new trial, and ſhould therefore, for the ſame reaſon, perſuade the Houſe to adopt the motion he recommended. In the firſt place, then, he affirmed that evidence had been admitted of crimes not charged in the indictment, on the ground of being what is termed, in the Scotch law, *art and part*, that is, acceſſory to the general charge of ſedition—that this proceeding was not only contrary to reaſon and juſtice, as ſubjecting the whole of a man's former life to be ranſacked for charges of which he had no notice, but was expreſsly contrary to the authority of Sir George Mackenzie, who directs, that the crime which is laid as the principal crime is that alone to which evidence, under the charge of *acceſſory*, can apply. The jury, alſo, he contended, had been unfairly impannelled. Five out of the number were objected to by Mr. Muir, as being members of the goldſmith's hall aſſociation, which had ſtruck his name out of their book; but the objection was overruled by the court; ſo that the accuſed was to be tried by thoſe very perſons, who had already expreſſed their diſapprobation of his conduct. The court had alſo acted illegally in the rejection of one witneſs (John Ruſſell) called on the part of the defendant, becauſe he appeared to prevaricate in ſome of the preliminary queſtions. On this account they had committed him to priſon for three weeks, refuſing to let him be heard, and thus depriving Mr. Muir of the benefit of his evidence. Here again the right of the defendant to avail himſelf of his teſtimony was clear, as well from every principle of juſtice, as from the technical rules of the Scotch law: it being perſpicuouſly laid down by Sir George Mackenzie, that objections to the competency of a witneſs are different from thoſe which affect his credibility—on the former alone it is the province of the court to decide, on the latter of the jury: but, in this caſe, it was not the competency of Ruſſell that was queſtioned; the only ground of rejecting him was, that he ſeemed undeſerving of credit.

In adverting to the next part of his argument, the diſproportionate nature of the puniſhment to the offence, Mr. Adam moſt fully and repeatedly diſclaimed all intention of reflecting on the motives or characters of the judges, and profeſſed himſelf to argue in the ſame manner as he would when moving in a court of law, for a writ of error or a reverſe of judgment. On this point he compared the Scotch with the Engliſh law. The offence was but a miſdemeanor, and by the latter puniſhable with fine or impriſonment; whereas, by the former, through the diſcretionary power delegated to the judges, a ſentence more terrible than death itſelf, to men of liberal and cultivated minds, had been pronounced. It was impoſſible that this inequality of puniſhment, however founded in law, could be conformable to reaſon or ſound policy; for ſurely the ſame offence againſt the ſame government does not in reaſon require more ſevere vengeance in one corner of the iſland than another—either the laws of England muſt be weak and inefficacious, or thoſe of Scotland cruel and tyrannical. But let the rigour of the laws be what it may, ſhould not the diſcretion veſted in the judges have been guided by the examples of the

Scotch judicatures in former and ſimilar caſes, or by the daily practice of the Engliſh courts? Should they have paid no regard to that memorable inſtance of the moderation of this government, when the biſhop of Rocheſter, though convicted of a horrid conſpiracy againſt the reigning king, was permitted, under the ſentence of baniſhment, quietly to retire for the remainder of his life to France? All theſe leſſons of equity and humanity they had ſet at nought; they had ſtrained their dreadful power to the utmoſt, and paſſed a ſentence, which for its exceſſive and unprecedented ſeverity alone, even if no evidence of a miſtrial had been produced, would have been ſufficient to call for the interference of Parliament.

It is but juſtice to Mr. Adam to add, that at the concluſion of this ſpeech, which was allowed to be one of the moſt excellent argumentative orations ever delivered in the houſe, he formally diſavowed the ſlighteſt perſonal knowledge of the convicts whoſe cauſe he pleaded, and declared himſelf an enemy to their proceedings, even if they had for their object only what they themſelves profeſſed.

The ſeries of motions offered by Mr. Adam, which was of extraordinary length, was oppoſed by the Lord Advocate, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Windham, but the legal diſquiſition was chiefly undertaken by the former. In anſwer to the firſt two propoſitions of the mover he obſerved, that it was immaterial whether the indictment was laid againſt ſedition, or leaſing-making, becauſe for the latter the court was competent to inflict the puniſhment of tranſportation. In proof of this he maintained that the term *baniſhment*, which occurs in the ſtatute of 1703 againſt leaſing-making, did, both by its common import, and more particularly by the uſage of the Scotch law, include tranſportation; that the latter was not a ſeparate and diſtinct ſentence, but only a mode of carrying the other into execution. From a great variety of ſtatutes which he had examined, it appeared that Parliament underſtood the word in its moſt comprehenſive ſenſe, and if they meant to reſtrain the courts of law to one particular ſpecies, they always expreſſed the limitation; but whenever it was intended to leave a diſcretionary power to the court, a thing practiſed to a much greater degree in Scotland than in this country, no ſuch limitation was inſerted.

That the courts of law underſtood the word in this wide ſenſe was clear from the uniform practice of the court of ſeſſion in caſes of fraudulent bankruptcy. Theſe, by the ſtatute of 1696, are made puniſhable by "baniſhment," or otherwiſe, (death excepted); and in various inſtances that court had, under this ſtatute, tranſported offenders to the plantations. The records of the Court of Juſticiary abounded with inſtances of the ſame kind. It was impoſſible to open their books without finding caſes of perſons ſentenced to "baniſhment" by that court, and tranſportation deſcribed in the concluding part of the ſentence as a mode of putting it into effect. If then the Scotch Parliament had deſigned, by the ſtatute of 1703, which ſubſtitutes baniſhment inſtead of death for the crime of leaſing-making, to exclude tranſportation, would they not have taken care to expreſs the limitation, eſpecially as ſuch had been the rule in framing former acts,

acts, and the practice of the courts to *transport* perſons for offences, againſt which baniſhment without limitation is enacted, was daily before their eyes?

But what removed all doubt of the ſenſe in which the framers of the ſtatute of 1703 underſtood the word was, that for the crime of leaſing-making one Baily was ſentenced by the Privy Council, under this ſtatute, to be baniſhed, and ordered to be detained in priſon till a fit opportunity ſhould offer for his "tranſportation"—and this within eight months after the ſtatute had been enacted, and when every one of the council muſt have been members of the Parliament which enacted it.

Mr. Pitt in particular controverted the doctrine, contained in the third propoſition of the mover, concerning ſedition. If, he ſaid, it could be ſeriouſly aſſerted that no proviſion was made by the Scotch law for that numerous claſs of offences which are puniſhable in England as crimes and miſdemeanors, if that law was ſo defective, and authority ſo ſilent on the ſubject, it was the duty of civil ſociety to declare, through its magiſtrates and judges, wherein the crime of ſedition conſiſted, for a crime it was, permanent in its nature, however diverſified by circumſtances, times, and ſeaſons. On the contrary, he maintained that crimes of ſedition not comprehended within the ſtatutes againſt leaſing-making, were, by the common law of Scotland, liable to *arbitrary puniſhment*, that is, any puniſhment, ſhort of death, ſubject to the diſcretion of the judges. Thoſe crimes were made treaſon by an act of 1584, which act continued in force till 1707, when Scotch and Engliſh treaſons were aſſimilated to each other. From this period then they muſt either be reduced to non-entities, which was abſurd to imagine, or return to the ſame conſideration, in the eye of the law, as they came under prior to the ſtatute of 1584.

In defence of the conduct of the Court of Juſticiary, it was affirmed, that the objection urged againſt ſome of the jury, as being members of a loyal aſſociation, was no juſt cauſe of challenge: they might ſtill act impartially towards the libeller, however they might hate the libel; otherwiſe, the objection would amount to this "that no man was "fit to try a traitor, who was hoſ-"tile to treaſon." The *art and part* evidence which was complained of, it was anſwered, had not been inſiſted on in the trial; and with reſpect to the ſuppreſſed evidence of Ruſſell, the priſoner had ſuffered nothing from that circumſtance, ſince he was only called to prove what twelve others had proved before, and the circumſtances were fully admitted on the part of the proſecution.

With regard to the ſeverity of the ſentence, it was enough to ſay, that a diſcretion was veſted in the judges, and in the exerciſe of that diſcretion they had acted to the beſt of their judgment. Inſtead of meriting the blame, they deſerved the thanks of their country, for having expelled from its boſom thoſe unnatural miſcreants, whoſe aim was to effect its ruin; who, by their wicked, daring attempts to ſubvert the conſtitution, had forfeited all title to its protection and all claim to mercy. What other puniſhment, it was aſked, would have been found equal to the caſe? A fine would probably have been paid by ſome ſecret and wealthy accomplice: and to have impriſoned

foned the criminals would only have been to eſtabliſh a neſt of ſedition, from whence, as in this country, they would inſult the law that puniſhed them, and laugh at the inadequacy of the penalty.

All the diſtinguiſhed ſpeakers on the other ſide perſiſted in their oppoſition to theſe doctrines. They objected to the precedent of Baillie in 1704, as drawn from the proceedings of an arbitrary court, not inferior in tyranny to the Star Chamber. They denied that ſuch a crime as ſedition exiſted under the common law of Scotland: and as to the crimes of which Muir and Palmer were arraigned, it was ſaid, they had only done what the preſent Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Duke of Richmond had done before them. "As long," exclaimed Mr. Fox, "as "we ſhall remember the thatched-"houſe and the aſſociations which "they headed, it is impoſſible that "we can forget their addreſſes to "the people. O human folly and "inconſiſtency! why are theſe very "men now exalted to the moſt en-"vied ſtations, while poor Muir and "Palmer are doomed to waſte out "the remainder of their lives in a "foreign and dreary climate, the "companions of outcaſts, felons the "moſt degraded of the human "ſpecies!"

The motion was loſt by a majority of 171 to 32.

This majority, which was even greater than the former, did not deter Mr. Adam from again entering on the topic of the criminal law of Scotland, and it was not long before he returned to the combat with unabated vigour. He enMar. 25. larged on the abuſes and defects of that law, which he wiſhed to have wholly aſſimilated to the law of England; but the particular object of his preſent motion was, to appoint a committee to enquire principally into the crimes of leaſing-making and ſedition, the right of appeal, the power of granting a new trial, the admiſſibility of evidence, and the propriety of introducing a grand jury, ſimilar to that of England.

On all theſe points Mr. Adam argued as he had done on the two former occaſions, and was ſupported by Mr. Serjeant Adair and Mr. Fox. Among the abuſes which were ſaid to prevail, was the mode of chooſing the petty jury; which, to the number of 45, were ſelected by the clerk of the court out of the whole number returned for each county; and from theſe, 15 were appointed, not in the regular order, as is practiſed here, but picked and choſen at the will of the judges. The power of the Lord Advocate was repreſented as enormous, in being able alone to commence all proſecutions, and thus ſtanding in the place of our grand jury. And the right which exiſted in the inferior courts of trying criminal cauſes, and inflicting ſentence without the verdict of a jury, was declared to be ſuch an odious and tyrannical oppreſſion, as ought to raiſe the indignation of every man who valued or deſerved freedom.

To theſe and other arguments of the ſame nature, it was replied by Mr. Dundas and the Lord Advocate, that no alteration of their law was deſired by the people of Scotland, or would be acceptable to them; that even where the Engliſh and Scotch law differed, the ſeverity was often on the ſide of the former; that the ſame political morality for all perſons living under the ſame king was

no more neceſſary than the ſame religious diſcipline; and they might as well attempt to aboliſh the preſbytery, as the legal inſtitutions of the kingdom. The power of the Lord Advocate was not, they ſaid, greater than that of the Attorney General in England (who was enabled *virtute officii* to put a man on his trial by filing an information), and there was no greater reaſon to expect that it would be abuſed: and as to the inſinuation of packed juries upon late occaſions, it was a ſufficient anſwer, that all verdicts within theſe eighteen months had been brought in unanimouſly, not merely by a majority, which would have been authorized by the law of the land.

In the courſe of this debate, an idea, which had before been thrown out, was diſtinctly ſtated by Mr. Dundas, that the licentiouſneſs of ſeditious perſons and ſocieties was become ſo glaring, that the ordinary application of the laws was not adequate to repreſs the evil, and that ſome further extenſion of the penal ſtatute, in the caſe of libels and miſdemeanors, was, in his opinion, neceſſary.

This declaration, which carried with it ſomewhat the air of a retort on the oppoſition, who were ſtudiouſly crying up the lenity of Engliſh juriſprudence when compared with that of Scotland, was met rather with cool and menacing defiance than with warm animadverſion; and by many members it was obſerved that common prudence, a ſenſe of his own ſafety and of the puniſhment that might await him, would moſt probably be ſufficient to deter the Secretary from ſuch an attempt.

Upon the diviſion there appeared, for Mr. Adam's motion, ayes 24; noes 77: and thus ended the buſineſs, for this ſeſſion, in the Houſe of Commons.

In the Houſe of Lords the ſame queſtions were agitated, and ſupported on each ſide by a ſimilar train of reaſoning. Lord Stanhope moved the houſe to take the caſe of Muir and Palmer into conſideration, and if the proceedings of the Court of Juſticiary ſhould appear to have been illegal, to reverſe the ſentence. But on this, as upon former occaſions, his Lordſhip had the misfortune to ſtand alone, it being repreſented that the houſe was totally incompetent to ſuch a controul. Jan. 29.

On a ſubſequent day, the ſubject was again introduced in a more regular and conſiſtent way by Lord Lauderdale, who went over nearly the ſame ground with Mr. Adam, in order to prove the illegality of the trial, and the propriety of addreſſing the throne for a reverſion of the ſentence. The diſputed points were preciſely the ſame as had occurred in the other houſe. The non-exiſtence of ſuch a crime as ſedition under the law of Scotland, the limited import of the word baniſhment, together with ſtrictures on the conduct of the court, reſpecting the jury and the witneſſes, formed the ſubſtance of a moſt able and ingenious ſpeech on the part of the mover; while, on all theſe heads, an oppoſite doctrine was maintained by Lord Mansfield and the Lord Chancellor, who put an end to the debate, by moving, that there was no ground for interfering in the practice of the eſtabliſhed courts of juſtice; and this motion was carried without a diviſion. April 15.

CHAP. VIII.

Miniſters cenſured by the Oppoſition for neglect in the appointment of convoys; allegations of Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Vaughan. Motion for a committee to inquire into the conduct of the Admiralty. Anſwer of Admiral Gardner, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Pitt. Obſervations of Mr. David Scott, Aldermen Anderſon and Curtis; the motion rejected. Different ſentiments entertained by the Government and Oppoſition parties on the propriety of appointing Committees of inquiry. Motion by Mr. Sheridan reſpecting Halifax. Anſwer of Admiral Gardner. The greater part of the papers required by Mr. Sheridan granted. Diſcuſſion on the Treaty with the King of Sardinia; objections to it; it is defended by Mr. Powys; Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Stanley. Maiden ſpeech of Mr. Canning. The ſubſidy voted without a diviſion. Debate on the ſupplies for the Army; objections of Mr. Huſſey and Major Maitland; anſwered by Miniſters; ſupplies voted without a diviſion. General ſupplies, ways and means. Speech of Mr. Pitt propoſing the taxes; obſervations of Mr. Fox; objections of Mr. Adam, Mr. Jekyll, and Mr. Joliffe, to the tax on Attornies; and of Mr. Brandling, Sir M. W. Ridley, and Mr. Burdon, to that on paper. Mr. Pitt notices the decree of the French government for inquiring into, and ſeizing the property of Frenchmen in foreign countries. Bill brought in for preventing the payment of monies due in this country to citizens of France; objections of Mr. Jekyll; anſwer of the attorney-general; the bill paſſes.

IN purſuance of the threats which had been held out at the firſt meeting of Parliament, to call miniſters to account for their miſmanagement in the war, Mr. Fox commenced the attack in the committee of ſupply, by charging the naval department with neglect in the article of convoy. The queſtion was debated on this and two following occaſions; the accuſation being ſupported chiefly by Meſſrs. Fox, Sheridan, and Vaughan, while the defence of adminiſtration was undertaken principally by Admiral Gardner, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Pitt.

Jan. 29 & 31.

The former alledged, that at no period of our hiſtory ought the trade to have received more ample protection than at the preſent moment. We were now acting with the two great maritime powers, Spain and Holland, for our allies: France was our only enemy, and her finances were diſordered, her government diſtracted, and her navy confeſſedly reduced below its ancient ſtandard. Yet with all theſe advantages, the loſſes of our merchants had been enormous; as well from captures as from delay in the ſailing of fleets through want of convoys. Of the Baltic fleet, ſixteen ſail had been captured; a whole year's trade had been loſt for want of a ſufficient convoy to the outward-bound Quebec fleet, and although repeated applications were made to the Admiralty by the perſons concerned, no aſſiſtance was obtained. The ſame neglect was ſhewn of the German, the Italian, and

and the African trade. To the fleet from Oporto, with 20,000 pipes of wine, a sloop only had been sent, and so inadequate was that force considered, that the merchants would not trust their vessels with it. On the authority of letters from Exeter, Leeds, and Norwich, it was stated, that the trade of those places was almost annihilated, that government had refused to grant convoys, and where they had been promised, the engagement had not been fulfilled. There was not any one part of the globe that did not furnish matter of reproach. A West India fleet had been sent across the Atlantic, with no other protection than a 28-gun frigate. Our Levant trade had suffered materially from the blockade of Smyrna by four French frigates; and it was well known that considerable mischief had been done to the East India fleets.

It was complained also, that our home and coasting trade had not received due attention—that for six days a squadron of French frigates had remained masters of the Channel—and that upon comparing our losses in the last year with those of 1778, it appeared, that we had then lost 129 ships only, and now 217. Upon all these accounts it was proposed, that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the conduct of the Admiralty during the present war.

On the part of administration it was maintained, that no inquiry ought to be grounded upon partial complaints (for it was folly to suppose that any war could be conducted without giving rise to such) but upon general principles of policy and prudence. It was admitted, that convoys had frequently been refused, for to comply with all the applications that were made was impossible. It could not be expected, that in the first year of a war, when our enemy had got the start of us in point of naval preparation, our force, which amounted but to 13,000 seamen, could all at once be so spread out as to answer every demand of our extensive commerce. It was necessary that a strong fleet should be kept in the Channel, in the Mediterranean, and the West Indies; and, with respect to detached vessels, they must be allotted in proportion to the value of the merchandize to be protected. Ministers would have forgot their duty, if they had neglected the greater objects to secure minute and individual advantages.

The losses sustained by the Baltic and Quebec fleets, which certainly did not amount to the number stated, were proved to have taken place while the ships were separated from the convoy. With regard to the former, the blame entirely lay with the captains of the merchant-ships who disobeyed the signals; and the delay occasioned to the sailing of the latter was owing to several unavoidable accidents, which were explained at full length, not to any want of care or attention in the Admiralty. As to the West India fleet, Admiral Gardner asserted, that it was sufficiently guarded across the Atlantic by a frigate, after having been seen safe through the gulf of Florida by a 50-gun ship—There was no danger, he said, until they came near the place of their destination, and then Lord Howe was ready to receive them with the Channel fleet. It was in the interval while this fleet was refitting after a long cruize, that the French frigates appeared in the Channel.

Upon

Upon the whole, when it was conſidered that the French navy was entirely diſtributed with a view to moleſt our commerce, it was no matter of ſurpriſe, that out of our immenſe trade, 217 or 236 captures (which was allowed by Mr. Pitt to be the real number) had been made: in the mean time, our own had amounted to 233. Notwithſtanding our three powerful fleets, fifty-two convoys, it was ſaid, had been granted during the year; and an aſſertion formerly made was now repeated with confidence and admitted on all hands, that not a ſingle veſſel had been loſt which ſailed under convoy.

The miniſter appealed alſo to the great mercantile body of the kingdom, who had, both within and out of parliament, teſtified their approbation of the mode in which government had acted, and expreſſed themſelves fully ſatisfied with the protection afforded to commerce. But there was a ſtill more deciſive criterion of their ſenſe of ſecurity, one which took no colour from partialities or averſions, but was founded on an unprejudiced and enlarged view of the whole matter—the rate of inſurance; which, during the laſt war for the Jamaica fleets, was 25 per cent. without, and 12 guineas with convoy, whereas at preſent the premium in the latter caſe was only 8 guineas, and in other caſes, did not amount to one half or one third of the accuſtomed rate. It was a remarkable fact, that the premium without convoy had never been ſo low in any former period; and ſtill the underwriters had realized immenſe fortunes. He admitted, that in a ſingle operation ſucceſs was not a certain teſt of merit; but in the general reſult of a wide and complicated ſcheme, it was ſtrong preſumptive evidence on the part of thoſe who planned and conducted it.

That the voice of the commercial intereſt ſpoke in favour of the miniſtry, was confirmed by Mr. David Scott and Aldermen Anderſon and Curtis, who profeſſed to deliver the ſentiments of a great majority of the merchants of London. Counter-ſtatements were alſo produced by Mr. Brandling, from Shields and Newcaſtle, in oppoſition to the intelligence Mr. Grey had received relative to the diſſatisfaction that prevailed among the traders there. The houſe divided—202, againſt an inquiry, to 48, who ſupported Mr. Fox's motion.

Very different opinions were held by the oppoſite ſpeakers, not only on this but on ſeveral other occaſions, when ſimilar motions were brought forward as to the propriety of inſtituting a Parliamentary inquiry.

The oppoſition contended, that failure was of itſelf a ſufficient ground—that inquiry was a thing which could do no harm, and might be productive of much benefit.—As a matter of policy it was highly uſeful: it tended to keep alive a ſenſe of that, which was among their firſt and deareſt privileges—the right of inveſtigating the conduct of the ſervants of the crown. They added, that during war it was particularly expedient that this inquiſitorial function ſhould be exerciſed; for if it were once eſtabliſhed, that the danger of the country was a reaſon for delay, it would follow that thoſe miniſters who moſt deſerved inquiry would be leaſt open to it—that their ſecurity would increaſe with the danger of the country, that is, with their own guilt and incapacity.

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Whatever the refult of the inveftigation might be, it would at leaft have the effect of preferving a valuable principle; it would inſpire caution in public men, by exhibiting before their eyes a conſtant memento of their dependence. Nor would the proceeding be any way harſh or injurious to individuals. If the ſuſpected party were acquitted, he retired from the bar of public juſtice, not only with unſullied honour, but his character received additional luſture from the ſcrutiny it had undergone. It proved to the world, that whatever fame he had acquired was not the offspring of prejudice or popular illuſion; that it grew out of his own proper merits, authenticated even by the teſtimony of his enemies. To ſhun inquiry was, they ſaid, as much the characteriſtic of falſe pretenders as it was of real worth to invite it: for to the latter it was well known, that what it took from preſent enjoyment it added to future ſatisfaction, that what it loſt by a temporary ſuſpenſion of fame, it amply repaid by the ſolidity and permanence which it finally beſtowed.

On the other hand, it was admitted, that the power of inquiry was one of the moſt valuable privileges poſſeſſed by the Houſe of Commons: but in proportion to its acknowledged value, ſuch it was affirmed ought to be the care and circumſpection with which it was exerciſed. Nothing could ſo much tend to weaken the authority of this right, or to lower the dignity of the Houſe, as to trifle with its higheſt functions upon light or trivial grounds. Beſides the inconveniences of the proceeding being very conſiderable, eſpecially when connected with the detail of warlike operations, it ought not to be reſorted to upon every defeat or failure, which it was in the nature of war to occaſion; there ſhould be ſtrong preſumption of treachery or miſconduct, independent of the event—a baſis of evidence whereon to found ſuſpicion, excluſive of the bare fact of ill ſucceſs.

It was denied, that to oppoſe inquiry was tantamount to a confeſſion of guilt: on the contrary, it was an aſſertion that our conduct had never afforded ground for ſuſpicion: but for a miniſter to invite inquiry, in order to be put on the proof of his innocence, was a falſe and ridiculous delicacy. It was his duty rather as guardian, together with others of the public intereſts, to reſiſt the meaſure, if it were groundleſs or ill-timed; for beſides the proſtitution of a ſacred and ſolemn right, it tended to nouriſh popular diſcontent upon every adverſe occurrence, to teach the nation to expect impoſſibilities, to embarraſs the proceedings of government, to diſtract the public councils, and to deſtroy that confidence and union of ſentiment which are eſſential to the proſecution of war.

With which ſide ſoever the truth lay on this important point, the deciſion perhaps was not very material; for the diſcuſſions which took place, preparatory to the motions, generally anſwered the purpoſe of a real inquiry, as far as was neceſſary to ſatisfy the public of the merits of each particular caſe. Every flying report was adduced, and either refuted or confirmed. Every minute circumſtance of a doubtful tranſaction was debated and explained. All the eagerneſs and abilities of both parties were excited to the ſame extent as if a formal

formal inquiry was pending, and the head of the miniſter at ſtake on the iſſue; and the only difference perhaps was the non-production of papers, moſt of which were in fact well known already, though not officially laid before the parliament.

Another topic, connected with the preceding, and introduced by Mr. Sheridan in the ſame committee, was the defenceleſs ſtate of Halifax, both by ſea and land. The charges he then brought forward were urged at greater length upon an appointed day, and ſul-
Feb. 21. ler documents were exhibited with a view to inſtitute an inquiry into the cauſes of this neglect.

He began by ſtating the very great importance of the colonies of Nova Scotia and New Brunſwick, not only in themſelves but as inſtrumental alſo to the defence of Canada and Newfoundland; and of this importance it was evident that miniſters were well aware by the large peace eſtabliſhments which had been uſually maintained there. In 1783 the force conſiſted of ſix regiments, one 50-gun ſhip and five or ſix frigates. From this time it had gradually diminiſhed till 1789, when there were only two frigates and three ſloops, while the land forces during the ſame interval had decreaſed in proportion: and, at the commencement of the preſent war, one 28-gun ſhip, about 90 regulars, one company of artillery, and 350 recruits compoſed the whole of the force allotted for the protection of Halifax.

In reply to a former account, which Mr. Dundas had given, of 9000 militia ready to repel any hoſtile attack, he affirmed, that this boaſted number conſiſted of perſons of all ages between 16 and 60, enrolled after the manner of French requiſitions; that they were diſperſed over the whole country, and were ignorant of the uſe of arms. He queſtioned Admiral Gardner as to his return in July from the Weſt Indies to England, where his preſence was not wanted, inſtead of going in purſuit of the French fleet under Admiral Sercy (which had made for America) and proceeding to winter at Halifax. This place in conſequence was left without troops and with its fortifications in a ſtate of ruin, expoſed to any attempt the French fleet might make upon it: and the fact was, that Admiral Sercy did really meditate ſuch an attack from New York, but his deſign was fruſtrated by a fortunate accident, the mutiny in his fleet, an event impoſſible to have been foreſeen by miniſters, and therefore no way exculpating them from the charge of infamous neglect. As appearances therefore were ſo much againſt him, Mr. Sheridan called upon Admiral Gardner to declare whether his conduct was the reſult of his own diſcretion, or of orders from government, that it might be known where the fault lay; and concluded with moving for certain papers and diſpatches, under ſix different claſſes, relative to Nova Scotia, as preparatory to an inquiry into the whole tranſaction.

This queſtion the Admiral refuſed to anſwer, alledging as a reaſon, that it required of him to betray confidential inſtructions; but he freely allowed, that he knew nothing of Admiral Sercy's having repaired to America, and that he fully expected to have fallen in with him

on his way home. There was no danger however, he ſaid, to Halifax from his fleet, during the winter, for the harbour being frozen up at that ſeaſon, a ſingle frigate was ſufficient to protect the ſtation.

It was farther alledged on the part of miniſtry, that they had no grounds to ſuſpect that the French fleet would ſteer for America. It was no part of their preconcerted plan, but was adopted in conſequence of their St. Domingo fleet not being able to make the European ports. If therefore our admiralty had iſſued orders for admiral Gardner to repair thither, or for any extraordinary preparations to be made adequate to cope with ſo large a force, they would have been juſtly liable to cenſure for an improvident diſtribution of our naval power, for waſting the ſtrength of the empire where it was not needed.

With regard to the land forces from which Halifax might be in danger, the French, it was ſaid, could not poſſibly have collected above 2,000 men in all America; and to enable the houſe to judge how formidable ſuch a number muſt be to the ſettlement, Mr. Dundas repeated his former aſſertion, that the militia of the country were upwards of 9,000, of which 4,000 could be drawn together for the defence of Halifax alone, in addition to near 700 regular troops. This force however, he allowed, would have been ſtill greater, had we not been compelled at the breaking out of the war haſtily to ſend what troops we could to the Weſt Indies, to prevent a revolt among the negroes there. For this preſſing ſervice, three regiments were withdrawn from Nova Scotia and New Brunſwick, not as a matter of choice but of neceſſity. In the meantime that theſe places were by no means deſtitute of ſtrength, he proved not only from the conſtant tenour of the diſpatches received from governor Wentworth, of whoſe character it was impoſſible to ſpeak too highly, but from the teſtimony alſo of brigadier major Hodgſon lately arrived from Halifax, who repreſented the military preparations, both in point of troops and fortifications, to be truly reſpectable, and even expreſſed his regret that the French had not ventured an attack, as it would undoubtedly have redounded to the glory of the garriſon.

A ſhort rejoinder was made to this defence by the mover—that no ſecurity could be juſtly preſumed from the freezing of Halifax harbour, for if we judged by the laſt forty years, not one winter in ten was ſevere enough to effect it.—He did not deny the prodigious efforts made in raiſing a militia, but this very circumſtance, he affirmed, proved moſt deciſively the point he was maintaining, that the place being ſhamefully neglected by the government at home, and left to ſhift for itſelf, the inhabitants of all ages and deſcriptions were obliged to arm in their own defence, to the great embarraſſment of trade and agriculture, and the interruption of all domeſtic comfort.

All the papers for which Mr. Sheridan moved were produced, except thoſe of the ſecond claſs, which comprized all official accounts relative to Halifax. They conſiſted chiefly of diſpatches from governor Wentworth, by which it appears, that he expected a viſit from the French during the winter, but having drawn a body of militia into actual ſervice, and having nearly

completed a new raiſed regiment of 600 men, in addition to 100 of the old regulars and a company of artillery, he conſidered himſelf perfectly prepared to reſiſt any attempt that might be made. No farther inquiry took place; but towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion Mr. Sheridan declared, that all his former ſtatements had been fully confirmed by a numerous body of the inhabitants of Halifax, who expreſſed their ſurprize and reſentment at the language of miniſters concerning them.

Jan. 31. The next article that produced any material debate in the committee of ſupply was the Sardinian treaty, by which an annual ſubſidy of £. 200,000 was ſtipulated on the part of this country during the continuance of the war, and the reſtoration of the territories lately wreſted from him by France promiſed to the king of Sardinia.

It was objected, that however uſeful the aſſiſtance of that power might be to us in the proſecution of the war, yet there was no need of conferring ſo large a ſubſidy, without obtaining any reciprocal advantages —that the king of Sardinia was paid merely for protecting his own dominions, a meaſure which he muſt of courſe adopt for his own ſafety, even if he were deſtitute of foreign aid; for there was no proſpect of a ſeparate peace between him and France. If the recovery of Nice and Savoy was a deſirable object to us, much more ſo muſt it be to him; and conſequently, inſtead of the payment being made by us, we ought in fact to receive a ſubſidy ourſelves for the aſſiſtance we afford.

The treaty was defended by Mr. Powys, Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Stanley, who contended that that it was more advantageous to us than the former ſubſidiary treaties we had concluded with that power. Sardinia, they ſaid, was always held to be an eligible alliance, whenever we were engaged in a war with France. In 1703 ſhe agreed to raiſe 45,000 men, and in 1742, by the treaty of Worms, 46,000, for which an annual aid of £. 200,000 was ſtipulated; but in the preſent inſtance ſhe engaged to furniſh 50,000 for the ſame ſum.

To this it was anſwered, that the two former treaties were concluded under very different circumſtances from the preſent: Sardinia was then either an ally of France, or as yet on the balance and inclining rather that way, when by means of thoſe ſubſidies ſhe was detached from her intereſts: whereas ſhe was now engaged in the moſt decided hoſtility with that country, ſtruggling for her very exiſtence, and might well be expected to make thoſe efforts on her own account for which we had needleſsly offered to pay.

This debate was diſtinguiſhed by the introduction of a new ſpeaker on the miniſterial bench, who, from his intimate connection with ſome of the leading characters of the other party, had been expected to enliſt himſelf under their colours. As it is uſual to commence the parliamentary career with ſome eclat, the field was left open by the miniſter on this night to Mr. Canning. He entered at full length into the diſputed queſtions of the origin and objects of the war, in order to prove that the ſtipulations made with Sardinia were in every reſpect conſiſtent with the declared views and eſtabliſhed policy of this kingdom. Such a treaty ought not, he maintained, to be examined on the petty trades-

manlike

manlike principle of a *quid pro quo*, a narrow ſcrutiny into the goodneſs or badneſs of the bargain, but ſhould be conſidered as forming a part of one great, connected, comprehenſive ſcheme, which had for its object, not conqueſt or gain, but to repreſs the aggrandizement of the French republic. He reprobated the idea of taking advantage of the diſtreſſes of the king of Sardinia, in order to drive hard terms with him: this had not been the policy of Great Britain in former times. In 1758 we voted a ſubſidy of £.670,000. to the king of Pruſſia, not as if we were purchaſing the ſupport of ſome powerful ally, but (as the preamble of that ſubſidy expreſsly declared) becauſe he was haraſſed by his enemies, becauſe he was deprived of part of his dominions, and incapable of defending the remainder. Theſe circumſtances, ſaid Mr. Canning, which are now urged as reaſons why we ſhould abandon our ally, were then profeſſed to be the very cauſes for the ſuccour we gave; and unleſs this country had degenerated from its former liberality, or had altered its political ſyſtem, he hoped the ſame large and generous principles would regulate our conduct upon this occaſion.

Upon the neceſſity of continuing hoſtilities becauſe the faithleſsneſs and inſtability of the French government precluded negotiation, Mr. Canning was peculiarly happy, not only in delineating the features of that government, but in retorting on the oppoſition one of their favourite arguments. If, ſaid he, as we are perpetually told, the reprobate characters who now rule France roſe to power by the diſtractions of that country within, and the preſſure of hoſtile force from without, if theſe be true cauſes of their power, will not that power ceaſe with the ceſſation of the cauſes that produced it? Will not the moment of pacification be the moment of their downfal, and their downfal cancel all their acts?

After this ſpeech, which was received with the attention and applauſe ſo well due to its ſuperior merit, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, and the reſolution confirming the ſubſidy paſſed without a diviſion. Whatever elſe remained to be urged againſt the meaſure, was reſerved to ſwell the charges preferred againſt the miniſter by Mr. Whitbread on a ſubſequent occaſion, when this treaty, as well as all the others, concluded with the belligerent powers were canvaſſed at large.

When the ſupplies for the army came on in the committee, Feb. 3d the reſolution for 60,244 effective men in the land ſervice to be employed in the current year, was prefaced by a ſhort ſpeech from the ſecretary at war, in which he called the attention of the committee to the activity and exertion which had been diſplayed in that department; ſo great, that the number of men raiſed within the laſt year was 37,169, exceeding by more than 10,000, the utmoſt that had ever before been levied in the ſame ſpace of time.

Mr. Huſſey paſſed ſome few ſtrictures upon this augmentation, which, as the navy was our natural bulwark, he conſidered a miſapplication of our ſtrength; when a more direct and vigorous attack was made on the miniſtry by major Maitland. He admitted that great exertions had been uſed in the raiſing of our forces, but recommended them not to plume themſelves on that account, for the expence of raiſing them had

exceeded all former example, and the manner in which they had been employed throughout the laſt campaign, reflected nothing but diſgrace on thoſe who had the direction of our plans. To the troops themſelves he paid every tribute that was due to their acknowledged gallantry, ſpirit and perſeverance: it was to the miniſters that he attributed all the ſhameful loſſes and misfortunes they had ſuſtained, in all quarters of the world where they had been engaged. He entered at large upon the circumſtances attending the retreat from Dunkirk, and the evacuation of Toulon, both which failures he imputed not to the miſconduct of the commanders, but to the negligence and incapacity of the cabinet. But as theſe ſubjects underwent a particular diſcuſſion, at a ſubſequent period of the ſeſſion, when moſt of the arguments now advanced were again canvaſſed, it would be uſeleſs in this place to dwell upon them.

He then proceeded to notice the expedition under ſir Charles Grey, obſerving, that it had been poſtponed from day to day, until at laſt he ſailed with only two ſhips of war and three tranſports, and that at ſo boiſterous a ſeaſon, that it was not to be expected he could perform any ſignal ſervice. The next charge he had to make was the expedition under lord Moira, and this was, if poſſible, worſe than the reſt. After the public expectation had been raiſed to the higheſt pitch, after troops had been collected in great numbers, and tranſports prepared, the whole of this mighty ſcheme ended, as had been well obſerved, in the invaſion of this country by a troop of Heſſians; while the royaliſt army in France, long buoyed up with the hopes of ſuccour, were baſely abandoned to the unrelenting fury of their enemies.

Having cenſured the mode in which our arms had been directed in the Weſt Indies, particularly at Martinique, he paſſed over to the conduct of miniſters in the war department at home. He remarked on the prodigal expence of government in the article of barracks, the increaſe of which in a free country, independent of the expence, was a ſufficient ground of jealouſy: he condemned the practice of raiſing men by the ſale of commiſſions, a mode which retarded the riſe of thoſe meritorious officers, who had not money to purchaſe at an exorbitant rate, and ſwelled the half-pay liſt, by adding an unneceſſary number of officers to the eſtabliſhment: and laſt of all, he demanded a reaſon for the vaſt increaſe of the ſtaff, which article exceeded by many thouſand pounds the charge on the ſame account in former wars.

On the part of adminiſtration it was alledged in general, that the recovery of the Auſtrian Netherlands, and the expulſion of the French from Holland, were abundant evidence of the ſucceſs and prudent diſtribution of our arms—that even if the diſgrace or loſs had been as great as was falſely repreſented, no ſuch diſtinction could be made between miniſters and commanders, as ſhould wholly exculpate the one and criminate the other—that the operations which were undertaken, being the reſult of joint counſels, for their wiſdom or ſucceſs they were jointly reſponſible.

As to the particular charges of miſconduct, it was ſaid that the forces were ſent out to the Weſt Indies, not for the purpoſe of conquering,

quering, but of taking poſſeſſion of the iſlands. When that expedition failed, the royaliſts were ſuperior, but in the interval between their ſetting out and their arrival, a revolution had taken place, and the democratic party gained the aſcendancy. This was an event purely accidental, no blame could attach to miniſters for not having foreſeen it. With regard to the expedition under lord Moira, the plan, they maintained, was wiſe, but that it could not be put in execution was the fault of the royaliſts, who never endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of a ſea port, which every military man muſt know was eſſential to our co-operation. On the ſubject of the ſtaff, little elſe was ſaid than that it was not to be governed by precedent, but by the number of the troops employed, and the nature of the ſervice. The preſent charge did certainly exceed that of the laſt war, by 25,000, but it included the ſtaff of the army in Flanders, and of that under lord Moira: and whatever objections might be made againſt the mode of raiſing men by the ſale of commiſſions, it was generally approved of in the army, and was very economical.

In anſwer to a queſtion put moſt directly by Mr. Huſſey, namely, what object he hoped to obtain by perſevering in a continental war, Mr. Pitt declared that mere naval exertions were not ſufficient againſt a country which did not poſſeſs the command of the ſea, and which was ſatisfied with having its commerce annihilated. It was the uſurpation and aggrandizement of that power by land which threatened us, as well as all Europe, and to that point it was neceſſary that we ſhould direct our reſiſtance. Even from our failures he deduced the neceſſity of an addition to our land forces, for they had uniformly been owing to a vaſt ſuperiority of numbers in the enemy, whom he ſtyled not merely an army, but an armed nation.

This laſt expreſſion was caught up and triumphantly echoed by the oppoſition, as an inadvertent teſtimony to the truth of their own aſſertion, that all attempts to make an impreſſion on France by arms were hopeleſs; but Mr. Pitt replied, that he had uſed the term to expreſs, that to their numbers alone were the French indebted for their ſucceſs, and that admitting them to be an armed nation, it by no means followed that they were united. The fact indeed was quite the reverſe.

Notwithſtanding this altercation, no diviſion of the Houſe was attempted, and the other reſolutions having paſſed without interruption, Mr. Pitt on the following Wedneſday brought forward the Supplies, together with the Ways and Means for the year. 5th Feb.

SUPPLY—NAVY.

85,000 ſeamen	4,420,000	
Ordinary - - -	558,000	
Extraordinary	547,000	
		5,525,000

ARMY.

Britiſh army -	4,362,000	
Foreign troops	1,169,000	
Extraordinaries	809,000	
		6,340,000

ORDNANCE.

Ordinary - - -	324,000	
Extraordinary -	377,000	
Laſt year unprovided for - -	644,000	
		1,345,000

Miſcellaneous ſervices	206,000
Deficiency of grants	474,000
Deficiency of land and malt	350,000
To the commiſſioners of the national debt	200,000
Exchequer bills	5,500,000
Total amount to be provided for	19,940,000

It had been uſual, he ſaid, to omit the exchequer bills entirely, becauſe they generally amounted to the ſame ſum on each ſide of the account, but he had introduced them in the preſent ſtatement, becauſe he wiſhed to make proviſion for £.5,500,000. though it was his intention to place only £.3,500,000. to the other ſide, which would thus leave a ſum of £.2,000,000. in the nature of a vote of credit, to anſwer any unforeſeen contingencies of the year.

The firſt article under the head of Ways and Means was the land and malt tax, eſtimated as uſual at £.2,750,000. The next was the growing produce of the conſolidated Fund. Upon comparing the produce of the permanent taxes either with the amount in the year 1791, or with an average of four years, the difference was very inconſiderable: and after deducting the amount of taxes repealed, the eſtimate for the preſent year would be £.13,994,000. of which ſum £.11,797,000. was appropriated to the charges on the conſolidated fund: of courſe, the ſurplus applicable to the preſent demand was £.2,197,000. To this he added £.500,000. from the Eaſt India Company, leaving about 11 millions to be provided for in the way of loan. The account would then ſtand as follows:

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land and malt tax	2,750,000
Growing produce of the conſolidated fund	2,197,000
Exchequer bills	3,500,000
From the Eaſt India Company	0,500,000
Loan	11,000,000
	£.19,947,000

Upon comparing the ſupplies of this year with thoſe of 1791, it would appear that the additional charges at preſent for the army, navy, ordnance, and deficiencies, amounted to £.9,834,000., to which muſt be added two millions of exchequer bills, making in all an exceſs of £.11,834,000. For the diſcharge of this ſum, Mr. Pitt ſaid he ſhould only have occaſion for a loan of eleven millions, ſo that there remained upwards of £.800,000. of the revenue, beyond what had been calculated by the Finance Committee in 1791, applicable to the ſervice of the preſent year.

He then adverted to the navy debt, which amounted to no leſs a ſum than £.3,200,000. Contrary to the uſual practice of leaving this to be provided for at the end of the war, he propoſed to fund immediately about £.1,900,000. and to eſtabliſh ſuch an order of payment for the future, that there ſhould be no outſtanding debt beyond a certain date. For this purpoſe taxes to the amount of about £.248,000. would be neceſſary.

The loan had, he ſaid, been negotiated on a principle which he had invariably adopted, that of free competition; and he was happy in being able to ſtate that the terms which had been offered were extremely favourable to the public, as well

well as advantageous to the contracting parties. For £.100. they were to receive

	£.	s.	d.
£.100. 3-per cents. worth at the present price	67	10	0
£.25. 4-per cents	21	0	0
11s. 6d. long annuities	11	9	9
	99	19	9

leaving upon the whole a small fractional sum in favour of the public. The discount allowed for prompt payment would raise it to £.102. 9s. 3d. a premium which, though considerable, was, he believed, the smallest that had ever been given.

In order to defray the interest of these 11 millions, together with the one-per cent. applied to the gradual liquidation of the capital, an annual sum of £.650,000. would be required, which, with the sum of £.248,000. to be provided for the actual and expected navy debt, and about £.10,000. (the accustomed produce of two vexatious and trifling taxes which he proposed to repeal, namely, the glove tax, and the tax on births and burials) would make £.908,000. To call for so large a sum must, he confessed, be matter of regret; at the same time that he felt considerable satisfaction from the knowledge that it might be raised without any severe pressure on the people. The taxes imposed in 1791, after deducting the amount of those which had been repealed, had produced on an average £.635,000. per annum. Of this £.250,000. only was appropriated, so that there remained a clear surplus of £.385,000. By a new regulation of the duty on spirits in Scotland, a farther sum of £.43,000. would be obtained, and as this was likely to increase, it might be reckoned with the other sum at £.430,000. Of the new taxes which he had to submit to the committee, the first was an additional duty on British and Foreign Spirits, from the former of which he expected to raise £.107,000. and from the latter £.136,000.

A duty of 1s. 6d. per 1,000 on bricks and tiles, in addition to the former tax of 2s. 6d. he reckoned at £.70,000.

A similar duty on slate and stone carried coastwise, £.30,000.

The next was an article of luxury merely, plate and crown glass, and on this he calculated for £.52,000.

The present duties on paper also, having been greatly evaded from the multitude of sorts into which paper was divided, he meant to simplify them by reducing the sorts to three, and on some to add one-half, and one-third on the other. From this source he expected £.63,000.

The last was a tax of £.100. on the indenture of every person articled to an attorney, and £.100. on the admission of every person so articled, which he rated at £.25,000.

Mr. Pitt concluded his speech with drawing a flattering picture of our financial prosperity. Of the new imposts, part had been already borne without inconvenience, and the rest were such as experience had proved to be productive with the least possible burden on the people. If the terms of the loan were considered, it would be found that public credit was unimpaired; and since the measure adopted last year for the relief of the commercial interest, trade had revived with astonishing rapidity. Besides this, the future produce of the revenue was computed on an average of four years, which

average had been exceeded in 1793 by £. 137,000. and every reasonable prospect appeared of a still greater increase. But on this excess he had not calculated: he left it to be disposed of as events might require, and as an additional ground of public security.

A general concurrence in these proposals and statements of the minister seemed to pervade the house, if we except some animadversions which were made by Mr. Fox, chiefly on the manner in which the demand for so large a sum had been introduced. The call for a million of money could not, he said, but be felt severely by the nation. He contrasted the total stagnation of trade in some of our manufacturing towns with the account given of the flourishing state of commerce; and from this circumstance he suggested that the minister might probably find himself mistaken in the presumed increase of the revenue. As to the boasted state of public credit, he did not think there was much reason to be proud, if we compared the present depression of the funds with that which had occurred in the American war. Within the last twenty months they had experienced a fall of 30 per cent. which was nearly equal to that which took place after seven years of hostilities from 1774 to 1781.

All the taxes were agreed to without opposition, except those on attornies and on paper. The former was considered by Mr. Adam and Mr. Jekyll as fixing a stigma on a body of men, who ought, as they were necessarily entrusted with the most important secrets, to be held up to the respect of society; and Mr. Jolliffe remarked on the unfairness of including under the tax those clerks who were already articled, many of whom probably could not afford to pay the sum required, and must therefore be thrown unprovided for on the world, with the loss of all the time and money they had bestowed on the profession. Accordingly, when the tax came before the house in the shape of a bill, Mr. Pitt proposed to exempt from its operation all of this description, but did not accede to the doctrine that the tax itself was to be considered in the light of a stigma or disgrace. On the contrary, he thought it most likely to raise the character of the profession, by preventing improper persons from getting into it.

The tax on paper also encountered some opposition from Mr. Brandling, sir M. W. Ridley, and Mr. Burdon. They wished to lower the rates on inferior sorts, and Mr. Sheridan expressed a hope that in the instance of newspapers, a drawback would be allowed on the stamp, equal to the additional duty. The bill however passed without any amendment.

As connected with the subject of finance, may be considered a measure proposed by Mr. Pitt early in the same month, with a view to counteract a project meditated by the French government for drawing resources from the French property lodged in this country. He read to the house, from a paper which had just come to his hands, a set of resolutions passed by the united Committees of Finance, General Safety, and Public Welfare in France; the purport of which was, that an extraordinary commission should be instituted, with powers to inquire into all property possessed by French citizens in foreign countries—that this

this property of whatever kind, whether conſiſting in bills of exchange, debts, merchandize or funds, ſhould be ſurrendered into the hands of the government, and that the creditors ſhould receive the amount in aſſignats at par. In order therefore to defeat this mixed ſcheme of fraud and force, in order to preſerve to individuals their juſt rights, and to prevent ourſelves from furniſhing our enemies with the means of attack, he obſerved, that both for the ſake of private juſtice and of ſelf-defence, ſome timely interference of parliament was neceſſary.

Accordingly a bill was ſpeedily brought in by the ſolicitor general, the object of which was, to forbid by a ſevere penalty the remiſſion of any ſums from this country due to citizens of France, during the war. They were to be conſidered as a ſacred depoſit in the hands of their preſent holders until a peace, when the creditors might ſue for the recovery of them in the courts of law. Thus, it was obſerved, not only the deſign of our enemies to ſupport by this means the credit of their immenſe maſs of aſſignats would be fruſtrated, but individuals alſo would be ſcreened from the oppreſſion of forcing upon them at par a depreciated paper not worth one-ſeventh of its nominal value. 13 Apr.

Some objections were ſtarted by Mr. Jekyll, who approved of the principle of the bill, but conſidered the protection it profeſſed to hold out to the French creditor as deluſive; becauſe by the detention of his debt in the hands of an Engliſh merchant, he became liable to the riſque of a bankruptcy: and ſuppoſing the penalty enjoined by the bill to be levied on the offender, what recompence would it be to the other for the loſs of his property? The attorney-general replied, that all the ſecurity which the French creditor at preſent enjoyed, was in the honour of his debtor, for by the law of England, no ſubject of a hoſtile ſtate could ſue for a debt in our courts; from this meaſure he would derive the additional ſecurity of a moſt ſevere penalty for any infraction of his right. The bill then went through the regular ſtages with all poſſible diſpatch, and with the unanimous approbation of parliament.

CHAP. IX.

The King's meſſage reſpecting the landing of Heſſian troops; addreſs voted without oppoſition. Mr. Grey's motion on the ſubject; ſupported by Mr. Whitbread, Major Maitland, Lord Geo. Cavendiſh, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Fox. Anſwered by Mr. Powys, Mr. Windham; obſervations of Mr. Serjeant Adair in moving the previous queſtion; which, after ſome debate, is carried. Motion in the Houſe of Lords by the Earl of Albemarle, for a bill of indemnity. Arguments for the motion; anſwer of miniſters; obſervations of the Marquis of Lanſdowne, Lord Auckland, Lord Grenville, and other Peers; the motion loſt; proteſts on the occaſion. Similar motion by Mr. Grey; anſwer of Mr. Grenville; after many ſpeeches on both ſides the motion negatived. Converſation in the Houſe of Commons on the employment of French officers under Lord Moira. Explanation of that circumſtance by Lord Moira in the upper houſe.

houſe. Jealouſy of the oppoſition reſpecting any extenſion of the power of the crown. Circular letter publiſhed to Lords Lieutenants of Counties, recommending the formation of Volunteer companies. An addreſs to the King moved. His Majeſty's meſſage to Parliament. Debate on a motion by Mr. Sheridan cenſuring voluntary contributions. Speech of the Attorney General; of Mr. Fox; Mr. Windham; reply of Mr. Sheridan. Debate on the ſame ſubject in the Houſe of Lords. Debate in the Houſe of Commons on the third reading of a bill for giving effect to the King's recommendation. Objections of Mr. Francis. Anſwer of Mr. Pitt. The bill paſſed. Mr. Serjeant Adair propoſes to add a clauſe by way of rider, but without effect; obſervations. Motion by Mr. Harriſon for aboliſhing and reducing the profits of certain penſions and offices; ſtatement by Mr. Roſe of what had already been effected; arguments of oppoſition; and of Mr. Pitt; motion negatived. Bill for employing the French emigrants in the Britiſh ſervice; vehemently oppoſed in the Houſe of Commons in various ſtages; defended by miniſters on the third reading; oppoſition to it in the Houſe of Lords; it paſſes.

THE firſt buſineſs of any magnitude, not immediately connected with the ſubject of the war, that engaged the attention of parliament in this ſeſſion, was unexpectedly introduced within a few days after their meeting, and intereſted the nation not leſs by its intrinſic merits, than by the warmth and pertinacity with which it was debated.

Mr. Dundas announced to the houſe, in a meſſage from the king, that a body of Heſſians in the pay of his majeſty, having lately arrived off the Iſle of Wight, orders had been given for their landing, on account of the health of the troops, and that for the preſent they were to be quartered in the iſland and the adjacent places. An addreſs of thanks for the communication was moved, and paſſed without any notice from the oppoſition. The cauſe however of this acquieſcence was, as Mr. Grey on the following day obſerved, that he had then conſidered miniſters juſtified in what they had done by precedent, but having ſince had reaſon to alter his opinion, he declared his intention of bringing the ſubject before parliament. Accordingly a full diſcuſſion of the matter took place, on the motion of Mr. Grey "that to employ foreigners in any ſituation of military truſt, or to bring foreign troops into this kingdom, without the conſent of parliament firſt had and obtained, is contrary to law."

Jan. 27.

Feb. 10.

The motion was ſupported by Mr. Whitbread, major Maitland, lord G. Cavendiſh, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Fox.

They contended that this order for the diſembarkation of the Heſſians was contrary to the expreſs declaration of the bill of rights and the act of ſettlement, to the ſpirit and principles of the conſtitution, and to eſtabliſhed practice. Firſt then, in the bill of rights, it was laid down, "that raiſing a ſtanding army in time of peace, unleſs by the conſent of parliament, is againſt law." As this bill was a declaratory not an enacting law, it ought, they ſaid, by every rule of reaſoning, to be interpreted not in the

the ſtrict ſenſe of the letter, but largely and liberally, according to its true ſpirit and intention; and although the word *peace* was here uſed, it was idle to exclude the principle from the caſe of war, a period which, if ever encroachment was meditated on our liberties, was certainly moſt favourable to an ambitious monarch. If the framers of that bill had meant to lodge this occaſional power in the hands of the crown, a power ſo paramount and uncontroulable that charters and acts of parliament were but as waſte paper when oppoſed to it, would they not have expreſſed it by ſome clear and diſtinct ſentence? would they have left it to be ſtrained and filtered out of the ambiguity of their language? to be battled for and argued by ingenious quibbles, which, however they might ſuit an Old Bailey pleader, were unbecoming the dignity of a Britiſh parliament.

The next legal argument was built upon the act of ſettlement, which explicitly declares "that no "office of truſt, civil or military, "ſhall on any account whatever, "be held by any but natural-born "ſubjects, within this realm." It was ſaid, that a more direct and flagrant violation of this law could not be imagined, than the military command now exerciſed by the Heſſian officers in the Iſle of Wight. It was a thing palpable to the ſenſes, which it was impoſſible for any ſophiſtry to palliate or conceal.

That the king could have no troops but ſuch as were granted by parliament, was moreover a principle which ought to occur to every man's mind, however unread in the laws or hiſtory of his country, for it was revived and recognized by the mutiny bill from year to year. Without this bill no military authority could be exerciſed, and conſequently the troops in queſtion were releaſed from all ſuch obligation: they could not be puniſhed for deſertion or diſobedience, or if they were, they might ſeek redreſs for the outrage in our courts of law.

One gentleman indeed who ſupported the motion (Mr. Francis) maintained that the bill of rights, however conſtrued, was irrelevant to the purpoſe. That it contained no proviſion againſt the introduction of foreign troops, becauſe it never exiſted in the minds of its authors that ſuch a prerogative could be laid claim to, or even ſuggeſted conſiſtently with a ſingle principle of right or freedom in the people. If in addition to this power, it was held (as he had often heard it, though he by no means ſubſcribed to the doctrine) that the king of England might make war or peace at pleaſure, what had the miniſters of the crown to do, but to excite a foreign quarrel in order to reduce every thing at home to their command.

They did not ſuſpect the gracious prince upon the throne of ſuch deſigns; in his virtues we had a ſecurity, and it was fortunate that we had; for if the doctrines and principles they daily heard were to prevail, we ſhould have no other. But worſe times might come, and princes of a different character might reign over us, in whoſe hands the precedents now eſtabliſhed might become weapons to deſtroy us.

With this weight of law, of reaſon and of common ſenſe on their ſide, it was ſaid the queſtion might well be ſuffered to reſt here; it required to be defended on no other grounds. But ſince it had become the practice of late to argue every thing upon precedent,

precedent, they were ready to produce evidence of the jealouſy and firmneſs with which parliament had uniformly acted in ſimilar caſes. It was uſeful perhaps to look back upon theſe examples, as well to fortify our opinions, as to ſtimulate us to our duty; but whenever it was attempted to build upon their authority againſt ſuch a mode of reaſoning, they proteſted ſtrongly; and even affirmed that if a precedent could be found in every ſeſſion of parliament ſince the revolution, for a thing bad in itſelf, they would pay no regard to the whole ſeries.

In 1698 the king ſent a meſſage deſiring that ſome Dutch troops might be allowed to remain in this country after the war, and promiſing that no improper uſe ſhould be made of them, yet the commons refuſed. In 1756, when it was judged expedient to employ foreigners in America, it was deemed neceſſary to obtain the ſanction of an act of parliament; and that act paſſed with conſiderable limitations as to the number of the troops as well as the rank of the officers. Laſtly, in 1775, the miniſters ſheltered themſelves under a bill of indemnity for ſending foreign troops to Gibraltar and Minorca; not however without a ſtrong and noble oppoſition made by many perſons now members of the houſe. This inſtance was preſſed with great confidence and vigour, and thoſe gentlemen were loudly called upon, in conformity to the principles they then profeſſed, again to reſiſt an encroachment ſo dangerous and alarming.

The appeal thus peremptorily made was nevertheleſs rejected by Mr. Powys and Mr. Windham, who had borne the part alluded to in that debate. They denied that the inſtance of 1775 bore any affinity to the caſe in queſtion. At that time they oppoſed the miniſters, becauſe foreign troops were put into important garriſons, while an Engliſh army was ſent to America. It was beſides a period of peace, and the troubles in which we were about to be engaged, were of a civil and domeſtic nature, not ſuch as could authorize the employment of a foreign force. But what were the circumſtances before them? A body of Heſſians deſtined to act againſt our enemies abroad, were for purpoſes of humanity and temporary convenience diſembarked at the place of rendezvous. Both the act and the occaſion were different, and there could be no room for drawing a parallel between them.

Mr. Windham in particular, deprecated the diſcuſſion of the abſtract principle contained in the motion, and declared that to ſuch a queſtion he would give no anſwer. The real point for conſideration was, whether the miniſter had acted wrong in adviſing the landing of the Heſſian troops; and in the proof of that point, the mover and his friends had completely failed.

The debate had proceeded ſome way before an attempt was made to interrupt its progreſs, from a quarter more likely to carry weight with the oppoſition. Mr. ſerjeant Adair adopted the ſentiment expreſſed by Mr. Windham, and entreated the houſe to abſtain from all farther agitation of the ſubject. He declared himſelf fully convinced of the incompetency of the crown to introduce a foreign force; but becauſe ſuch a propoſition was true, it by no means followed that it ought to be declared by the houſe. Anomalous caſes muſt ariſe under every human

regulation. If for inſtance a veſſel were wrecked on our own coaſts, loaded with convicts for tranſportation, ſome of whom ſwam aſhore to ſave themſelves, would it be right for parliament to come to a ſolemn reſolution "that felons being found "at large before the term of their "tranſportation was expired, was "contrary to law." As few, he believed, would be found to aſſert the propriety as to deny the truth of ſuch a declaration.

He cautioned the miniſters not to be ſo much elated by the pride of numbers, as to give a mortal ſtab to the conſtitution, and conjured his own friends not to force on a deciſion which muſt be fatal to their deareſt principles, through any deſire of triumphing by ſuperiority of argument, or of driving their antagoniſts to an unpopular vote. The determination could do no good, and might be productive of much miſchief; to get rid therefore of the difficulty at once he moved the previous queſtion.

This expedient was not accepted by the party to which it was principally directed. They affirmed, that the fear of being left in a minority was no reaſon for relinquiſhing their duty. They were bound to perſevere in what they thought for the benefit of the country; and though the houſe might not take care of its honour, it did not follow that they ſhould be partners in the diſgrace, or act treacherouſly to their conſtituents. The miniſters, on the other hand, though they ſeconded the propoſal, yet entered fully into a refutation of all that had been advanced, and Mr. Pitt avowed his perfect readineſs to put a negative, if called upon, on the original motion.

A ſingle champion on this ſide, who was but a young member of the houſe, boldly and roundly aſſerted the right of the king to introduce foreign troops in time of war, by virtue of his prerogative; and gave it as his opinion that even were parliament to carry an addreſs to the foot of the throne, praying their diſmiſſal, it would be matter of diſcretion with the ſovereign, how far he would comply. This doctrine, as may be ſuppoſed, met with the ſevereſt cenſure from the oppoſition ſide, and did not appear to be more reliſhed on the other. The miniſter certainly confined himſelf to the negative part of the argument, maintaining that nothing had been done in the preſent caſe, which was contrary to law or eſtabliſhed practice.

Much ridicule was thrown by him and his friends on the *liberality* with which the others contended that the bill of rights ought to be conſtrued. They aſked whether every conſtruction which tended to abridge the prerogative was what they meant by liberal, while all conſtructions, however juſt, which went to confirm or to leave it where it was, were illiberal and mean? they affirmed that the terms, "in time of peace," were put ſo emphatically as to except by implication, any caſe of emergency, or at leaſt that they rendered the clauſe totally inapplicable to the preſent queſtion. But as a proof of the conſiſtency and liberality of reaſoning in thoſe gentlemen, it was obſerved, that to ſuit their own purpoſes, at one time they diſtort the word *peace* in the bill of rights till they make it mean *war*, on pretence of following the ſpirit not the letter of the proviſion; whereas, when they come to conſider the act of ſettlement, they ingeniouſly ſhift their ground, and leaving the conſidera-

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tion of the principle, proceed to ſtrain the language into a ſenſe beyond what it was ever intended to bear. The reſtriction in that act was evidently and notoriouſly pointed againſt the preferment of foreigners to poſts of truſt within this kingdom; it muſt be the extreme of obſtinacy or credulity to imagine that it went to guard againſt the temporary landing of officers, whoſe truſt, whatever it might be, was derived from commiſſions under their own ſovereigns.

In anſwer to the doctrine held by the ſupporters of the motion concerning precedents, they confeſſed that precedents had their weight with them, that they ſtill retained ſome old prejudices, and notwithſtanding the new light which had broken in upon the world, they could not at once ſee the wiſdom or the ſafety of rejecting the experience of former times, and the opinions of their anceſtors.

Inſtances of proceedings ſimilar to the preſent were to be numbered almoſt with the wars that had occurred ſince the revolution. Notice had been regularly given by a meſſage from the king to the parliament, yet not a ſingle remonſtrance was ever made; and though ſeveral acts had paſſed relative to the troops after their landing, not one could be found that in any degree controverted the right of bringing them into the country. Of this there were examples in 1745 and 1756. In neither caſe was the conſent of parliament obtained or talked of, unleſs the addreſs of thanks in anſwer to the communication be conſidered as ſuch; and then it muſt be allowed that the preſent meaſure was legal, for it had already received the ſame ſanction. Upon the latter occaſion indeed, the king intimated to parliament, when they had been ſitting ſome months, his intention of bringing ſome Heſſian troops into the kingdom, and that the tranſports had actually ſailed to convey them. Had there been any law then to the contrary, would it not have ſtared them in the face? had the conſent of parliament been neceſſary, it might have been obtained as eaſily as their thanks, in ample time before the troops arrived. But nothing of the kind was thought of by any party. The circumſtance was made not a matter of application for leave, but ſimply of communication, and an addreſs of thanks was voted to his majeſty for the meaſures he had taken. In the years ſucceeding each of thoſe, parliament made proviſion for quartering and maintaining the forces, thereby eſtabliſhing the legality of an act which had been already ſanctioned by their ſilence.

The precedent of 1775 was ſaid not to apply to the caſe before them; and it was a little ſingular that the bill of indemnity which had been ſpoken of, never paſſed the lords. Upon this rejection however they did not wiſh to rely, for there were precedents much more in point, and of a later date. In the year 1782, parliament was informed that foreign troops were coming from Gibraltar and Minorca to this country: no objection was ſtarted: no act of indemnity required. In 1784, ſimilar notice was given of the arrival and landing of a body of Heſſians from America. This was on all accounts a remarkable period. It was a time of peace, and a time when a majority of the houſe of commons, had declared the miniſter not to poſſeſs their confidence: they were no way deficient in talents or in energy:

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they had lately carried ſeveral points againſt him: yet that miniſter brought down the meſſage, and a vote of thanks for the communication paſſed unanimouſly, without a doubt expreſſed or entertained of the legality of the meaſure.

It was farther obſerved, that the diſcretion thus veſted in the ſovereign could never be exerciſed in a manner injurious to the people, as long as the ſtrong conſtitutional check remained with that houſe, the power of the purſe. But it was anſwered by Mr. Fox, that no adequate ſecurity remained to us againſt 50,000 foreign mercenaries, for if the principle was admitted, fifty thouſand might as well be introduced as one. The precedent of 1745, he contended, was no authority; the country being then in a ſtate of rebellion, and the employment of foreign troops confeſſed afterwards to be illegal, but defended on the plea of ſtate neceſſity. In 1784, the Heſſians were retained ſolely on account of the Weſer being frozen, and the impoſſibility of their returning home before a thaw: their numbers and deſtination were then ſignified, and the time limited for their departure.

Theſe points, however, the miniſters affirmed could not in the preſent caſe be made known, partly becauſe they had received no returns of the forces, and partly, becauſe to ſpecify the time when they were to be employed, and the place of their deſtination, would betray our plans to the enemy.

Mr. Adair's motion for the previous queſtion was carried by a majority of 184 to 35.

Even the principle maintained by the miniſter on this occaſion, cautious and limited as it was, appeared to favour ſo ſtrongly of arbitrary power, that there were but few of thoſe who voted for the previous queſtion, that ſeemed inclined openly to profeſs their concurrence in the main doctrine. They gladly accepted the mediatorial function of ſerjeant Adair, and would perhaps have been better pleaſed, had the debate turned merely on the needleſsneſs and impropriety of coming to a deciſion on a ſubject which did not demand it. The ſame ſenſation was manifeſted more ſtrongly in the houſe of lords, where the buſineſs was introduced ſoon after by the earl of Albemarle, under the form of a motion for a bill of indemnity. The motion was ſupported chiefly by lord Lauderdale and the marquis of Lanſdowne, with ſome warm reflections from earl Stanhope, the earl of Guildford, and the duke of Bedford. Feb. 21.

The illegality of bringing in foreign troops without the conſent of parliament was argued on the ſame ground of written law and of precedent (particularly that of 1775) as had been aſſumed by the ſpeakers on the ſame ſide in the houſe of commons. They expatiated largely on the danger of lodging this power in the hands of the crown, and laughed at the idea of conſidering the reſponſibility of miniſters an adequate ſecurity to the nation; or that any remedy could be obtained by law againſt a miniſter backed by 30,000 armed logicians. In all caſes of a ſimilar nature they ſaid, till the preſent, parliament had received notice of the proceeding in ſufficient time to have prevented its execution, if any objection had occurred; and even if precedents could be adduced of ſuch illegal actions having eſcaped cenſure, they would be no juſtification of a ſecond offence.

offence. Where the letter and ſpirit of the law was ſo evidently againſt the meaſure, no ſupine or criminal acquieſcence of a former parliament could overthrow its authority, or eſtabliſh a right of perpetual tranſgreſſion. In the year 1775, this doctrine was held ſo clear and indiſputable, that though a bill of indemnity had paſſed the commons for the miniſter's having ſent Heſſian troops to Minorca and Gibraltar, yet it was thrown out by the lords, not that they wiſhed to involve miniſters in the criminality of the meaſure, but merely becauſe the preamble ſtated that *doubts* had ariſen of its legality? for, as the marquis of Rockingham then remarked, it was impoſſible to entertain doubts on ſo plain a matter.

On the other hand, the queſtion of prerogative was given up by the miniſterial lords and other ſpeakers; but they denied that the preſent caſe was at all provided for by the conſtitution, or that it was ſuch as to call for the interference of parliament. They diſapproved of debating general propoſitions, which were not called for by the circumſtances of the moment. It was much better, they ſaid, to leave the ſubject of prerogative juſt where we found it, without officiouſly preſcribing its limits, or prying into its nature. The conſtitution, it was allowed, conſiſted more in precedents and practice than in written rules, and if the conduct of miniſters was conformable to that practice, it ſtood in no need of a defence built on abſtract opinions. No poſitive law had been tranſgreſſed, and no blame was imputed to the particular act for which an indemnity was recommended. If ſuch a bill meant any thing, it was to preſerve miniſters from the danger of an impeachment: but could any man be found guilty for that which was confeſſedly an act of duty and humanity? and if he could not be found guilty, it was an abſurdity to talk of indemnification.

In anſwer to this it was affirmed by the marquis of Lanſdowne, that a bill of indemnity did not ſuppoſe actual guilt, but a juſtifiable breach of the law, rendered neceſſary by circumſtances; that it was conſidered as an healing act for a wound unavoidably inflicted. This was proved by a recent inſtance in 1766, when the country was threatened by famine, and it was thought neceſſary to lay an immediate embargo on corn. The meaſure was not only blameleſs but beneficial; yet as it was contrary to law, ſuch was the jealouſy entertained, that a bill of indemnity paſſed for the adviſers of it. As to precedents, he did not conceive the production of them at all requiſite on his part, for it was folly and madneſs to ſuppoſe that our anceſtors had provided with the moſt ſcrupulous care for the preſervation of our liberties in inferior points, and at the ſame time left a door open for that which would render all their labours of no avail: and if precedents on the oppoſite ſide had occurred, they only proved the neceſſity of another declaratory law, like the bill of rights, to complete what that had left imperfect. That bill however, upon any fair conſtruction, would be found to contain ample proviſion for the preſent caſe. It expreſsly prohibited the keeping a ſtanding army of natives without the conſent of parliament, and could any man think that an army of foreigners was not *a fortiori* condemned?

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his and the former ſpeakers, of the danger that might enſue from ſo ſtrong a prerogative, was attacked, and its futility expoſed by lord Auckland, who obſerved that ſuch terrors might be conjured up againſt every other diſcretion repoſed in the crown. Examples of poſſible abuſes were obvious. A king, by virtue of his power to pardon offences, might encourage an aſſaſſin to deſtroy any obnoxious ſtateſman. He might retard the whole progreſs of public affairs, by refuſing to ratify the acts of parliament. He might involve the country in endleſs and wanton wars. But becauſe a king had the power to do this, was it ever feared that he would exerciſe it? or if a prince ſhould exiſt ſo wicked, ſo abandoned as to attempt it, was it likely he would be reſtrained by this bill of indemnity?

After the full ſtatement we have given of the miniſterial arguments in the other houſe on the law and uſage of the country as far as it concerned this queſtion, it would be uſeleſs to repeat them here. The opinion of lord Auckland appears to have approached moſt nearly to Mr. Pitt's doctrine. He profeſſed he knew of no law or expreſs *dictum* by which the introduction of foreign troops was forbidden; but, though he denied that it was *contrary to law*, he would by no means contend that it was *according to law*.

At the ſame time the explicit language of lord Grenville ſeemed to give more general ſatisfaction. He admitted that the maintenance of a foreign army in this country, whether during peace or war, without the conſent of parliament, was illegal; that, when foreign troops were introduced without the previous conſent of parliament, the legality of the meaſure would depend upon the neceſſity of it; and that, after their introduction, miniſters ſhould adviſe his majeſty to communicate the circumſtance of their arrival as ſoon as poſſible, that parliament, by conſenting to the meaſure, might ſanction its legality.

The other ſpeakers in oppoſition to the bill were the earls of Carliſle, Carnarvon and Spencer, and the duke of Portland. It was loſt by a majority of 89 to 12.

Two proteſts appeared in conſequence, one ſigned by earl Stanhope, the other by the earl of Radnor: the former, on the ground of the arguments adduced in the debate; the latter, in addition to thoſe, alleging the danger to be apprehended, leſt this event, which was notorious and recorded, might be drawn into precedent, when the declarations of miniſters, by which the right of the crown was diſclaimed, would be forgotten.

Mr. Grey brought forward the ſame propoſal in the houſe of commons, March 10. when a ſimilar diſcuſſion took place, and all the former arguments were urged with more vehemence and at greater length. The words of the act of ſettlement, before cited, were ſtrongly inſiſted on by ſome gentlemen as applying preciſely to the caſe: but it was anſwered by Mr. Grenville, that from the ſpirit of the act, and the circumſtances which gave riſe to it, as well as from the ſubſequent conduct of its authors, it was evident, beyond a doubt, that it was not meant to provide for an occurrence like the preſent. It was paſſed in 1700, and in 1714 when 6,000 Dutch troops were brought into the country, the *expediency* of their introduction was combated

with great warmth by the moſt eminent leaders of oppoſition, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Pulteney; but among all their objections, not an expreſſion fell from any one of them that implied a doubt of its *legality*. Surely, if the act of ſettlement had rendered it illegal, theſe men, who had themſelves ſhared in framing the act, would have taken advantage of it, and preſſed it againſt their adverſaries. But neither at this nor any ſucceeding period had the argument been uſed.

Since then the law was ſilent on the ſubject, and the ſtream of precedents ran the other way, the miniſter contended that there was no reaſon for voting an abſtract propoſition, contrary to the uniform and eſtabliſhed uſage of parliament, always to abſtain from ſuch declarations, except in practical caſes; nor to paſs a bill of indemnity for that which had never required one before.

The motion was ſupported on the ground of law by Mr. ſerjeant Adair, and argued principally on the general conſideration of the danger which an oppoſite principle threatened to the very exiſtence of the conſtitution by Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. W. Smith, and the earl of Wycombe. It was oppoſed by Mr. Grenville, Mr. Anſtruther, the attorney-general, and Mr. Pitt. On a diviſion there appeared ayes 41, noes 170.

A circumſtance aroſe about this time, apparently of very inferior moment, but which ſome gentlemen thought, as it involved principles eſſential to the conſtitution, deſerving a ſerious enquiry. It ſerves at leaſt to ſhew the vigilance and jealous temper of the oppoſition, and the diligence with which they brought forward every ſubject, however minute or trivial, that could in any degree furniſh matter for their favourite topic, that the miniſter had long conceived a deep and artful plot againſt the liberties of the nation, that he ſtudiouſly ſeized every opportunity of violating ſome known principle under plea of the neceſſity of the caſe, and the inoffenſive nature of the action, in order, by accuſtoming the minds of the people to this ſacrilege, gradually to weaken their reverence for the laws, and make them more readily acquieſce in their extinction.

Within a week after the meeting of parliament major Maitland ſtated a rumour which very generally prevailed, that there were ſome French officers in Britiſh pay ſerving in the army under lord Moira—he demanded of the ſecretary of ſtate whether the report was true, and if it was, in what capacity they acted. Mr. Dundas not being prepared to give an immediate anſwer, on the following day the queſtion was renewed, which the ſecretary of ſtate refuſed to ſatisfy, unleſs commanded by the houſe; adding, that lord Moira had a right to employ ſuch inſtruments as he thought moſt fit for executing the ſervice with which he was entruſted, and that on a ſubject evidently ſo delicate, he would not violate that ſecrecy upon which the ſucceſs of our arms depended.

Several members ridiculed the idea that danger would ariſe from the diſcloſure of a fact to the houſe of commons, which muſt be known to every private in his lordſhip's army. The employment of foreign officers in this country, without the authority of parliament, was affirmed

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to be a direct breach of the conſtitution, and a formal motion was made for an account of the names and ranks of all who were ſo employed, but was negatived without a diviſion.

The matter having been thus ſeriouſly taken up in the commons, lord Moira took an early opportunity of explaining in the other houſe, the circumſtances which had been alluded to. He related all the particulars of his appointment to the command, his attempts to effect a landing on the French coaſt, and his repairing to Guernſey, when he found all ſuch attempts fruitleſs. From Guernſey he proceeded again with better hopes of being able to join the royaliſts, and then it was, while he was on the eve of making a deſcent on France, that he appointed a French ſtaff, conſiſting of two aids-de-camp, a ſecretary, and a quarter-maſter-general. He confeſſed he had made this appointment without any authority from miniſters, and was ready to take the whole reſponſibility upon himſelf. One thing however ſurprized him, that the names of theſe officers had been called for ſo peremptorily, without regarding the extreme danger to which ſuch a diſcovery would expoſe all their connections and relatives in France.

Feb. 14th.

The earl of Lauderdale replied in behalf of thoſe members of the lower houſe who had introduced the ſubject, that if the miniſters, inſtead of obſerving a haughty myſterious ſilence, when the queſtion was firſt put to them, had given the ſame manly and candid ſtatement which had juſt been heard from the noble lord, no farther ſtir would have been made in the buſineſs—that the inquiry had ariſen from no ſuſpicion of the noble lord's honour, or good conduct, much leſs from any wiſh to draw down perſecution on innocent individuals. This converſation took place ſomewhat in an irregular manner, as there was no queſtion before the houſe; but the explanation was admitted to be ſatisfactory, and here the affair reſted.

The conſtitutional queſtions that had lately occurred, did not, by the manner in which they had been decided, deter the gentlemen in oppoſition from keeping a ſtrict eye on the conduct of miniſters throughout this ſeſſion, and from interpoſing a vigorous reſiſtance whenever they thought the power of the crown overſtrained. An occaſion ſoon offered for the exerciſe of this jealouſy, upon the miniſter's motion for an augmentation of the militia. The motion itſelf paſſed without any objection or animadverſion, except a remark from thoſe who lately condemned the preceding campaign, that the defenceleſs ſtate of the kingdom and the danger of invaſion, which were the only grounds of the preſent meaſure, but ill ſuited with the declarations ſo vauntingly made by the miniſters of the ſucceſs of our arms, and with the hopes they had excited through the nation, that our enemy would be cruſhed by one year's war.

Some ſuſpicion was at the ſame time expreſſed of the mode by which this augmentation was to be effected, founded on the following circumſtance. A circular letter had appeared in the public papers, addreſſed to the lord lieutenants of the different counties, recommending the formation of volunteer companies in augmentation of the militia, as well as ſeparate bodies of infantry

and cavalry for the purpoſes of local defence near the ſea-coaſts. A conciſe plan was incloſed of the nature and conditions of the ſervice required, and a general ſubſcription was ſuggeſted as the moſt deſirable method of aſſiſting the execution of the ſcheme.

This paper was repreſented to Mar. 26. contain matter the moſt dangerous and unconſtitutional; and Mr. Sheridan took an early opportunity of moving an addreſs to his majeſty, to requeſt that he would lay a copy of it before parliament. The paper was accordingly produced within two or three days, preceded by a meſſage from the king, acquainting the houſe with his majeſty's deſign of increaſing the land forces, and calling on parliament for their concurrence and ſupport. An addreſs was propoſed in the uſual form, and paſſed without a diviſion, after ſome attempt made by Mr. Fox to ſtrike out the epithets *juſt* and *neceſſary*, which were applied to the war.

As no mention whatever was made in the king's meſſage of voluntary ſubſcriptions, or any particular mode pointed out by which the additional forces were to be raiſed, it led to a conjecture on the part of the oppoſition that the original deſign was relinquiſhed; but no intimation of the fact being given by the miniſter, Mr. Sheridan renewed his former charges againſt the meaſure of voluntary contributions, and gave notice that if the project was not abandoned, he ſhould on a future day make a motion to pronounce its illegality. Mr. Pitt, on the contrary, declared his expreſs opinion that every ſubſcription to be applied for the ſecurity of the country, in order to raiſe a force which ſhould receive the ſanction of parliament, was legal and conſtitutional, and profeſſed himſelf ready to meet the diſcuſſion whenever it ſhould be brought forward.

The challenge thus given and accepted was followed up by a ſpirited debate on the Mar. 28. motion made by Mr. Sheridan. In that gentleman's prefatory ſpeech all the former objections were recapitulated, and, together with much freſh matter, digeſted into a perſpicuous and well arranged argument. The demand that had been made by government, and addeſſed to the different lords lieutenants was, he ſaid, of moſt ſerious importance: for the right honourable gentleman had perſiſted in the meaſure ſo as to make it evident that he rather acted for the ſake of eſtabliſhing a principle, than for any immediate advantage to the ſtate. If he had thought proper to apply for the ſanction of parliament, no one could for a moment doubt of its being granted. But his conduct in this buſineſs, as upon the ſubject of introducing Heſſian troops, and on many former occaſions, ſhewed, that in the choice of means, he uniformly gave the preference to that which contradicted ſome fundamental principle or eſtabliſhed uſage, in order to increaſe the prerogative of the crown.

That the people had no right to give, or the king to receive theſe benevolences, without the conſent of parliament, he maintained on three grounds; 1ſt. becauſe the contrary ſuppoſition militated againſt the firſt principles of a mixed government, and a repreſentative ſyſtem, and conſequently was not reconcileable with the letter or ſpirit of

of our conſtitution; 2dly. he undertook to prove that it was not conſiſtent with the ancient and ſound uſages of the country, nor conformable to the beſt authorities; and 3dly, that even if it had the ſanction both of cuſtom and authority, it was not a wiſe courſe, nor fit to be reſorted to as a ſource of public revenue.

It was not the boaſted liberty of Engliſhmen, he ſaid, merely that their property was ſecured to them by law, but that no property, however it might come into the hands of the crown, could be applied to any purpoſe, except ſuch as had been previouſly ſanctioned by parliament. If it were once eſtabliſhed that grand juries and county meetings might preſent ſums at pleaſure to the crown, parliament muſt become unneceſſary, and the king would have it in his power to employ money for purpoſes not previouſly explained. It was poſſible, indeed, for ſuch a deluſion to overſpread the people, effected by falſe alarms and inflammatory appeals to their paſſions, that they might be inclined to grant ſupplies even when parliament had refuſed them.

The power of the purſe was the only ſecurity the houſe poſſeſſed for all their privileges—and if ever the king of England were rendered independent of it by being able to draw reſources elſewhere, there would be an end of Britiſh liberty. This principle had ever been preſent to the minds of public men in this kingdom. In regulating the hereditary revenue derived from the colonies, as well as in ſettling the conſtitution of Ireland, care was taken that the crown ſhould not have the means of drawing into its hands ſums that might be injurious to the country: and it was one of the moſt popular arguments uſed in defence of the American war, that by giving to parliament the power of taxing America, they would take out of the hands of the crown whatever grants the colonies might voluntary make without their cognizance.

It was moreover ridiculous, he affirmed, to call theſe benevolences *voluntary* contributions. The experience of paſt ages, no leſs than of the preſent times, proved that there was no ſuch thing as a pure voluntary ſubſcription, when that ſubſcription was made to the crown. If this was true in the time of James I. how much more muſt it be ſo now, when the royal influence was ſo great, that the dependents of the crown nearly outnumbered the whole conſtituent body of the kingdom? As a convincing example, he adduced the late proceedings at Berwick, where, to defray the expence of two troops of horſe, they impoſed a levy, in the nature of a land tax, and drew up an application, to thoſe who were abſent from the meeting, in ſuch terms, as to ſtigmatize all who ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe.

That the money, however raiſed, could not be applied to any purpoſe without the conſent of parliament, was, he contended, a weak and groundleſs argument: he defied any one to produce a law by which that interference was directed. There was no evidence, no intimation of ſuch a right; and even admitting it to exiſt, it might be rendered nugatory, by the plea of immediate and preſſing circumſtances.

Mr. Sheridan then took a review of the different periods in which the queſtion of benevolences had been agitated, in order to demonſtrate that no grants could be legally made but by parliament. In the reigns

of Edward IV. and James I. inſtances had occurred where the payment of benevolences had been reſiſted, and the right of raiſing them controverted by the moſt convincing arguments. And though theſe were cauſes of compulſory, not of free gifts, yet the reaſon urged upon the occaſion, went to eſtabliſh the general doctrine, that the king was not entitled to any ſuch means of ſupport. As to the petition of right, although it provided in like manner againſt exaction only, yet that was, becauſe exaction was the evil then felt, and which moſtly occupied the minds of men at the time; but the ſtatute of 13 Charles II. placed the matter beyond a doubt. The preamble ſet forth, that all voluntary aids from the people were illegal; that they were however allowed upon ſo ſudden and preſſing an emergency, ſubject, nevertheleſs, to very ſtrict limitations in their amount: beſides which, a ſpecial proviſion was made, that this ſtatute ſhould not be drawn into precedent at any future time. The bill of rights, though confined to caſes of compulſory benevolence, muſt be allowed to confirm by inference, the ſtatute of 13 C. II. which conſequently remained part of the law of the land to this day.

What authority could be drawn from periods ſince the revolution, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, he was at a loſs to conjecture. Certainly the example of 1745 could not be reſted on, a time when a rebellion was raging in the kingdom, and when the extreme neceſſity of the caſe ſuperſeded all conſtitutional forms. Nor, he preſumed, would the inſtance of 1756 be alledged as a juſtification of the preſent meaſure. It was true, the city of London had then offered bounties to ſeamen, but there was a wide difference whether the money was paid into the hands of government, or whether, as in the caſe of bounties, it was given as a reward to individuals. In 1778, indeed, ſums were raiſed by certain inhabitants of London, for the purpoſe of cloathing troops, &c. but it was not in conſequence of any requiſition from the miniſters; nor did government appear at all in the buſineſs: and even this tranſaction was ſtrongly condemned at the time by many diſtinguiſhed ſpeakers, and among others by Mr. Burke. As to the caſe of 1782, it was a meaſure rather favouring democracy than prerogative, for it was an invitation to the people to arm in their own defence, but did not call upon them for any contribution in money.

Laſtly, even if the meaſure could be reconciled with law and cuſtom, it was unfit to be reſorted to, as ineffectual and unfair. That it would be unproductive was ſufficiently manifeſt, when we conſidered the grievous burden already laid upon the people: and ſince ſome from oſtentation, others from intereſt or fear, would be induced to ſubſcribe, the contribution would be far from being voluntary or equal. In this, as in moſt other projects, Mr. Sheridan accuſed the miniſter of mimicking the jacobins. Inſtead of relying on a ſyſtem of ſolid, equal, regular revenue, he had graſped at a ſhewy but miſerable phantom; and it was further to be feared, that one motive which actuated him was, to take advantage of the decay of public ſpirit, for the eſtabliſhment of a principle ruinous to the liberties of the country.

The miniſter did not come forward on the preſent occaſion, but the defence of his meaſures was undertaken

undertaken first by the attorney-general, who argued the matter chiefly on the ground of precedent and legal authorities. Since the subject was introduced, he thought it best to meet it fully and fairly in debate, but he objected to a declaration being made upon this as upon every other abstract proposition, and though he maintained the principle, recommended the previous question.

Commencing with the latest precedent, he traced the series of cases upwards, from the last that had occurred in 1782. In that year a letter had been addressed by the earl of Shelburne, then secretary of state, to the lords lieutenants, mayors, &c. earnestly soliciting their best endeavours for augmenting the force of the nation. A plan was proposed for marshalling and disciplining the volunteers so to be raised, which was afterwards to be submitted to parliament for their approbation—not however before the success of the recommendation had been fully tried. One remarkable clause in the plan was, that the widows of officers who might be killed in the service, should be entitled to a pension for life. And although no express mention was made in this letter of subscription, yet nothing could be plainer than that pecuniary aid was implied. In fact, the thing spoke for itself. He who asked for a guinea's worth of labour of another, asked for a guinea—he who demanded the free service of a soldier, beyond a doubt asked for the value of that service. And from all the answers which were returned to this communication, it appeared that it was thus universally understood; most of those who complied, stating, that they had already opened a subscription for the purpose, and those who declined the proposal alledging their poverty as a reason.

The attorney-general defied the ingenuity of any man to point out the least essential difference between this and the case in question, or even the case immediately preceding it, that of 1778, a case sanctioned by the authority of no less characters than lord Camden and lord Thurlow, and by the negative put by the house of commons upon Mr. Wilkes's motion, to declare its illegality. In 1759, the late earl of Chatham passed a splendid panegyric on the patriotism of the city of London, for having offered a bounty to seamen in support of government; and when to the weight of these examples, was added the unqualified opinion of lord Hardwicke in 1746, who pronounced the opposite doctrine to be the height of ignorance and presumption, together with the clear and distinct sentiments of the twelve judges of England, and of the master of the rolls at the same period, he confessed himself astonished, that any doubts could now be entertained on the subject.

With regard to the petition of right, it not only contained no provision against benevolences, but (what was a strong presumptive argument) was penned by lord Coke himself, whose opinion on the trial of Mr. Oliver St. John stood recorded in favour of them; and who commented on the statute of Richard III. which is recited in the petition of right, in the following words: "*Quod nota bene*, if money is given "with free will and consent, this is "not prohibited by any statute." The same solemn declaration was made by all the judges in queen Elizabeth's reign, "that a free gift

" or benevolence without compul-
" ſion is lawful."

As to the act of 13 Charles II. on which ſo much ſtreſs had been laid, it did no more than put the ſubſcriptions then offered upon the ſame footing with a ſubſidy, in as far as was neceſſary to enable the crown to compel payment by law; but was by no means intended as a mere ſanction of their legality.

The attorney-general aſked, why, if this meaſure was unlawful, ſeveral noblemen had raiſed companies at their own expence, or why the Eaſt India company in the laſt war had been allowed to ſubſcribe three 74-gun ſhips, without any oppoſition being made; and concluded with reminding the houſe, that the plan in debate could not, and was not intended to be carried into execution without their concurrence; all that he wiſhed to contend for was, that the right of the ſubject ſhould not be condemned.

The frequent alluſions that had been made to the precedent of 1782, led Mr. Fox, who was in that year a member of the cabinet, into a vindication of himſelf againſt the charge of inconſiſtency. Why, he aſked, was not this charge preferred againſt him at the time, when the oppoſition he had made to the ſubſcriptions in 1778 was yet freſh in the memories of men? Why, but that the caſes of 1778 and 1782 were widely different; as different as that of 1782 from the preſent. In lord Shelburne's letter there could not be found the moſt diſtant alluſion to any ſubſcription, nor had an idea of the ſort entered the minds of that adminiſtration. He denied that aſking for money's worth was aſking for money: if ſo, the impreſs of ſailors was a mode which the king poſſeſſed of raiſing a ſupply independent of parliament. Much as he had objected to the illegality of what was done in 1778, it fell far ſhort of that which was now propoſed; in as much as the former proceeded from the people, the latter from the crown: and he well remembered that the defence of that meaſure by lord Thurlow reſted upon this principle, " that ſubſcriptions
" were legal when they flowed vo-
" luntarily from the bounty of the
" people, without any ſolicitation
" on the part of the ſovereign." The deciſion of the judges in 1745, and lord Hardwicke's opinion, he conſidered as inapplicable to the preſent occaſion, unleſs it were allowed that the preſent was a period of equal danger and turbulence with that. As to the authority of lord Coke, it would be much invalidated if his biographer, ſir Francis Bacon, were alſo quoted; who, ſpeaking of his conduct in the caſe of Mr. Oliver St. John, ſays, that when it was firſt ſtated to him, he declared, " that
" all gifts, however voluntary, were
" illegal:" but that he altered his ſentiments when he came to judge Mr. St. John in the ſtar-chamber.

With reſpect to the general impolicy of ſuch ſolicitations, Mr. Fox contended that they were no leſs dangerous to our rights, than derogatory to the dignity of the crown. Why ſhould not the houſe of commons be relied on for full and ſufficient grants? " Suppoſe," ſaid he,
" the houſe of lords ſhould offer to
" contribute out of their private
" pockets, would you not ſpurn at
" the propoſal? Even in the leſs
" enlightened days of Edward and
" of Henry you would not ſuffer it,
" and will you now ſuffer your pri-
" vileges to be encroached upon at
" every county meeting?"

In anſwer to theſe and the preceding arguments, Mr. Wyndham maintained, that the requeſt in lord Shelburne's letter neceſſarily included a demand for money. Every one knew that troops could not be raiſed without expence; and whenever a bill paſſed the houſe for raiſing a body of forces, it always implied that a competent ſum ſhould be provided to maintain them. So obvious was the connection, that in all mercantile tranſactions, if an agent procured any commodity purſuant to the order of his correſpondent, although no mention was made of money in that order, he might ſue the principal for all the coſts he had incurred. He admitted the propoſition to be true in the main, that all ſupplies ought to come from parliament; but it was, like every other general doctrine, ſubject to exceptions. An extreme caſe had been put, whether we would allow the houſe of lords to ſupply the wants of the crown alone, and when that was denied, it was very unfairly inferred that all grants, however ſmall or temporary, were illegal. This argument, however, was a two-edged ſword: for he might as well reverſe the order, and beginning with the laſt caſe, aſſert, becauſe voluntary grants had been undeniably uſeful on certain occaſions, that therefore they muſt be ſo in all.

A corrected ſtatement was given by ſir James Sanderſon of the affair of 1759, which added greatly to the weight of the precedent. He ſaid, that the ſubſcription of the city of London was wrongly repreſented to have been a mere increaſe of the bounty money. The truth was, a large ſum was actually contributed and ſent to the ſecretary of ſtate, *to be applied agreeably to the order of council*; and Mr. Pitt's letter in anſwer to this, contained a warm acknowledgment of the patriotiſm of the city, with an aſſurance that the money ſhould be no otherwiſe applied than as directed by the privy council.

The mutual charges of inconſiſtency and apoſtacy were advanced in the preſent debate between the gentlemen in oppoſition and their former friends, who had, ſince the opening of the war, ſupported government, and were urged on both ſides with a degree of bitterneſs and aſperity that has ſeldom been equalled ſince the party diſſenſions in the American war. On the one hand it was remarked, that the moſt zealous partizans of the French cauſe, could not adopt a line of conduct more ſuitable to the views of the enemy, than that purſued by the movers of the preſent queſtion. They were reproached with having deſerted the genuine principles of their party, and with having joined themſelves with a ſet of men, whoſe wild and frantic notions of democracy would, if brought into practice, accompliſh univerſal ruin: and a ſtrong parallel was drawn between their proceedings and thoſe of the jacobite faction in 1745. Theſe ſuſpicions, on the other hand, were repelled with great warmth by Mr. Sheridan, who called upon his opponents to come boldly forth and impeach thoſe whom they really ſuſpected of treaſon; not indulge in dark and unwarranted inſinuations, in ſkulking and inſidious jeers. At the ſame time he inveighed with unuſual ſeverity on their baſe deſertion, as he termed it, of himſelf and his friends, on their proſtitution of every principle they had before maintained

maintained both in public and private, and their ſervile ſubmiſſion in ſupporting every project of the miniſter, the ſame miniſter who was heretofore the uniform object of their deriſion, reproach, and ſcorn.

Before the queſtion was put, Mr. Sheridan replied to the attorney-general's remarks, on the ſtatute of 13th Charles II. by reading the whole act of parliament, with Mr. Hargrave's commentaries upon it, who ſums up his obſervations with ſaying, "Thus at length it ſeems "to be ſettled by the legiſlature, not "only that compulſive benevolences "are unlawful, but that all *com-* "*miſſions from the crown to ſolicit* "*and receive* voluntary gifts are "alſo unconſtitutional." Whether it was from an opinion that the words quoted as well from the act as from the commentator, were of themſelves a ſufficient confirmation of the attorney-general's argument, that the ſtatute did not apply to the circumſtance under conſideration, or from whatever cauſe it happened, but no one roſe after this to contravene the interpretation hitherto inſiſted on by Mr. Sheridan, and the previous queſtion was voted by the enormous majority of 204 to 35.

A ſimilar communication having
28 Mar. been made to the houſe of lords, the earl of Lauderdale objected to the plan of contribution, and made a formal motion to declare all private grants illegal. His arguments were the ſame in ſubſtance with thoſe we have already given—that, conſidering the alarming increaſe of the influence of the crown, ſuch a ſolicitation would have the effect of extortion—that it contradicted the ſtatutes of the 1ſt of Rich. III. the 30th Hen. VII. the 13th Charles II. and all the moſt reſpectable legal authorities from thoſe times downwards—that the precedents of 1746, 1759, and 1778, by no means warranted the preſent proceeding, for in none of theſe caſes had the application come from the ſovereign. The nature of the force itſelf, he ſaid, was new and unheard of. The only regular conſtitutional force of this kingdom was the militia; and yet ſuch was our prudent jealouſy of the royal prerogative, that even that could not be called out without convening parliament within 14 days after: but the body of troops now propoſed to be raiſed would be totally independent of that check, and might be called out whenever it ſhould ſuit the will of the miniſter.

On the other hand it was argued by lord Hawkſbury, lord Grenville, and the earl of Carnarvon, that the ſuppoſition of an extreme caſe could never be conſidered as a ſolid objection to any meaſure. The plan of which the ſubſcription made a part, would be laid before parliament previous to its being carried into execution: and if it was thought illegal in this inſtance to enter into contracts with individuals beforehand, why was it not ſo in the caſe of a loan, which it was well known the miniſter always negotiated before he ſubmitted his plan of finance for the approbation of the houſe?

In oppoſition to the legal authorities adduced on the other ſide, they maintained that the ſtatutes which had been cited, as well as the petition of right, provided only againſt forced benevolences, and laid no reſtrictions on the voluntary donations of individuals: for precedent, they required no other than that of 1792, which ſtrictly coincided with the matter in debate. The majority

here

here was ſtill more overwhelming than in the other houſe, lord Lauderdale's motion being ſupported only by 7 voices to 104 that voted againſt it.

Another warm conteſt was however maintained before this meaſure was ſuffered to paſs finally, in which the miniſter at length bore the part he had engaged to undertake. Upon the third reading of the volunteer bill, Mr. Francis moved, that the third article of the bill of rights ſhould be read, which declares, "That levying of money, for or to the uſe of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time, or in other manner, than the ſame is or ſhall be granted, is illegal." He proceeded to argue, that the propoſed contributions were comprehended within the meaning of this article, and that they would be, however inconſiderable their effect, an infringement of a principle which it was their duty to preſerve inviolate. He even aſſerted ſtill farther, that it was not in the power of parliament to ſanction the proceeding: parliament were delegates themſelves, and could not delegate their duty to others: as individuals indeed they might reſign their ſtation, but while they retained it, it was impoſſible to ſeparate the ſtation from its duties. Some obſervations were alſo made on the ſame ſide by lord Wycombe (ſon of the noble earl whoſe name has ſo frequently occurred in this buſineſs) tending to diſtinguiſh the precedent of 1782 from the preſent caſe. He complained, that out of 440 anſwers which were returned to the ſecretary of ſtate's letter at that time, ſeven only had been ſelected to prove that it was underſtood by the kingdom at large in the nature of an application for money, and added, in anſwer to ſome other inſtances which had been quoted, that there was a wide diſtinction between ſubſcribing for a naval force and for the augmentation of the army.

7 April.

Mr. Pitt replied, that ſo much had been ſaid of lord Shelburne's letter, as if the whole ſtrength of the cauſe reſted upon that authority; whereas he was ready to wave that inſtance, deciſive as it was, and defend the meaſure ſolely on the ground of law and conſtitutional practice. However, he firſt detected with much dexterity, a groſs fallacy in the reaſoning of the other party. They admit, ſaid he, that the *end* we propoſe is praiſeworthy, but take exception to the *means* we uſe; at the ſame time they vindicate theſe very means when employed for the increaſe of the navy, becauſe forſooth the *end* is juſtifiable. Thus in the ſame breath they aſſert contradictions: they build up an argument which reſts only on a baſis that deſtroys itſelf. Having then enumerated the ſeveral caſes before urged, he remarked that the inſtance of 1778 was the only one that met with oppoſition at the time when it occurred; that oppoſition was however over-ruled, and the right of contribution ſanctioned not only by the approbation of both houſes once pronounced, but by the continued acquieſcence of parliament as well as of the whole kingdom, in the practice; for throughout the three following years, a large military force was ſupported by public ſubſcription in the county of Suſſex; and to ſhew the intimate connection of that proceeding with the circular letter in 1782, the ſame county, the moment they received this letter, raiſed three

three additional companies by the ſame means, and actually grafted them on their former eſtabliſhment. But ſuppoſing the oppoſition to have then ſucceeded, it would not go to vitiate the preſent meaſure, being of all caſes the leaſt analogous to it, in as much as the ſubſcription of that day was to ſuch purpoſes as the king ſhould think proper to direct, whereas the money now ſubſcribed was to be applied by parliament to a particular object.

It had been ſaid that voluntary contributions intrenched on the great principle that parliament were the guardians of the public purſe. But the true ſenſe of that expreſſion was, that no power except parliament could take money from the public *without their conſent*: it was a forced aſſumption to ſay, that individuals had not a right to give their own money for legal purpoſes. The bill of rights and all the ſtatutes, he contended, which had ever been framed againſt *benevolences*, had for their object, not to deprive the people of a privilege, but to limit the prerogative of the crown; not to fetter the generoſity of the ſubject, but to ſecure him from exaction. He ridiculed the fears which had been entertained, leſt by this means government might find reſources whereon to rely independent of the houſe of commons; and ſhewed the folly of arguing at one time that the ſubſcriptions would be inadequate to any ſubſtantial purpoſe, and at another of exciting alarm from the probability of their enormous magnitude. As to the policy of the meaſure, no better mode could be deviſed to daunt the enemy and to encourage ourſelves than this; it would at once pr[illegible]e the falſehood of their aſſertions concerning the diſloyalty of the nation, and afford a ſtriking example of the zeal of individuals outrunning even the efforts of parliament.

The members who oppoſed the queſtion in its former ſtages ſtill perſiſted in their oppoſition. They contended, that a ſubſcription ſuppoſing it to be ſucceſsful, far from depriving our enemies of a boaſt that a majority of this nation were well inclined towards them, would on the contrary tend to inflame that language; they would adduce it as a proof that the rich only, and thoſe connected with government, were combined for the defence of the country, but that the poor were ready to receive them with open arms. They attributed the pains taken by the miniſter ſo late in the buſineſs, to an apprehenſion that it would not prove quite ſo palatable as was expected; as for the danger they had ſuggeſted as likely to ariſe from the amount of ſuch ſubſcriptions, they did not imagine that for the ordinary purpoſes of the ſtate, the ſums contributed would be large, becauſe the people naturally relied on the wiſdom and power of parliament for an adequate proviſion; but for any illegal and unconſtitutional plot, where a few were to be benefited, they might ſubſcribe largely, and this was the evil to be apprehended from the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a practice. Now that the right of introducing foreign troops, ſaid they, has been arrogated to the king, he may alſo get money to pay them by means of contributions; and though the ſum may not be great, yet being ſufficient to ſubſiſt them for a time, when they have once got footing, what farther ſecurity ſhall we have for our liberties or our exiſtence?

Principiis obſta was the plain, ſafe, and ſolid maxim on which they profeſſed

profeſſed to act. No member, they preſumed, would ſuffer the houſe of lords to raiſe a ſhilling for the government by their authority; and that, not becauſe they grudged the money, or dreaded the effect of its application, but becauſe it opened the door to a practice to which no limits could afterwards be aſſigned. They moreover condemned the unfairneſs and injuſtice of forcing men to ſubſcribe, by holding out the terror of infamy if they refuſed; it had already been inſinuated, they ſaid, in the miniſterial newspapers, that all who diſcountenanced the meaſure, were enemies to their country.

The miniſters rejoined, that if the houſe of lords ſhould attempt to impoſe a tax, however ſmall, they would undoubtedly reſiſt it, becauſe there was no knowing how far their encroachments might proceed, but the rule *principiis obſta*, did not apply to the other caſe, becauſe no principle had been violated—they were only following the example of former times—nor was there any evil to be dreaded from the abuſe of the practice, within the compaſs of probability. If it were neceſſary to guard againſt every caſe that was not phyſically impoſſible, no power could be ſafely entruſted in the hands of men. It would extinguiſh every principle of action that regulates the conduct of human life. The real ſource of all this evil was, they ſaid, in the vain and falſe philoſophy which had of late ſprung up, which referred all things to theory, and nothing to practice—which rejected experience, and brought the principles of ſcience, to things incapable of receiving them—which ſubſtituted viſionary hypotheſes for the ſolid teſt of experiment, and bewildered the human mind in a maze of opinions, when it ſhould be employed in directing to action.

They diſclaimed any wiſh to mark the ſentiments of men, or to create an invidious diſtinction between rich and poor. Each had an equal opportunity of diſplaying his loyalty, the one by contribution, the other by perſonal ſervice.

After the bill had paſſed, Mr. ſerjeant Adair, who had on this as on a former occaſion diſapproved of diſcuſſing any abſtract principle, attempted to add a clauſe, by way of rider to the bill, giving expreſs authority to receive voluntary ſubſcriptions for the purpoſes of this act. This, he ſaid, would leave the queſtion itſelf juſt where it found it, and would by no means impede the general deſign. The clauſe was ſcouted by ſome gentlemen in oppoſition, as a feeble attempt to patch and paint a rotten principle, and faintly ſupported by others as being the leaſt of two evils, but was objected to by the miniſter on the ground that it tended to embarraſs the meaſure, and to throw a doubt on its legality. It was negatived without a diviſion.

It cannot eſcape the notice of thoſe who compare this debate with the diſcuſſion that took place on a ſimilar ſubject in 1778, that, however the caſes might differ in accidental or even eſſential points, the arguments we have juſt detailed were for the moſt part but a repetition of what was then advanced. Although a conſiderable part of that diſcuſſion was occupied in oppoſing or maintaining the right of the ſovereign to levy troops without the conſent of parliament, yet the queſtion of voluntary ſubſcriptions was alſo agitated in a manner that reſembled the preſent debate, not leſs in ſubſtance

ſubſtance than it did in vehemence and animoſity. The ſame precedents were diſputed, the ſame authority cited, the ſame ſtatutes appealed to and explained. The difficulty therefore did not ſeem to lie ſo much on thoſe who were concerned merely either for the defeat or vindication of the preſent meaſure, as on thoſe (and they were not a few) to parry the charge of inconſiſtency, who had reſiſted the former inſtance, and yet thought proper to ſupport the latter. As many indeed as had paſſed a ſilent vote on that occaſion, were ſheltered under the diſſimilarity which was pointed out between the two caſes; but there were ſome amongſt them who reprobated the former in language too explicit to be miſunderſtood, and too eloquent to be forgotten; and we may be ſure there was no want of readineſs in their antagoniſts to aſſiſt their recollection. It is however ſeldom that a ſtateſman poſſeſſes the fortitude to recant his errors. Whether this mode would not have been equally effectual and equally honourable with that of explanation, we do not pretend to determine. The latter nevertheleſs was adopted. The oppoſition made in 1778 was ſaid to proceed from a rooted diſapprobation of the war, from a deſire to impede and to diſarm oppreſſion. In the ardent purſuit of this object, whatever arguments were current at the time, and ſeemed moſt likely to be ſucceſsful, were made uſe of, without any nice or ſcrupulous enquiry, they were not therefore to be tried by their own merits, but as ſubordinate to the main deſign, as part of a ſyſtem founded in patriotiſm and a love of juſtice; and however unſound they might appear to be, they fully evinced the zeal with which that ſyſtem was proſecuted and maintained.

When the bill came for the ſanction of the lords, the earl of Abingdon (who ſpoke in favour of it) took occaſion to obſerve, that he had voted for a cenſure on the ſubſcription of 1778, becauſe parliament had been then purpoſely adjourned, with a view to prevent their interference; whereas now parliament was purpoſely kept ſitting, in order to legalize the proceeding. It paſſed here alſo without any diviſion. April 11.

The ſtand which had been made againſt this meaſure, was followed by a motion from Mr. Harriſon on the day after it had paſſed, profeſſedly grounded on the preceding buſineſs, with reſpect to places and penſions; purpoſing to aboliſh ſome, to abridge others, and to reduce the ſalaries of public offices. His plan was, to leave all ſinecures under £.200 per ann. and all efficient places under £.500 per ann. untouched, but to tax all other ſalaries in a certain proportion, with the exception of the judges, ambaſſadors, and ſome few others. He obſerved, that a landed income of £.5,000 was, by the preſſure of the times, reduced to £.4,000, and there was no reaſon why thoſe who lived by the public money, ſhould not ſubmit to a ſimilar reduction: but that it was more particularly adviſable to tax miniſters in this way, becauſe by feeling the ſmart of war themſelves, they might be more readily inclined to free the nation from its curſe. April 8.

However plauſible the ſcheme may appear, it did not meet with a very warm or a very general ſupport. The miniſters and their friends conſidered it as an appeal to vulgar prejudices.

judices. Tax placemen and penſioners was, they ſaid, always a popular cry; but they contended that no money was ſo honourably acquired, as that which was earned by public ſervices, and that the men, againſt whom this bill was meant to operate as an excluſive tax, merited a very different diſtinction; they ſacrificed time and talents to their country, which if directed in any other line would procure them the moſt ample fortunes. They ridiculed the paltry ſaving ſuch a meaſure would effect, and in a more ſerious manner, condemned it as being a direct invaſion of the property of individuals, held equally with landed eſtates under ſanction of the law. Mr. Roſe enumerated the ſteps that had been already taken in the ſyſtem of economical reform, reminding the houſe, that in 1782, 278 offices were aboliſhed, and the expences reduced from £.171,000 to £.60,000. that the expence of ſalaries in the exchequer office had been brought down from £.45,000 to £.17,800. while the offices of auditors of impreſs, which heretofore coſt £.44,000 were now reduced to £.7,000; that the penſion liſt had been diminiſhed above £.48,000 ſince the year 1783, and other ſavings had been made in the cuſtoms and exciſe, to the amount of £.22,680; to which he added the regulations made during Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, in loans, commiſſions, contracts, and lotteries, greatly to the advantage of the public revenue.

While the arguments of oppoſition were confined chiefly to the propriety of ſtrict economy, under the preſent heavy load of taxes, the ground which a diſtinguiſhed leader of that party took, who himſelf enjoys a conſiderable hereditary penſion, laid him open to a ſevere retort. He admitted, that the efficient offices of the ſtate were in general not overpaid, and objected to the plan of interfering with ſinecure places held for a term of years or for life, which he deemed equally ſacred with any private property—but when a meaſure had been adopted ſo doubtful as to its legality, and plainly contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, as the late voluntary ſubſcriptions, he then thought it not unfit to call on thoſe who enjoyed great offices in the country to ſurrender a portion of their gains for the public exigency.

Mr. Pitt replied, that if thoſe offices were not overpaid even in time of peace, it was unreaſonable to abridge their profits during war, when the labour of them was ſo greatly increaſed: as for the refutation of the honourable gentleman's laſt argument, he conceived it uſeleſs to do more that ſtate its ſubſtance in other words, "That he would ſupport a meaſure of which he diſapproved to day, merely becauſe another meaſure had been carried againſt him yeſterday, and would balance the impropriety of raiſing voluntary contributions in the firſt inſtance, by compelling contributions in the ſecond!" He reprobated the idea of having recourſe to ſuch means of ſupply. The retrenchments which had been made in the public expenditure during his adminiſtration were not, he ſaid, intended ſo much for a ſaving to the public, as to diminiſh the influence of the crown. The numbers that voted for the queſtion on a diviſion, were greater than might have been expected from the faint efforts that were made in the debate.—Ayes 50, Noes 117.

In addition to the increaſe of domeſtic

meſtic force, it was deemed expedient by the miniſtry, that all methods ſhould be tried for proſecuting the war with effect abroad, and bringing it to a deciſive iſſue. For the furtherance of this deſirable end no meaſure ſeemed more adapted, both in point of efficacy and diſpatch, than to put arms into the hands of thoſe numerous crowds who had emigrated from France ſince the beginning of the revolution, and had taken refuge in this country; many of them perſons of military education and experience, all eager for the overthrow of that ſyſtem which was now become the object of general execration; while they felt perhaps ſome impatience at the inactive part they had hitherto ſuſtained, during the execution of a deſign in which themſelves without doubt were moſt concerned. It was not neceſſary to uſe much time or addreſs in feeling the pulſe of the emigrants on this ſubject. The honour and gallant ſpirit of the ancient French nobility, is no leſs their character at the preſent day than it is the theme of hiſtory and romance; and as ſufficient evidence daily appeared of the alacrity with which ſuch an offer would be accepted,

April 7. it was not long before a formal application was made to parliament for a bill "to "enable his majeſty to employ ſub-"jects of France on the continent of "Europe, in the Weſt Indies, Guern-"ſey and Jerſey and other places."

April 11. The propoſal met not however with that concurrence in the houſe which ſeemed to have been expected; and among a number of objections which were ſtarted by different gentlemen, Mr. Sheridan dwelt with peculiar energy on the cruelty, as he termed it, of expoſing men in battle who it was well known had no chance of receiving quarter from their enemies. If this fate ſhould befal them, were we, he aſked, to revenge their death by retaliating on the French priſoners in our poſſeſſion? an anſwer in the affirmative proceeded from Mr. Burke, which drew from the other ſome ſtrong animadverſions on the barbarity of ſuch a ſentiment, and became the topic of much florid declamation on ſeveral ſubſequent occaſions. He then proceeded to argue on the impolicy and unconſtitutional nature of the bill, in which ſtrain of reaſoning he was afterwards joined by col. Tarleton, Mr. Baker, Mr. Whitbread, and ſeveral other members of the minority.

They remarked, that the bill was treated by the other ſide with a kind of civility as if it merited reſpect—that the miniſters looked aſtoniſhed at the objections which had been made, juſt as if it was a matter of courſe, and perfectly conformable to law, to take into the ſervice of this country an immenſe body of Roman Catholics, foreigners, and men who had taken no teſt whatever. They inſiſted much on the danger of permitting a body of mercenaries to be maintained within the kingdom at the diſpoſal of the crown, eſpecially when compoſed of men, who ſmarting as theſe were under the laſh, and deteſting even the name of liberty, might prove ready tools in the hands of a deſigning adminiſtration, and be inclined to do any thing to bring about that deſpotiſm which was ſo dear to them. They denied that the proviſions of the bill, reſtricting them to a certain diſtance inland from the coaſt, gave any ſecurity: it was ridiculous to talk of keeping

an armed force like ſchool-boys within *bounds*, or to ſuppoſe that if they ſhould exceed their diſtrict, it would be of any uſe to ſend a meſſenger with this bill to tell them they were a naughty army, and muſt retire within their proper limits. Beſides, the moſt important places in the kingdom, Portſmouth and Plymouth, lay within the limits aſſigned to their ſtation, and might, for aught they knew, be garriſoned by them. As an example to the preſent generation, they recommended the caution of the firſt parliament in William the third's reign, who refuſed to let the king keep his Dutch guards in England upon his own requeſt: it was not, they ſaid, the troops themſelves that that parliament dreaded, but the violation of a principle eſſential to the liberties of Great Britain.

It was aſked, with an air of ſarcaſm, what new circumſtance had occurred to make the plan of erecting the royal ſtandard in the heart of France more eligible now than heretofore; Was it becauſe the rebellions in la Vendée and at Lyons had been ſuppreſſed? Becauſe the unfortunate town of Toulon had been abandoned by us contrary to our faith, and delivered over to its moſt mercileſs enemies? In ſupport of their objection to the cruelty of the meaſure, they obſerved, that by the appellation "ſubjects of France," given to the emigrants in the title of this bill, the miniſters had at length not only recognized the French republic, but had, beyond a doubt, admitted the right of that government to treat them as rebels, if taken in arms. Mr. Pitt, however, took an early opportunity to correct this notion, by moving an amendment in the committee to ſubſtitute the words "ſubjects of the late "moſt Chriſtian King," inſtead of "ſubjects of France." A clauſe was alſo added, at the inſtance of Mr. Sheridan, that no more than 5000 ſhould, on any pretence, be within the kingdom at one time.

The alarm which was thus loudly ſounded from the oppoſition bench had not the effect of calling forth the miniſterial party to the combat. That the king or his adviſers might abuſe this weapon which was intruſted to them, and turn it againſt the conſtitution, was a language to which they were too much accuſtomed to hear it with ſurprize; and the only anſwer which, in their eſtimation, it ſeemed to merit, had been frequently and diſtinctly given to the ſame argument upon former occaſions —that the caſe ſuppoſed was an extreme one, and was therefore no ſolid reaſon for neglecting a ſtep of great and evident utility.

Little certainly was advanced in behalf of the general merits of the bill, until April 17. the third reading, when a powerful ſtand was made againſt it, in which Mr. Fox acted the moſt diſtinguiſhed part. He accuſed the miniſters of having deſerted the ground on which they firſt profeſſed to act. They took up arms to repel an aggreſſion, and the idea of treating was not diſclaimed; but they had now plunged us into a bloody and ruinous war, without a hope of releaſe but from a wild and viſionary project. By engaging the emigrants in their ſervice, they had avowed their determination to overthrow the exiſting government; and conſequently all our ſucceſſes at ſea, all our acquiſitions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies were of no avail to haſten the work of peace—nothing but the

abſolute conqueſt of France could effect it.

Having then drawn a compariſon between the old and new government of France, much to the diſparagement of the former, and having combated the right of interfering with the internal affairs of that country, both on the ground of equity and the poſitive law of nations, Mr. Fox adverted to the monoſyllable uttered by Mr. Burke. He deprecated the ſcenes of maſſacre and carnage that might enſue from ſuch a warfare; and entered into a review of ſome events in our own hiſtory, particularly in the two laſt rebellions, to prove that the French government would be juſtified in putting to death thoſe whom they might take in arms againſt their country, although employed by foreign powers. He concluded with affirming, that whatever the ſucceſs of our efforts might be, the final reſult muſt be diſadvantageous. If the emigrant cauſe ſhould proſper, and monarchy be reſtored, thoſe very troops, in caſe of application for indemnity, would turn againſt us. They would conſider themſelves bound in honour and in duty to ſerve the intereſts of their ſovereign. And ſhould they fail, we muſt either ſupport them hereafter at a vaſt expence, or turn them adrift, ſtill more deſtitute than ever, to revile us with our perfidy and ingratitude.

The ſilence hitherto obſerved by the miniſters, which had given ſo much umbrage to their antagoniſts, was now fully compenſated by a long and intereſting diſcuſſion, in which they ſhewed no inclination to evade the arguments of Mr. Fox, or to force the bill through by dint of numbers. Mr. Dundas having depicted, with much energy and truth of colouring, the hideous ſyſtem of the French government, and having ſhewn that it was equally hoſtile to the ſafety of other ſtates, and to the happineſs and wiſhes of the French people, inferred the neceſſity of attempting its extinction: and what meaſure, he aſked, was ſo likely to produce this end, as to make uſe of the means moſt cloſely connected with the object, to collect under one banner thoſe unfortunate ſufferers, whoſe zeal muſt be kindled by a hatred of their oppreſſors, by a conſciouſneſs that they fought for a reſtoration of their honours, their property, and (if they had yet eſcaped the hand of the aſſaſſin) of their families, by a ſincere love of their country, and a deſire to reſtore to it the bleſſings of peace, loyalty, and religion?

This right of interfering with the government of other countries, when the ſecurity of our own demanded it, was, he contended, in oppoſition to the laſt ſpeaker, explicitly laid down by writers on the law of nations, particularly by the favourite author of that gentleman, Vattell. It was farther to be obſerved, that theſe writers ſpeak of interference only in a time of peace: they had no contemplation of a doubt to be raiſed about it in the caſe of a hoſtile ſtate; much leſs of one from which an unprovoked aggreſſion has been received, and whoſe aim and principle it is to excite rebellion amongſt all its neighbours.

Upon the ſubject of retaliation, Mr. Dundas declared himſelf unwilling to lay down any abſtract rule. The right, he ſaid, dreadful as its exerciſe would be, muſt nevertheleſs be exerciſed, if circumſtances required it. Generals, who for humanity and wiſdom had been inferior to no one

that

that ever lived, had found it neceſſary to ſtop cruelty by retaliation; and it was better to leave the point to be determined by the circumſtances of each caſe as it occurred, than attempt to reduce it to defined or general principles. He denied that there was any want of humanity in accepting the ſervices of the emigrants, notwithſtanding this hazard. They knew the value of what they had loſt, and the proſpect there was of regaining it: their deſire to ſerve was the reſult of free deliberation; and every one muſt applaud the wiſdom and magnanimity of their choice.

With regard to the objection, that the mode of warfare we had hitherto purſued was uſeleſs and incompatible with the preſent deſign, he admitted that our ſucceſſes in the Indies would not operate on the preſent uſurpers as on the former rulers of France; but they would not be without their influence in accelerating the iſſue of the war, becauſe the reſources of the enemy depended in a great meaſure on their colonies. That ſufficient ſupport had not been given by this government to the royaliſt army, was a charge founded on events which it was impoſſible to foreſee, and the argument retorted on thoſe that uſed it; for if it would have been wiſe to riſk our national force and honour in uniting with the ſcattered bands of La Vendée, how much more adviſable muſt it be, to take into our pay a body of men, actuated with principles like our own, fully appointed and provided, and led on by officers of rank, of character, of military ſkill and judgment, whoſe influence in their own country muſt tend greatly to ſwell the number of their followers?

In anſwer to the numerous alluſions which had been made to his emphatic monoſyllable, and to the ſplendid panegyric juſt fallen from Mr. Fox on the ſubject of humanity, Mr. Burke addreſſed himſelf to the houſe with great good-humour, and after having obſerved that the praiſe of that which nobody blamed was rather ſuperfluous, confeſſed that the notice taken of this ſimple word, placed him in a light of importance to which he had no pretenſion, for he begged leave to remind the gentlemen who ſo far honoured him, that what fell from him carried with it no weight of miniſterial authority. This trite ſpecies of eloquence had, he ſaid, produced a greater effect than all his long and ſtudied harangues, and he ſhould perhaps do well to forbear his uſual mode in future, and confine himſelf to the ſame ſhort oracular ſtyle. He then entered into a defence of the *lex talionis*, which he affirmed to be a part of the law of nations, as founded on the law of nature; retaliation was the puniſhment provided for the infraction of that law, and to inflict it, under certain circumſtances, was as neceſſary to humanity as it was to juſtice. God forbid, ſaid he, that the authors of murder ſhould not find it recoil on their own heads. The application of this principle muſt indeed be modified by prudence, the eſſential conſtituent and regulator of all virtue; but this practical reſtriction left the principle itſelf unimpaired. With reſpect to the right of putting to death natural-born ſubjects taken in arms, a right which had been ſtudiouſly claimed for France, he maintained, that whatever the abſtract law might be, it was inconſiſtent with the mitigated practice of modern times: to which

purpoſe he adduced ſeveral examples in the wars of Europe, during the preſent century—the capture of the Iriſh brigade in 1746—the uniform conduct of both parties throughout the American war—the late inſurrections in Flanders, with ſeveral other caſes of equal mercy and forbearance.

In proportion as this meaſure ſeemed to rouſe and quicken the violence of oppoſition, becauſe it plainly went to the overthrow of the jacobin power, which they contended was equivalent to a war of extermination; it ſeems, on the other hand, to have met with peculiar approbation and ſupport of their former partizans, who profeſſed the danger of this power to be the cauſe of their late junction with the miniſtry. They expreſſed their hearty concurrence in the plan of arming France againſt France, of no longer attempting to raiſe a barrier to her lawleſs power, but to deſtroy at once that deſperate horde which gave it birth.

The bill was combated in its paſ-
May 5. ſage through the Lords, by the Earl of Albemarle, the Marquis of Lanſdowne, Lord Lauderdale, the Duke of Bedford and Lord Stanhope, and partly upon novel grounds. Beſides the inhumanity and unconſtitutional nature of the meaſure, many predictions were made of its inefficacy, and even danger. That the maſs of the people of France, would encounter almoſt certain death, for the pleaſure of putting themſelves again under the rigours of their ancient deſpotiſm, was repreſented as a viſionary and ridiculous idea. And without their co-operation, what could be expected from a few ſkeleton corps, compoſed chiefly of officers, and of men who, in the early part of the revolution, had baſely abandoned their ſovereign to his fate? Was it not more probable that many would be inclined to act treacherouſly to this government, which, under the maſk of humanity, had forced them to fight againſt their country?

Theſe and the other objections of cruelty and violation of the law of nations by interfering with the internal government of France, were controverted by lords Caernarvon, Auckland, Mansfield and Grenville. They affirmed that in no book on the law of nations was it ſaid that you ſhould not interfere with the government of a nation with whom you are at war, eſpecially when that government had, as in this caſe, avowed its deſign of deſtroying your's. It was our right and our duty to interfere, to enter the heart of that country, to inflict on our enemy the deepeſt wound. And as to the probable ſucceſs of the plan, if we compared the preſent miſery of the inhabitants of France with their former flouriſhing condition, little doubt could be entertained but that thouſands would join an army which came to effect their deliverance. That the emigrants themſelves would prove traitors to the cauſe, was a ſuſpicion as improbable as it was ungenerous and unfair. The eagerneſs which they expreſſed to take the field, and redreſs their country's wrongs, ought to have been ſufficient to ſhelter them from ſuch an inſinuation. The minority numbered 7, on a diviſion, againſt 54, who voted for the bill.

CHAP. X.

Motion by lord Lanſdowne for an Addreſs to his Majeſty, requeſting him to declare his diſpoſition to treat for peace with France; ſeconded by the duke of Grafton; anſwer of ſeveral lords on the ſide of Government; obſervations of the earl of Guildford and lord Grenville. Mr. Whitbread's motion on the ſubject of treaties; arguments in ſupport of it; anſwer; rejected. The ſame fate attends a ſimilar motion in the Houſe of Lords. Motion of general Fitzpatrick on behalf of La Fayette, and the other perſons confined with him; ſupported by colonel Tarleton and Mr. Fox; anſwer of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Burke; the motion rejected. Motion by major Maitland for an inquiry into the cauſes of failure at Dunkirk and Toulon; his ſpeech; anſwer of the friends of Government; the motion loſt. Meſſage from the King relative to a ſubſidy for Pruſſia; diſcuſſed in the Houſe of Lords, and in the Houſe of Commons; the meaſure approved in both. Extraordinary ſpeech and motion of lord Stanhope; his motion expunged from the journals; obſervations of lord Lauderdale on this ſubject; anſwered by lord Thurlow.

NOTWITHSTANDING the large majority which ſupported the addreſs at the opening of parliament, the marquis of Lanſdowne again introFeb. 17. duced a diſcuſſion of all the topics debated upon that occaſion. He delivered, with great temper, an elaborate ſpeech, which was admired for the wide and maſterly view he took of the ſubject, the extenſive political knowledge he diſplayed, and the acuteneſs with which he commented upon the views and intereſts of the different cabinets of Europe.

After having affirmed that the preceding campaign was productive only of diſaſter and diſgrace, and having quoted the authority of the duke of Marlborough and other great generals to prove that no impreſſion could ever be made on the garriſoned frontier of France, he alluded to the conference lately held with miniſtry by colonel Mack, from which he augured no better ſucceſs, and then proceeded to take a curſory view of the confederacy with which we acted. From Spain, he maintained, no farther co-operation could be expected: ſhe was already jealous of the poſſeſſions we had acquired in the Weſt Indies, which muſt be fatal to her intereſts there. To theſe intereſts ſhe was by no means blind, and had manifeſted plain ſymptoms of uneaſineſs during our joint enterprize at Toulon. As to the king of Pruſſia, all his real relations muſt draw him the other way. At the head of the Germanic alliance, his policy muſt ever be to reſiſt the aggrandizement of the houſe of Auſtria. An union ſo monſtrous and unnatural as that between him and the emperor could not long continue; nor would the ſtates of the empire long be ſo wanting to themſelves, as to aid that power which threatens to cruſh and overwhelm them. Our next great ally, the empreſs of Ruſſia, was only concerned to prolong the conteſt, in order that

when the ſtrength and finances of the contending parties ſhould be exhauſted, ſhe might purſue without moleſtation the vaſt ambitious projects ſhe had conceived. Holland had been literally dragged into the war, as was evident enough by her backwardneſs on all occaſions: though a formidable maritime power, ſhe had not ſent a ſhip to ſea, and the conduct of her army only ſhewed how differently men will fight for their own liberties, and for the ſake of others. Laſtly, from the king of Sardinia much could not certainly be expected. He might indeed be uſefully employed in the way of diverſion, as a ſmall check upon France; but he would never croſs the Var to any good purpoſe.

On this disjointed, heterogeneous confederacy, ſtill rankling with jealouſies and animoſities, and diſtracted by diſcordant intereſts, were all our hopes founded; and it muſt be a miracle indeed if thoſe hopes ſhould in the event be realized. But while we had managed thus ill with our allies, in our conduct towards neutral ſtates we had managed worſe—he feared we had loſt our honour. He then touched ſlightly on the correſpondence which had paſſed between our miniſters, reſident abroad, and the governments of Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and the court of Florence, obſerving, that the language uſed on our part, eſpecially in the laſt inſtance, was harſh and inſulting, and the proceedings outrageous to the rights of neutral nations. But to quit thoſe leſſer offences, he added, that a ſuſpicion lay of a much heavier charge in another quarter, of having ſtirred up the Indian ſavages, and let them looſe upon the ſtates of America. Thus, whether we looked to the neutral or the confederate powers, we had little to promiſe ourſelves; the former we had irritated by inſolent menaces; and the latter, even if they ſhould perſevere in the ſtruggle, were ſo notoriouſly impoveriſhed, that Great Britain muſt be the paymaſter of all.

In addition to thoſe numerous complaints, the old theme of reproach, the object of the war, was not omitted here. If we had any diſtinct object, the noble marquis contended, from a compariſon of the various manifeſtoes and proclamations, that it was not the ſame with that profeſſed by our allies, and read a paſſage from M. Mallet du Pan, the celebrated writer againſt the French revolution, to prove that this myſterious concealment of their intentions was the greateſt obſtacle to the progreſs of the allied arms. It inſpired miſtruſt in the royaliſt and moderate parties, and furniſhed the government with the means of working on the errors and prejudices of the people.

Finally, he contraſted the conduct of this country towards France with that of Louis IX. to this kingdom in the turbulent reign of Henry III., and recommended it to the miniſters to adopt a mode of action equally liberal and generous with his. If ſuch conciliatory ſymptoms ſhould appear on our part, he had no doubt that they would produce a correſponding diſpoſition in our enemy. Without intending to ſuggeſt the terms of peace, he would declare it as his opinion that we ought not to inſiſt upon indemnity.

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If extermination was not our object, we ought to be generous: between the one and the other of theſe objects there ſhould be no diſpute. Money we could not expect from them; and any diſmemberment of their territory, far from giving additional ſecurity to Europe, muſt, by augmenting the power of other ambitious ſtates, endanger that balance which is eſſential to the independence of all. He therefore propoſed an addreſs to his majeſty, comprizing all the leading points which he had ſupported in his ſpeech, and ending with a prayer that his majeſty would, without delay, declare his diſpoſition to treat with France on liberal and diſintereſted terms.

The motion was ſeconded by the duke of Graſton, who, after a long abſence from public buſineſs, had purpoſely come forward upon this occaſion, and warmly defended by lord Guildford and lord Lauderdale. They were not diſmayed, they ſaid, at the ſmallneſs of the minority in which they knew they ſhould be left—the ſame thing had occurred in the American war, and yet the minority, then ſo ſlandered and reviled, perſevered till they found their voice become the voice of the nation.

On the other ſide it was ſaid, that not one argument had been uſed by the noble marquis, which could at all induce the houſe to contradict the addreſs they had ſo lately preſented to his majeſty, for ſuch was the object of the preſent motion. It was admitted that peace was deſirable, if it could be obtained with honour and ſincerity; but the very ground propoſed in the outſet, was a breach of honour and good faith to our allies, a violation of every treaty we had entered into with them. The object of the war, they aſſerted, was ſufficiently defined on our part by the conduct of the enemy. Their object was to overthrow all eſtabliſhed governments, and ours was to reſiſt their attempts. As a proof that the diſpoſition of the enemy towards us ſtill remained the ſame, we had been lately told from the jacobin club, and from the national convention by Barrere, "that England wiſhed for "peace; that England ſhall have "peace, but that it muſt be by "ſacrificing her conſtitution." Such was the preliminary to which we muſt accede before any pacification could be effected. Theſe topics were enforced, together with a vehement condemnation of the perfidy, uſurpation, and cruelty of the French government, by earl Fitzwilliam, the earl of Caernarvon, lord Darnley, the duke of Leeds, lords Sydney and Kinnoul.

The earl of Guildford, on the other hand, affirmed, that as much reliance might be placed on the convention, admitting all that had been ſaid of their perfidy, as on any treaty that had been made with the ancient government of France. In every tranſaction in which her kings had been concerned with this country, from Louis XIV. downwards, as little regard had been paid to the obligation of treaties, as it was poſſible to expect from any other rulers. If the French had expreſſed a deſire of deſtroying our conſtitution, let us recollect, ſaid he, that the language uſed by both houſes of parliament here, amounts almoſt to the ſame degree of viru-

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lence. But it was not to be ſuppoſed that men were always to be bound by theſe effuſions of paſſion; and it would be no way degrading or diſhonourable in us firſt to ſet the example of removing theſe national animoſities.

The debate was cloſed by a ſpeech from lord Grenville, anſwering, in the ableſt manner, every thing that had been advanced relative to the policy and ſucceſs of the preſent conteſt. He congratulated the houſe on the general effect produced by theſe diſcuſſions, as they tended to keep alive in the minds of the people the true and fundamental principles of the war; and obſerved, that it had been well aſked What new ground had occurred in the ſpace of the laſt few weeks to change the opinion of parliament, and to induce it to retract the ſolemn pledge it had given?—Why we, who had declared ourſelves fighting for our laws, our property, our religion, and our liberties, ſhould now be called upon to reſign all theſe bleſſings, and compound merely for our exiſtence?

As to the object of the war, he avowed it to be comprized in one word—ſecurity. Parliament would not, he was perſuaded, demand of miniſters to declare in what ſpecific matter that ſecurity was to be obtained. It muſt depend on a variety of fluctuating events and remote contingencies; and to aſk it of them, would be to aſk what had never been required of any miniſters before, by any wiſe, deliberative aſſembly.

In noticing what had been ſaid relative to the late campaign, he expreſſed ſome ſurprize, that the noble marquis, in order to prove the impracticability of penetrating the French frontier, ſhould have quoted that very general (the duke of Marlborough) as his authority, who had himſelf broken through the barrier, and taken the ſtrongeſt fortreſs of it, Liſle. With regard to the actual ſucceſs of our arms, the beſt reply was a bare enumeration of our victories and conqueſts in Flanders and the Weſt Indies. On this head he vindicated the Dutch and the king of Sardinia from the inſinuations that had been thrown out againſt them; and, as to our conduct towards neutral ſtates, he candidly and explicitly declared, that our only intention was to prevent nations, under the pretext of neutrality, from ſupplying our enemies with the means of carrying on the war. But with reſpect to the charge concerning America, he affirmed it to be an unwarrantable and groſs falſhood. So far from ſtimulating the Indians to hoſtilities, we had done the utmoſt we could to ſettle the differences that exiſted between them and the United States.

To the latter part of the motion, reſpecting peace, little elſe could be oppoſed than what was maintained on a former debate; that the infamy, the faithleſſneſs, and the precarious power of thoſe with whom it was recommended to treat, precluded all hope of ſecurity in negociation; but that, independent of this, there were obſtacles that prevented, *in limine*, any negociation at all. Theſe obſtacles did not conſiſt, as had been repreſented, in the looſe and paſſionate declamation of the moment; they were of a more ſolid and ſubſtantial nature; they exiſted,

ed in the formal, deliberate decrees of the national convention. By one of these it was provided, that any man who proposed peace should be punished with death; by another, that France shall make no peace while the enemy holds a foot of ground on its dominion; and to that dominion, by an article of their constitution, Savoy and the Austrian Netherlands are unalienably attached.

From the numbers who voted, on a division, it seems that this motion was a signal for great exertions on each side, it being rejected by a majority of 103 including 17 proxies, against 13 including 1 proxy.

After a short respite from the discussion of the Sardi-
Mar. 6. nian treaty, which may be considered in the light of a prelude to the grand attack, Mr. Whitbread brought forward a motion for presenting a remonstrance to the throne against all the treaties entered into with the confederate powers since the commencement of the war, and for advising his majesty to extricate himself from those engagements. So confident was he of the strength of his ground upon this occasion, that he generously disdained in the outset to take advantage of the arguments usually urged against the war, and professed to take up the matter on the minister's own data, that it was both just and necessary; rightly judging that whatever could be alledged on this ground would have double force in the contest, both by carrying with it the air of novelty, and by the apparent magnanimity of the offer. The pledge was not strictly adhered to by Mr. Fox and the rest of his friends, and of course the old theme was again introduced; but it will be needless here to specify any more than what immediately corresponded with the intentions of the mover.

In the first place, it was said to be impossible to reconcile the object we ourselves avowed with the views entertained by the confederate powers. We had solemnly declared by our proclamations at Toulon, that we fought for the re-establishment of the constitution of 1789, that very constitution which was at the same time branded as infamous in the manifestoes of general Wurmser and the prince of Saxe Cobourg. From these manifestoes it appeared that nothing would satisfy the courts of Austria and Prussia, but a restitution of the antient despotism, as plotted at the treaty of Pilnitz. They, in conjunction with the empress of Russia, were combined to crush that fair child of promise, the infant liberty of France, and to exterminate the name of freedom from the civilized world: yet they were the allies with whom we had entered into the *most intimate connection and confidence*, with whom we had made *a common cause*, with whom we were bound to go the whole length of their monstrous undefined projects, and had stipulated not to lay down our arms till they had declared themselves satisfied; they whose complete success, it was without hesitation affirmed, would be more fatal to the social happiness of Europe than the spreading of the wildest tenets of democracy.

It was remarked, that when a negotiation was proposed with the French

French republic, all political relations and intereſts were ſwallowed up in abhorrence of the morals and characters of individuals; and the anſwer of miniſtry was, that they could not treat with the profligate men who now bore ſway in France. But what were the morals and characters of thoſe with whom they had formed an alliance? Here, it ſeemed, they had reſigned their ſcruples; for they had united with thoſe, who, in deſpite of juſtice, of reaſon, and humanity, had carried ſlaughter into the heart of Poland, and in open defiance of every religious and moral tie, had divided among themſelves a kingdom, whoſe integrity they had guaranteed the year before by the moſt ſolemn treaties. And what better ſecurity, it was aſked, could we have for their good faith, than they had given to Poland? Would they, who held themſelves bound by no engagements, make a ſplendid exception in our favour, and keep ſacred to us promiſes which were given to others only to betray?

If, nevertheleſs, it ſhould be maintained that, however raſh and impolitic theſe treaties were, our honour bound us to abide by them; it was anſwered, that all engagements of this ſort were reciprocal; and if our allies had failed in performing their ſtipulations, we were undoubtedly releaſed from our own. This was notoriouſly the caſe with regard to Ruſſia, who had as yet contributed nothing to the common cauſe. Auſtria had, by her manifeſtoes, ſo incongruous with ours, diſſolved all connection between us; and the king of Pruſſia, it was confidently reported, had threatened to withdraw his arms, unleſs aided by a ſubſidy of £.700,000 from this country. At the preſent moment, therefore, there exiſted a fortunate concurrence of circumſtances, which rendered it eaſy for us to retire from a confederacy equally inconſiſtent with our honour and our ſafety.

It was objected by the miniſter that the motion, however it might be diſguiſed, was nothing leſs than a motion for peace; for as long as we continued at war, it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to form as ſtrong and as numerous alliances as poſſible. The general expediency of the war it was needleſs to ſupport, for it had already undergone a full diſcuſſion; and with reſpect to the particular merits of thoſe treaties, by which the co-operation of other powers had been procured, no arguments had been adduced to ſhew that the terms were inconſiſtent with approved practice, or with that line of policy which had received the ſanction of the houſe. Complaints had indeed been made of detached parts of the conduct of our allies, ſome of them previous to the war, and others during the war, but all of them independent of the cauſe in which we were engaged. This conduct, eſpecially in the inſtance of Poland, he was by no means willing to defend; but the queſtion was, whether we ſhould allow one act of injuſtice to deprive us of the aid of thoſe powers in reſiſting the univerſal, ſyſtematic injuſtice of our enemy; whether Great Britain, the ſoul of a confederacy on which all our hopes depend, ſhould herſelf from motives of ſcrupulous delicacy diſſolve it, at a time when it was moſt her intereſt to ſtrengthen

ſtrengthen and cement it. It had been falſely ſtated that we were bound by our treaties to act with this confederacy until each member of it had declared himſelf ſatisfied: on the contrary, it was provided, that whenever the places taken by the enemy ſhould be reſtored to their original poſſeſſors, either party would be at liberty to conclude a peace. As to the views of our allies concerning the future government of France, whatever they may be, ſaid Mr. Pitt, we are engaged in the conteſt only ſo far as relates to our own defence.

The houſe divided on the motion; ayes 26, noes 138. A ſimilar one, introduced ſhortly after, into the other houſe, though ſupported by the abilities of lords Guildford and Lauderdale and the marquis of Lanſdowne, was thrown out by the ſtill greater majority of 96 to 9.

It was probably the report of a freſh ſubſidiary treaty with Pruſſia that induced general Fitzpatrick to conſider this a fit opportunity for attempting ſomething in behalf of M. de la Fayette, who, it will be recollected, was ſeized within the Auſtrian poſts, on the territory of Liege, ſome time in Auguſt 1792, and had been ever ſince confined, under the orders of the court of Pruſſia, as a ſtate priſoner at Magdebourg. Accordingly, he brought forward a motion in the houſe of commons for an addreſs to his Majeſty, repreſenting that the detention of general La Fayette, Alexander Lameth, Bureau de Puzy, and Latour Maubourg, (three members of the conſtituent aſſembly, who were arreſted to the ſame time,) was injurious to his Majeſty and the cauſe of his allies, and humbly beſeeching his Majeſty to intercede for their deliverance in ſuch a manner as to his royal wiſdom ſhould ſeem moſt proper.

Mar. 17.

In his ſpeech which prefaced this motion, general Fitzpatrick pleaded the cauſe of M. la Fayette with all the eloquence and feeling of a friend. He ſtated to the houſe, that from his early intimacy with that diſtinguiſhed character, he had been led to watch his conduct, in the difficult and trying ſtations he had filled, with minute attention, and he had never diſcovered an inſtance in which it appeared to deviate from the ſtraight path of honour and integrity. He expatiated largely on his gallantry and other virtues, but more particularly commented on the part he had acted during the French revolution; from a general review of which he inferred, that M. Fayette had uniformly approved himſelf the ſupporter of order, of legal authority, and of the perſonal ſafety of his ſovereign. The very laſt act which placed him in the power of his enemies was, he ſaid, a demonſtrative proof of his hoſtility to the jacobin government, at the ſame time that it ſhewed him to be a man of honour and a friend to his country. When he found that the government was adminiſtered in a manner that he could not approve, he reſigned his command; but ſtill, with his native generoſity, ſcorned to make terms for himſelf, as he might eaſily have

have done, by carrying off the military cheſt, or by expoſing his army to defeat.

Having then argued that his ſeizure in a neutral territory, and his impriſonment for a crime alledged to have been committed in another country, and againſt another ſtate, were groſs infractions of the law of nations, he maintained that the honour no leſs than the policy of this country was concerned for his liberation; that the king of Pruſſia had declared general La Fayette to be the priſoner, not of himſelf alone, but of all the confederate powers, of which we were one; and that of courſe until we avowed ourſelves willing to releaſe him, we muſt be conſidered as parties to his detention.

It was moreover alledged that he came under the deſcription of thoſe to whom ſecurity and protection is promiſed by the celebrated declaration dated Whitehall, October 29th, 1793; for that he had always ſupported "the "monarchical government," and wiſhed "to ſhake off the yoke of "the ſanguinary anarchy of "France." What confidence, it was aſked, could we expect to have repoſed in our aſſurances by the French royaliſts, when they heard that one of their own moſt illuſtrious partizans, ſo far from receiving encouragement, was permitted to languiſh in a ſolitary dungeon without comfort or relief?

Colonel Tarleton, who ſeconded the motion at conſiderable length, and Mr. Fox, concurred in bearing the ſtrongeſt teſtimony to the patriotiſm and honour of M. la Fayette, while the companions of his captivity were alſo repreſented as characters remarkable for their integrity and for the ſervices they had rendered the royal family of France. They were joined by moſt of the leading members of that party, who zealouſly maintained that our national honour would not be clear, until we had pronounced, through the voice of our ſovereign, our abhorrence of this proceeding.

But however confident the aſſertions, and however warm the praiſes of theſe gentlemen were reſpecting the loyalty and virtue of M. la Fayette, he was conſidered by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Burke, and ſome others, as little deſerving of eſteem, or even commiſeration. To him, as to a moving cauſe, if not an oſtenſible agent, they attributed many of the riots and maſſacres at Paris, and the ſufferings not only of the nobility and royaliſts, but of the royal family itſelf; his attachment to which had conſtituted the great theme of panegyric.

That the ſeizure of a perſon who had but the day before appeared in arms, and was found within the line of military poſts occupied by his enemy, ſhould be repreſented as an infraction of the law of nations, was, they ſaid, equally oppoſite to military practice and to common ſenſe. But admitting it to be an action impolitic, unjuſt, and cruel, what right had we to interpoſe our agency or advice? All participation in the affair had been heretofore, and was now again diſclaimed by our miniſter, for the ſatisfaction of the houſe: and even ſuppoſing

ſuppoſing that to be true, which reſted only on the bare aſſertion of the gentlemen on the other ſide, that the king of Pruſſia called M. la Fayette and his companions the priſoners of all the confederate powers, ſtill the appellation could not comprehend us, for at the time of their apprehenſion we had not entered into the war.

On what ground then could we pretend to interfere? What charter could we ſhew for being guardians of the conſciences and councils of the potentates of Europe? It was indeed rather ſingular, they added, that this recommendation ſhould come from thoſe who denied the right of interfering in the affairs of France; who, when they heard of the murder and impriſonment of thouſands in Paris, and were themſelves daily witneſſes of the affliction of the emigrant prieſts and nobles, could ſuppreſs their philanthropy, becauſe it was wrong to meddle with the concerns of an independent ſtate.

This argument was enforced with peculiar energy by Mr. Burke, backed with the powerful engine of wit and ridicule. He attributed the conduct of the mover himſelf to the honourable impulſe of private friendſhip. *Tantum infelicem nimium dilexit amicum;* but he could aſcribe the language of the gentlemen who ſupported him to no other cauſe than a ſincere conviction of their former error, and he heartily congratulated them on their converſion. He then alluded to the *mollia tempora fandi* which general Fitzpatrick had obſerved we might well obtain when we were ſoliciting the king of Pruſſia to accept a preſent of 7 or £. 800,000, and pourtrayed our negotiator at that court, whom he ſuppoſed to glow with the ſentiments of indignation and abhorrence expreſſed by the honourable mover, as preferring his ſuit in the following winning manner: "Thou dark and ſanguinary ty-"rant! thou diabolical monſter! "give up M. la Fayette to the "king my maſter, and there is a "ſubſidy for you by way of ran-"ſom."

As great ſtreſs was laid by the ſpeakers on the other ſide upon the tranſaction at Toulon, where, they ſaid, the conſtitution of 1789 was guaranteed to the inhabitants, while we permitted the founder of that conſtitution to lie immured in a dungeon; and as by far the moſt plauſible argument urged by them for our interpoſition was, that, conſidering the effect the impriſonment of M. la Fayette would have on the ſucceſs of our arms, by detaching the royaliſt party for our intereſts, we had as much right to confer with a confederate power on this ſubject, as on any military operation; on this account the miniſter was anxious to remove the error and uncertainty which had prevailed concerning our negotiation with the Toulonese. His explanation was the more important, as it was acquieſced in by Mr. Fox. Lord Hood, he ſaid, promiſed protection to the inhabitants, if they would make an explicit declaration in favour of monarchy. They declared for the conſtitution of 1789, and begged him to keep the place in truſt for Louis XVII. He did ſo; and to reſtore the place at the concluſion of the war was the extent

extent of the engagement into which he entered. With regard to the pretended attachment of the royaliſts to M. la Fayette, there was no man, he believed, who leſs poſſeſſed the eſteem of that party, and no man certainly leſs deſerved it than he, who firſt preached the doctrine of the ſacred duty of inſurrection againſt his ſovereign.

The oppoſition appeared to have muſtered all their force upon this queſtion, there being 48 who voted for the motion, to 155 againſt it.

When many other motions had failed of ſucceſs, major Maitland proceeded to ſet on foot the inquiry he had threatened concerning the failures at Dunkirk and Toulon. Having previouſly moved for the production of certain papers, which were refuſed on the ground that no juſt ſuſpicion of miſconduct lay, he opened the attack in a ſet ſpeech of conſiderable length and ability, in which he repreſented the whole of the late campaign as a ſeries of calamity and diſgrace, acquitting indeed the officers and troops in our ſervice of all ſhare in the blame, and conferring that diſtinction on the miniſters alone.

April 10.

He affirmed that the original cauſe of ill ſucceſs was our departure from the plan, firſt ſettled at Antwerp, of concentrating the combined force: that the firſt inſtance of this was the detached enterprize of the duke of York againſt Dunkirk, which drained the army of the prince of Cobourg of 40,000 men, ſo as to compel him eventually to raiſe the ſiege of Maubeuge; and this detachment, inſtead of being executed, as all detachments ought to be, with promptitude and diſpatch, was delayed four weeks, without a ſhadow of a reaſon, after the capture of Valenciennes. On a fixed day, he continued, his royal highneſs appeared before Dunkirk, and not a ſingle gun-boat was in readineſs to aſſiſt him according to appointment; for which flagrant neglect the maſter-general of the ordnance and the firſt lord of the admiralty were equally culpable. The conſequence was, a retreat attended with loſs of ſtores, cannon, and ammunition, and the diſpiriting of a gallant army.

With regard to the conduct of lord Hood at Toulon, he obſerved, that after having gained poſſeſſion of the place on condition of reſtoring the conſtitution of 1789, he altered his language in a ſubſequent declaration, in which he promiſed them only ſuch a government as ſhould be agreed on, and thus expoſed them to a revival of their ancient deſpotiſm. That he then landed 1800 men as a ſufficient force for protecting a line of 15 miles againſt an army of 10,000 men, which he was informed were at hand to oppoſe him; and yet, notwithſtanding the ſtate of "comfortable ſecurity," which was felt by a noble lord, who afterwards undertook the command with the addition of 2000 men, we were within a ſhort time unable to maintain our ground with a garriſon of 15,000 men, againſt a beſieging army of 35,000. That in the midſt of theſe tranſactions lord Hood thought proper of his own accord, without conſulting his government, to ſend four line-of-battle ſhips to Breſt,

as a preſent to the enemy; and, worſe than all, at his precipitate and ſhameful retreat, left thouſands of the wretched inhabitants to glut the vengeance of the conquerors.

Theſe charges were backed by all the talents and eloquence of the party; and were anſwered with equal ſpirit by Mr. Jenkinſon, Mr. Canning, lord Mulgrave, ſir James Murray, and Mr. Pitt. The doctrine held on this ſide, with regard to parliamentary inquiry, is already known. No war, they ſaid, on an extenſive ſcale, could be free from ſome miſcarriages; and the inconvenience attending an inquiry into the conduct of officers high in command, in the midſt of war, was ſuch, that if the meaſure were adopted upon every raiſing of a ſiege, or evacuation of a town, no campaign could poſſibly be ſucceſsful. As to the affair of Dunkirk, it was poſitively affirmed, that that meaſure met with the full concurrence of his royal highneſs the duke of York, and of the other commanders on the continent, both as to the time and mode of its execution; and therefore that whatever blame attached to the deſign, it could not be thrown upon the miniſters only, but muſt equally be borne by all who ſhared in the reſponſibility. The plan, however, it was maintained, was far from deſerving blame; for the capture of Dunkirk was an object highly deſirable, and was prevented ſolely by the uncommon efforts of the enemy, who had almoſt ſuddenly collected an immenſe force ſufficient to overpower the covering army under marſhal Freytag, and compel it to fall back. To this circumſtance alone, a thing not eaſily to have been foreſeen, was the miſcarriage owing, not to any want of naval co-operation, for that it would have been uſeleſs to attempt, nor to the delay in the arrival of cannon or gun-boats. The noble duke at the head of the ordnance department had, on the ſhorteſt notice, fitted out the number required with the utmoſt activity, and they reached the place of their deſtination two days only after the appointed time. Nor was the event itſelf ſo pregnant with calamity or diſhonour as had been ſuppoſed. The retreat was orderly and ſlow; the number of cannon left behind was only 38, all of them iron; and the important capture of Queſnoy was, after all, the fruit of this expedition.

On the ſubject of Toulon it was remarked, that the declaration made by the mover, of his intention not to criminate the officers employed, was a plain ſubterfuge, for almoſt the whole of that buſineſs was conducted without any communication with the cabinet. With reſpect to the part miniſtry had acted in the affair, the number of men to the amount of 17,000, ſo ſpeedily collected in the midſt of a variety of diſtant military operations, afforded abundant proof of their diligence and zeal. In reply to the accuſation of breach of faith towards the inhabitants, lord Mulgrave inſiſted that the conſtitution of 1789 was not underſtood by either party as a definitive arrangement. He corrected alſo ſome erroneous ſtatements relative to the ſiege. Inſtead of a line of 15 miles, the fartheſt poſt was not two miles diſtant from the centre of Toulon: and

and at the time when he had described himself to be in comfortable security, the state of things was such as to authorize the expression. Cataux's army, though 10,000 strong, was composed of the worst troops in France. Lyons had not then fallen; and the prospect was held out to him of co-operation by the Piedmontese general, De Vins.

The defence of lord Hood was warmly undertaken by Mr. Pitt, not without some reflections on the want of candour and liberality shewn in attacking the character of an officer absent on the service of his country. As to the dismissal of the four ships, which had been charged to his account, they were sent off full of 6000 riotous, unruly seamen, who made no scruple of avowing their hostile disposition to the English; and it was found absolutely necessary to send away a part of the fleet in order to secure the remainder. Of the evacuation of the town, and destruction of the ships and magazines, Mr. Pitt spoke in the highest terms of praise. In order to give some idea of the arduous nature of the task, he suggested what would be the bustle and confusion of a common embarkation of half the number on the Thames: and yet so ably was the affair managed, that it did not cost the life of a single man. Lastly, in reply to the groundless and shocking charge of inhumanity in deserting the loyal inhabitants, he most solemnly averred that not a single person was left behind, who wished to leave the place. As to the bloody executions which succeeded, the universality of those scenes throughout France afforded a strong presumption that the fate of the unfortunate victims was not owing to their attachment to the English during the occupation of Toulon.

Some intimation fell from lord Mulgrave, that the allies did not perform their duty on the occasion, for he declared that had the garrison all been British, he would have kept the place to this hour. This insinuation was, pressed as a fresh reason for investigation, but the matter had already undergone a full discussion, and the motion for an inquiry was negatived by a majority of 168 to 35.

The rumour which had been so long in circulation of a large subsidy to be paid to the king of Prussia for the continuation of his aid, was at length confirmed by a message from the king brought down to both houses on the same day, accompanied by copies of the treaty entered into for this purpose through our minister at the Hague. The principal stipulations were, that his Prussian majesty should furnish 62,000 men to co-operate with the allied forces; that, to defray the expences of the equipment and return of this army, the sum of £. 400,000 should be paid him, and a farther sum of £. 50,000 per month during their service, which, with the expence of bread and forage, would amount to about £. 1,800,000 per annum; that of this sum £. 400,000 were to be paid by the states general, and the remaining £. 1,400,000 by this country. April 28.

Upon taking this message into consideration in the house of lords, lord Grenville expatiated upon the propriety April 30.

and economy of the treaty; obſerving, that it was ſtrictly conformable to the eſtabliſhed policy of this kingdom to employ againſt the ſuperior population of France our own financial reſources; and with regard to the prudence of the terms, it was impoſſible, he ſaid, that we could raiſe even an army of recruits ſo cheaply, by any other means; whereas in the preſent caſe, it was not a new levy that we took into our pay but a well trained body of troops, commanded by the moſt experienced generals in Europe. He admitted that we had never engaged at any former period to ſo great an amount, but at no former period were we ſo much intereſted in the affairs of the continent; and if to ſecure the rights of the empreſs queen, in 1741 we voted a large ſubſidy to the houſe of Auſtria, and another of £.600,000. in 1756 to the houſe of Brandenburgh, to enable it to defend its own dominions, ſurely we could not now regret ſome additional expence in behalf of our own.

Lord Grenville having concluded with a motion, "to aſſure his "Majeſty that the houſe would "concur in the meaſures neceſ"ſary on his part to fulfil his en"gagements," a ſtrong oppoſition was begun by the marquis of Lanſdowne, and continued with great warmth by lord Lauderdale, againſt the general principle as well as the particular terms of the treaty.

They remarked, that the ſtate of the confederacy was wholly altered by it; that Pruſſia, the firſt aggreſſor, the moſt eager combatant, was thus reduced to a ſubordinate part; while we, who came into the quarrel only as ſecondary agents, needleſsly preſſed forward to hold the foremoſt rank, and bear the whole burden of the war. As to the ſecuring to our cauſe one of the leading powers of Europe, that circumſtance the marquis of Lanſdowne conſidered one of the moſt unfavourable features of the plan. If the ſame number of men had been hired from inferior potentates, we ſhould have had nothing to dread from their interfering intereſts; but when he recollected the rooted jealouſy that ſubſiſted between Pruſſia and Auſtria, and the great probability there was that the king of Pruſſia might have occaſion for his troops at home, (although he had the higheſt reſpect for him as a gentleman and a man of honour), yet he could not put much confidence in his faithful performance of his engagement.

Other objections were urged on the weakneſs of being thus bullied into a ſubſidy by the threat of ſeceſſion, and on the enormous expence at which we ſupported our preſent treaties; but the anſwer was that the war was become more than ever eſſential to our welfare, and that the reſources of this country enabled her to proſecute it with equal effect by ſubſidizing other powers, and with leſs detriment to herſelf than by draining the country of its population. This doctrine was maintained by lords Mansfield, Hawkeſbury, and Auckland, when the Houſe divided, Contents 99, Not Contents 6.

In the houſe of commons, Mr. Pitt confined himſelf principally to the economical nature of the contract. Without entering into the queſtion, whether Pruſſia acted wiſely April 30.

or not in withdrawing from the conteſt, (on which he ſeemed to have no doubt himſelf), he conſidered the co-operation of 62,000 men, exclusive of the Pruſſian contingent of 20,000 to the empire, a circumſtance of unqueſtionable advantage to us, and the terms on which they were procured as far more favourable than any other mode of levy. Reminding the houſe that by the treaty of 1787, the king of Pruſſia was bound to provide 32,000 men, for which the payment of £.400,000. was ſtipulated on our part, he calculated the expence of equipment, and return for the remainder, at the rate of £.13. per man; whereas in England the mere levy money would have coſt us £.15. per man, and in Hanover about £.13. independently of arms and cloathing. And when it was conſidered that of this body the cavalry amounted to 31,000, the charge for bread and forage muſt appear very reaſonable. He thought proper however to apprize the houſe, that although the whole of this force was to be employed in concert with Britiſh arms and for Britiſh purpoſes, yet we could not expect to retain the ſame unlimited command over it, as over the petty contingents furniſhed by the German ſtates; ſome ſcope, he obſerved, muſt be given in the conduct of ſo large an army, both to the military ſpirit of the troops, and the thirſt for military glory in their monarch.

On the other hand, the moderation of theſe conditions was not ſo readily admitted by the oppoſition. They obſerved, that the miniſter had outrun even the voice of rumour in the extravagance of his bargain: that £.200,000. a year only had been given to the king of Sardinia for the co-operation of 50,000 troops, while we were now giving for an army of 30,000 men, for one year, nearly £.1,600,000., including the money to be paid in advance, and the Dutch contingent, which it was ridiculous to expect the Dutch would ever pay; and for which it ſeemed we had pledged ourſelves, and might get it from them how we could. Another feature of folly and inconſiſtency was the diſpoſal of the forces. The king of Pruſſia, they ſaid, was paid for the aſſiſtance he afforded: by receiving the ſubſidy, he ceaſed to be a principal; and by ceaſing to be a principal, he loſt the privilege of command. By the wiſdom of our miniſters, however, both theſe contradictory claims had been allowed. They paid him the money on one pretence, and reſigned the conduct of his army to him on the other.

The ſame doubts were expreſſed here as had been advanced in the other houſe concerning the integrity of that monarch, and the ſame ſtrictures paſſed on the weak and ruinous policy of ſubſidizing every power that choſe to ſecede from the common cauſe, however intereſted they might be themſelves. In this manner, it was ſaid, we might be called upon with equal plauſibility by Spain, Auſtria, Holland, and even Ruſſia, till at length our own finances would be as much reduced as theirs, with the additional calamity that we ſhould have no Great Britain to recur to for relief.

When the vote of credit for £.2,500,000. to enable his Majeſty

jesty to make good his engagement with the king of Prussia, and to defray other charges, came for the final sanction of the house, these objections were repeated and amplified, upon Mr. Sheridan's proposing as an amendment, to leave out of the motion all mention of the subsidy, but were treated by the ministry rather as the language of peevishness and passion than of manly caution. It was certainly not impossible, they said, that Austria might threaten to withdraw her armies unless assisted by our money; but they appealed to her zealous hearty efforts in the preceding campaigns as a full proof that she was playing no tricking underhand game. It was not impossible that the king of Prussia might violate his faith, and pocket our money without fulfilling his bargain; but the same objection would have force against any contract whatsoever, and mankind might be thus cut off from all intercourse with one another through mutual mistrust. This, however, was weak and frivolous captiousness, unworthy of a statesman. The true question for consideration was, first, whether the purchased aid was desirable; and then, whether the terms were prudent on which it was procured. On both these points the house seemed satisfied, and the amendment was rejected by a majority of 82 to 32.

April 4. Amongst the singular proceedings which had lately marked the parliamentary conduct of lord Stanhope, was a resolution he proposed for the adoption of the house, after a long premeditated speech, in which he condemned the war with what he termed the cruel and horrid object of it, the restoration of monarchy in France, and quoted nearly a whole chapter from the Bible [1 Samuel, ch. viii.] to prove that kings were considered by Scripture as a curse upon mankind. What the resolution itself was, can only be judged from the tenor of the speech; for its language was such as could not well be made public, the lord-chancellor himself entreating the House to spare him the pain of reading the preamble, a favour which was readily allowed him; and declaring that if the noble earl had used the same language in any other place, it would have called for exemplary punishment.

So general and so evident was the indignation of the house at hearing the resolution read, that lord Grenville said he would not insult their lordships understandings nor disgrace his own by arguing against it; and after it had been negatived by every voice, except the mover's, he observed, that as the object clearly was to place this language on record, he hoped to defeat that purpose also, by moving that the resolution be expunged from the journals of the house. This motion was carried in the same manner, lord Stanhope in vain remonstrating against the proceeding.

April 7. Within a few days, however, one advocate did at length appear on the side of the noble earl, and a warm debate ensued. Lord Lauderdale, who was absent on the former occasion, complained that the privileges of the house had been grossly violated, by the chancellor's omitting the preamble when he

read the reſolution from the chair; and having argued this point at great length, concluded with moving, in the words of the ſtanding order, "That any motion propoſed by any lord of parliament, "and given to the ſpeaker of that "houſe, ought to be put in the "words given by the mover, and "the queſtion of *content*, or *not* "*content*, decided upon it in that "form."

This was admitted to be a truiſm by lord Thurlow; but he, as well as many other lords, contended that the houſe undoubtedly poſſeſſed a diſcretionary power to alter the words or form of any motion, at the ſuggeſtion of the chair; and that, in the inſtance alluded to, this power was exerciſed, for the approbation of the houſe was unequivocally expreſſed. In order therefore to avoid coming to a needleſs deciſion on the principle, which none diſputed, a motion for adjournment was made by lord Caernarvon, and carried nem. con.

CHAP. XI.

Further proceedings of the ſeditious ſocieties; their rage at the convictions in Scotland; public meeting of the Correſponding Society; their addreſs to the people; they appoint a committee to watch the proceedings of government; and, in certain caſes, to call a general convention; theſe acts fully adopted and exceeded by the Society for Conſtitutional Information; a committee of co-operation formed by the two ſocieties; their exertions to form a national convention; the Society of Friends of the People do not agree in this meaſure; public meetings in the open air, at Chalk-farm near London, at Sheffield, and various other places; pikes ordered, and men trained to the uſe of arms; the ſecretaries of the two ſocieties, and ſeveral conſpicuous members, apprehended and committed for trial. The King's meſſage to Parliament on the ſubject; papers laid before Parliament; referred to a committee of ſecrecy; their firſt report; Mr. Pitt moves for leave to bring in a bill to ſuſpend the Habeas Corpus Act; oppoſed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Sheridan, and ſeveral others; anſwered by Mr. Burke and the attorney-general; leave given to bring in the bill; it is read a firſt and ſecond time; the houſe divided twelve times. Debate on the third reading; Mr. Jekyll reads an extract from a ſpeech on a ſimilar occaſion in 1722. Speech of Mr. Grey againſt the bill; anſwer of Mr. Canning; obſervations of Mr. Lambton, Mr. Courtenay, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Windham; obſervations on the Society of Friends of the People; ſpeech of Mr. Fox; anſwer of Mr. Pitt; obſervations of Mr. Thomſon; the bill paſſed. The King's meſſage referred to a committee of the Houſe of Lords; ſpeech of Lord Grenville on bringing up a report; anſwer of Lord Stanhope; ſpeeches of Lord Lauderdale, the Earl of Derby, and the Marquis of Lanſdowne; anſwered by the Lord-chancellor, Lord Thurlow, and ſeveral other lords; the bill ſent from the Commons, proceeded on; proteſts againſt it. Lord Grenville brings up a ſecond report; and moves an addreſs, which is carried, without a diviſion. Second report of the committee of the Houſe of Commons; great

great pains taken by members of oppoſition in both houſes to ſhew that they, and the ſocieties to which they belonged, had no connection with the ſeditious ſocieties and their convention; an addreſs to the King moved in the Houſe of Commons, and after ſome ineffectual propoſals of amendment, carried.

THE fate of the promoters of ſedition in Scotland did not intimidate or warn thoſe who were engaged in the ſame cauſe in England; but, on the contrary, in proportion as they had reaſon to believe that government viewed their proceedings with diſpleaſure, and was prepared to exert the force of the law in reſtraining their miſchievous deſigns, they became more and more explicit in their avowals, and daring in their conduct.

When the verdicts in Scotland were made known, the leaders of the Conſtitutional and Correſponding Societies in London, ſeem to have been principally alarmed leſt their followers, terrified by the apprehenſion of a ſimilar fate, ſhould ſhrink from the perilous cauſe in which they were engaged. Theſe leaders profeſſed an intention to form, by means of their own, a ſeparate popular legiſlature, in oppoſition to that eſtabliſhed by the conſtitution. After the conviction of Skirving, the Correſponding Society reſolved to have, on the day preceding the opening of parliament, a public meeting, and a public dinner. In their letters announcing this intention, they did not conceal their deſire to ſtimulate their adherents to ſome ſtrong reſolutions and violent acts. "Now is the time," it was ſaid in the letter from the ſecretary of the Correſponding to the ſecretary of the Conſtitutional Society, "for "us to do ſomething worthy of "men; the brave defenders of "liberty, ſouth of the Engliſh "channel, are performing won-"ders, driving their enemies be-"fore them like chaff before the "whirlwind." And the Conſtitutional Society, by a ſeries of reſolutions, aſſimilated the judges in Scotland to judge Jefferys, and denounced againſt them a ſimilar fate.

Jan. 11.

Jan. 17.

The meeting of the Correſponding Society was unuſually numerous, and the proceedings were in uniſon with the temper diſplayed by thoſe who promoted the aſſembly. An addreſs to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, which had been previouſly prepared, was read and agreed to, and 100,000 copies ordered to be printed and circulated. In this paper, all the grievances which the writers of it could ſelect or imagine were recapitulated, ending with the convention act in Ireland, and the ſuppreſſion of the convention in Scotland. Then applying theſe events to England, the addreſs concluded in theſe terms: "Conſider, it is one and "the ſame corrupt and corrupting influence which at this time "domineers in Ireland, Scotland, "and England. Can you believe "that thoſe who ſend virtuous "Iriſhmen and Scotchmen fettered "with felons to Botany Bay, do "not meditate and will not at-

Jan. 20.

" tempt to seize the first moment " to send us after them? Or, if " we had not just cause to appre- " hend the same inhuman treat- " ment; if, instead of the most " imminent danger, we were in " perfect safety from it; should " we not disdain to enjoy any " liberty or privilege whatever, " in which our honest Irish and " Scotch brethren did not equal- " ly and as fully participate with " us? Their cause then and ours " is the same; and it is both our " duty and our interest to stand " or fall together. The Irish par- " liament and the Scotch judges, " actuated by the same English " influence, have brought us di- " rectly to the point. There is no " farther step beyond that which " they have taken. We are at " issue. We must now choose at " once either liberty or slavery for " ourselves and our posterity. Will " you wait till *barracks* are erect- " ed in every village, and till *sub-* " *sidized* Hessians and Hanoverians " are upon us?

" You may ask, perhaps, by " what means shall we seek re- " dress?

" We answer, that men in a " state of civilized society are " bound to seek redress of the " grievances from the laws; as " long as any redress can be ob- " tained by the laws. But our " common master whom we serve " (whose law is a law of liberty, " and whose service is perfect free- " dom) has taught us not to ex- " pect to gather grapes from " thorns, nor figs from thistles. " We must have redress from our " own laws, and not from the " laws of our plunderers, enemies, " and oppressors. *There is no re-* " *dress for a nation circumstanced* " *as we are, but in a fair, free, and* " *full representation of the people.*"

They also passed a resolution, that during the ensuing session of parliament, the general committee of the society should meet daily, for the purpose of watching the proceedings of the parliament, and of the administration of the government of this country. And that, upon the first introduction of any bill, or motion, inimical to the liberties of the people, such as, *for landing foreign troops in Great Britain or Ireland*, for suspending the *Habeas Corpus Act*, for proclaiming *martial law*, or *for preventing the people from meeting in societies for constitutional information*; or any other *innovation* of a similar nature; that, on any of these emergencies, the general committee should issue summonses to the delegates of each division, and also to the secretaries of the different societies affiliated and corresponding with their society, forthwith to call a *general convention* of the *people*, to be held at such place, and in such manner, as should be specified in the summons, for the purpose of taking such measures into their consideration.

The acts of the Corresponding Society were formally sanctioned and avowed by the Society for Constitutional Information, which passed a re- Jan. 24. solution that the above *excellent* address should be inserted in their book of minutes, and the King's speech to *his* Parliament under it. The two societies were to be drawn into closer connexion by means of committees of co-operation, and

as

as government ſtill appeared to diſregard their meaſures, they became more open and explicit; their reſolutions pointed at vengeance to be inflicted on ſome eminent political characters; their anonymous publications, ſuch as ſongs and hand-bills, pronounced ſentence of death on the King and royal family, the epiſcopacy and the nobility; and even in the periodical meetings it was not unuſual to diſcourſe of a revolutionary tribunal, as the only one befitting the preſent ſtate of the country. The ſpeedy aſſembling of a new and more extenſive national convention became a favourite ſpeculation, and it was to be formed of delegates deputed for that purpoſe, from the different ſocieties of the friends of freedom. They pronounced, that the critical moment was arrived, when a full and explicit declaration was neceſſary from all the friends of freedom; whether the late illegal and unheard of proſecutions and ſentences ſhould determine them to abandon their cauſe, or ſhould excite them to purſue a radical reform, with an ardour proportioned to the magnitude of the object; and the ſocieties were to determine whether it was neceſſary to call a ſpeedy convention, for which, they ſaid, they had fixed on a central ſpot. In this meaſure, all the ſocieties which were conſulted did not acquieſce; the Friends of the People particularly expreſſed their diſſent; but they who promoted the plan did not relax their efforts; publications were multiplied, public meetings were convened in the open air, particularly at a tavern near London called Chalk-farm, and at various places in the country, as Sheffield, Leeds, Wakefield, and many others. At each of theſe the conſpicuous members of the Correſponding Society attended; they made harangues, encouraging forcible reſiſtance to government; and it was known that orders had been given for the manufacture of a large quantity of pikes, and that ſome, though not very ample, means were adopted for training men to the uſe of arms.

Poſſeſſed of the knowledge of ſome of theſe facts from public notoriety, and of many more from ſecret information, government thought it was now time to interfere. In Edinburgh, a ſeizure was made of a conſiderable number of military weapons; and in London, Mr. Hardy and Mr. Adams, the ſecretaries to the Correſponding and Conſtitutional Societies, were apprehended, and their books and papers ſecured. In conſequence of the further information diſcloſed by theſe documents, ſeveral other individuals were arreſted; and after an examination before the privy council, the following were committed to priſon to take their trial: Thomas Hardy, and Daniel Adams; Mr. John Horn Tooke; the reverend Jeremiah Joyce, private ſecretary to lord Stanhope, and tutor to his ſon lord Mahon; John Thelwall, an active member of the Correſponding Society, and who gained a livelihood by reading public lectures on political ſubjects; John Auguſtus Bonney, an attorney; John Richter, and John Lovett, to whom ſome others were afterward added. May.

On the ſame day in which the members of May 12.

the obnoxious ſocieties were arreſted, a meſſage was brought down to the Houſe by Mr. Dundas, ſtating that his Majeſty having received information that ſeditious practices had lately been carried on by certain ſocieties in London, and different parts of the kingdom, with increaſed activity and boldneſs, whoſe avowed object was to aſſemble a pretended general convention, in contempt and defiance of parliament, on principles ſubverſive of the conſtitution, and tending to introduce that ſyſtem of anarchy which had prevailed in France, had given directions for ſeizing the books and papers of thoſe ſocieties, and for laying them before the houſe. That his Majeſty recommended to the houſe to take ſuch meaſures thereupon as might be neceſſary for the public ſafety.

The next day, a large packet containing theſe papers was preſented to the houſe by Mr. Dundas, which, on the motion of the miniſter, were referred to a ſecret committee of twenty-one members, to be appointed by ballot: Mr. Fox ſtarted ſome objections to a committee of ſecrecy, which Mr. Pitt anſwered by citing the precedent of Layer's plot in 1722. Mr. Fox wiſhed alſo to be ſatisfied in what manner the papers were obtained, becauſe it had been declared by the houſe, in Wilkes's caſe, that the ſeizure of papers, except for treaſon or felony, was illegal. Mr. Dundas replied, that the warrants were grounded on allegations for treaſonable practices.

May 13.

The committee was balloted for on the following day; and, on the 16th, Mr. Pitt brought up the firſt report, which contained a hiſtory of the ſocieties for conſtitutional information and the London Correſponding Society, from the year 1791, with a general view of their tranſactions during that period. The report having been read by the clerk, Mr. Pitt, as the mouth of the committee, declared it to be their opinion that a plot, of the moſt atrocious and alarming nature, had been digeſted and matured, for aſſembling a convention that ſhould aſſume to itſelf all the characters and offices of government, and uſurp the whole legal juriſdiction of the country. That its object, therefore, could be no leſs than the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, the annihilation of parliaments, and the deſtruction of the king himſelf. If the houſe ſhould agree with the committee in this concluſion, they would ſee that not one moment was to be loſt in arming the executive power with every means, to ſtop the further progreſs of the plot, and baffle its execution.

May 14.

The report, he ſaid, was in a great meaſure introductory, but that it contained ample proof of the extent and enormity of the deſign. That notwithſtanding the attachment to the conſtitution, which is occaſionally expreſſed, it appeared from a letter of theirs to the ſociety at Norwich, that parliamentary reform was only a maſk aſſumed by theſe ſocieties to cover their real object.

They ſtiled the convention which met at Edinburgh, "the repreſentatives of the people;" and when ſome of its members ſuffered under the juſt ſentence of the law, they boldly aſſerted their innocence, and

and made their condemnation the signal, as they termed it, of coming to iſſue on the point, "whether the law ſhould frighten them "into compliance, or they ſhould "oppoſe it with their own weapons, to wit, force and power?" Adverting then to the London Correſponding Society, he obſerved, that contemptible though its members were, it would be found that they were formidable in proportion to the meanneſs of their characters. This ſociety, conſiſting chiefly of the lower orders, had within it the means of unbounded extenſion; it had riſen already to no leſs than thirty diviſions in London, ſome of thoſe conſiſting of ſix hundred perſons, and was connected with ſocieties eſtabliſhed in all the principal manufacturing towns.

About ſix weeks ago this ſociety had laid, in due form, before the ſociety for Conſtitutional Information, a plan for aſſembling a convention for all England; which period he conſidered as a new era in the hiſtory of inſurrection. Within a few weeks the plan was to have been effected, and a central ſpot was fixed on, for the purpoſe of more conveniently collecting the delegates, as they aſſerted in their circular letter, which they would not venture to name until they had aſſurances of fidelity. From that period they had not ceaſed to act on the ſame horrible plan; and he added, that towards the cloſe of the report, allegations were ſtated on no light or trivial grounds, and would become the ſubject of future inveſtigation, that arms had been procured and diſtributed by theſe ſocieties in the hands of thoſe people whom they had been ſtriving to corrupt; and that, at this moment, they ſhewed themſelves immoveably bent on the purſuit of their purpoſes, and diſplayed preparations for reſiſtance. Mr. Pitt remarked, that it had been uſual, in time of danger, to enact a temporary ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* laws, ſince, on ſome occaſions, the temporary ſacrifice was as eſſential to the preſervation of the conſtitution, as the maintenance of its principle was at all others. He accordingly concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill to empower his Majeſty to ſecure and detain all ſuch perſons as ſhall be ſuſpected of conſpiring againſt his perſon and government.

A very long and general oppoſition to this meaſure was commenced by Mr. Fox, who obſerved, that the report contained no one fact which they had not known long before, and which had not been the burden of newſpapers, not only for months but for years. He condemned the inference drawn by the committee, that the object of theſe ſocieties was to overthrow the government. Under the expreſs terms of legal and conſtitutional methods, they had ſhewn themſelves the friends of peace, and in no one inſtance had they belied their profeſſions. The word convention, it ſeemed, was that which had excited ſo much alarm; but to ſhew that ſuch a convention was not illegal, Mr. Fox declared, that he had himſelf formerly belonged to a convention of delegates, correſponding with ſocieties in Yorkſhire, and elſewhere; that they had petitioned parliament; and

and though the houſe had refuſed to recognize them in the character of delegates, yet they allowed that they had a right to petition for themſelves, and therefore received their petition.

The Roman Catholics alſo in Ireland had a convention, and ſucceeded by it. Their delegates were moſt graciouſly received by his Majeſty; and their petition, when backed in this manner, was acceded to by the houſe, though it had before been ſupported only by twenty-five votes. He did not contend that the convention in queſtion was meritorious, but ſimply that it was legal; and it would be dangerous for the houſe to declare it otherwiſe. Even if they had for their object the views aſcribed to them, he averred that the meaſure now recommended was infinitely more miſchievous than the evil it propoſed to remedy. It went to overturn the corner ſtone of the conſtitution, and he ſhould conſider it his duty to oppoſe it in every ſtage.

Several other members, Mr. M. Robinſon, Mr. Martin, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Harriſon, and Mr. Grey, expreſſed their aſtoniſhment at the inſignificant nature of the report, which, they ſaid, contained nothing but trumpery papers that had been publiſhed long ago; and if worthy of notice, ought to have been attend to laſt year. Mr. Sheridan remarked, with ſome aſperity, on the impatience of the miniſter and his friends. He ridiculed the mighty diſcoveries of the committee, which he named the committee of public ſafety, and the opening ſpeech of the *Britiſh Barrere*. If the papers brought forward were criminal, why did not the attorney-general proſecute upon them, particularly that ſigned by Martin, which ſeemed the moſt exceptionable? Were there not laws adequate to the puniſhment of all offenders? He, for one, believed that no treaſonable practices exiſted in the country; that miniſters knew the ſame; and that their only aim was, by creating ſome new panic, to gain a continuance of power over the people. The name of convention had frequently been given to meetings held for the purpoſe of petitioning parliament, and had never till now been deemed illegal. In Scotland, the lord advocate had preſided at a convention for a reform in county elections; and Mr. Burke himſelf had ſo far concurred in the Iriſh catholic convention, that his ſon acted as their agent. Beſides, if any real danger was apprehended from theſe ſocieties, why not confine the operation of the bill to them? why ſhould the liberties of the whole nation be ſurrendered for the faults of a few?

Mr. Burke replied to the example cited by Mr. Fox, of the Iriſh catholic petition, by obſerving that Mr. Fox was not ſuch a fool as not to know that the inſtance was totally irrelevant; for he was undoubtedly nothing leſs than a fool, except when he choſe, like the elder Brutus, to aſſume the diſguiſe of idiotcy, the better to aſſert the liberties of his country. The Iriſh catholics preſented a reſpectful petition to the houſe, through "a meeting of delegates," to whom they did *not* give the name of a convention. Their object was a ſpecial and avowed one, whereas

whereas the convention to which this bill referred, meant to erect itself into a paramount power over the constituted authorities of the realm.

After some observations from the attorney-general, in which he declared, that if he had been able to trace the combination which appeared in the committee, he would certainly have prosecuted the publishers of the resolutions signed Martin. The house divided on the question of bringing in the bill. Ayes 201, Noes 39.

It was then moved to be read a first and second time, and to be referred to a committee. Many severe animadversions fell from Mr. Grey, and others, on the indecent haste with which the ministers pressed so important a business. An attempt was made to obtain a call of the house, but, besides the delay it would cause, it was observed, that much fuller numbers could not be expected than had met on this occasion. The opposition, however, the more strongly to mark their disapprobation, persevered in dividing the house no less than twelve times after the main question; and it was half past three in the morning before the house adjourned.

On the following day, the whole strength and ability of the party was again called forth to oppose the third reading of the bill. Mr. Pitt not being early in his attendance, a motion of adjournment was made, not without some reflections on the impropriety of his absence. This was negatived; but, before the main discussion, a desultory debate took place; Mr. Jekyll entertained the house with reading a few extracts from Mr. Booth's speech against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in 1722. After complaining that an itch for imprisoning persons, on idle pretences, was an infirmity that ran in the blood of a privy counsellor, "in our country," said Mr. Booth, "when a man makes "a mighty stir about nothing, we "say, *Billy has found a pin.*"

The question being at length put for the third reading, Mr. Grey opened his attack with observing, that the manner in which the committee had been appointed, did not deserve the name of a ballot. They appeared to be either deceived themselves, or to wish to deceive others, and to draw in the house as parties to the imposture. He vindicated the societies, against which the bill was directed, by the example of the meetings, held in 1782, under the auspices of the minister. The professed object of each was to apply to the people for the purpose of obtaining a parliamentary reform: And what further proof, he asked, was there in the latter instance than in the former, that they meant to supersede the authority of parliament?

Mr. Grey indulged in a strain of the most violent invective against the political conduct of Mr. Pitt, accusing him of duplicity and apostacy throughout; and declaring his belief that the present measure was urged with so much dispatch, only because the minister knew that if he did not carry it by stealth, the public would not suffer it to pass at all.

Mr. Canning having replied with much spirit to these charges, proceeded to argue on the precedent of 1722, when, he said, the house acted

acted on much leſs evidence than in the preſent caſe. At that time, the danger was announced only in a meſſage from the crown; whereas now, the meſſage was confirmed in full by the report of a ſecret committee. To this, it was anſwered by Mr. Lambton and Mr. Courtenay, that, in 1722, Sir Robert Walpole ſtated to the houſe, that an application had been made by the conſpirators for 5000 foreign troops, but nothing of the kind was pretended now. The latter gentleman, moreover, took a view of moſt of the precedents which had occurred ſince the Reſolution, and argued, that the circumſtances of all differed widely from the preſent occaſion. When James II., he ſaid, was aſſiſted by the moſt powerful and ambitious monarch in Europe; when, in the reigns of George I. and II., two rebellions menaced the throne, not to have ſuſpended the Habeas Corpus Act, would have been the extreme of political folly. In the laſt war, when the ſame precaution was taken, a clauſe was inſerted, which ſtill ſecured to Engliſhmen the enjoyment of their liberty. If it was ſuppoſed that we might ſafely entruſt this power with the miniſters, relying on their diſcretion and humanity, he appealed to the unheard-of rigour with which Meſſrs. Muir and Palmer had been treated, whoſe humbleſt petition for mercy had been diſregarded, as a ſpecimen of moderation we might expect from them.

Mr. Dundas obſerved in reply, that the Habeas Corpus Act had been ſuſpended no leſs than nine times ſince the Revolution, and no man or hiſtorian had ever aſſerted that the conſequences were injurious to the conſtitution. With regard to the precedents of 1715 and 1745, he declared that he would much rather meet the force of a foreign enemy, or an open rebellion, than have to counteract the ſecret poiſon of domeſtic conſpirators. Mr. Dundas repelled the charge of inhumanity, in the moſt ſatisfactory manner. He poſitively denied that any petition for mercy had been preſented by either of the parties, and declared that every indulgence that could be extended to them, conſiſtently with his duty, had been granted.

It was ſtill contended by Mr. Sheridan, that all the precedents were ſo diſſimilar in their nature, as not to juſtify the preſent meaſure. The ſocieties alluded to were far from diſſeminating ſecret poiſon. That they met in gardens, fields, and public houſes, converſing and debating in the moſt open manner; that every document on which the committee proceeded, had already been publiſhed by themſelves: but the method now adopted was, he affirmed, much more likely to produce a real conſpiracy; for, whatever the purpoſe of the ſocieties was, they had only to purſue it, for the future, in a more cautious manner, in order to elude the government. The report of the committee he reprobated as a political artifice, the more to be condemned, becauſe it contradicted every aſſertion which had lately been made by government concerning the ſafety of the country. At the cloſe of the laſt, and the opening of the preſent ſeſſion, his Majeſty was made to rejoice, that all attempts againſt the conſtitution had been completely

pletely checked by the ſteady loyalty of his ſubjects. Since that time, ſaid Mr. Sheridan, the hands of government have been ſtrengthened by the alien bill, the traitorous correſpondence bill, the new levies, &c.; and yet we are called upon now to declare that his Majeſty has been utterly miſtaken, and that nothing will preſerve the government, unleſs it be inveſted with the exerciſe of arbitrary power. Having aſſerted that the ſentiments of the ſocieties ſprung from the doctrines held by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Burke, and the duke of Richmond; and that it was ungenerous in them to treat their proſelytes with rigour. He concluded with obſerving, that if the bill ſhould paſs into a law, he and his friends ſhould deem it prudent to diſcontinue their attendance at the houſe.

On the other hand, Mr. Windham expreſſed himſelf ſurprized that any man of common ſenſe could ſuppoſe that parliamentary reform was any thing elſe than a maſk to conceal the moſt atrocious jacobinical deſigns. The reform intended was, he believed, like the ſweeping amendments, not unuſual in that houſe, for leaving out every thing but the word "that." In allusion to what had been ſaid, on the ſimilarity of the miniſter's conduct, to that of the ruling party in France, Mr. Windham obſerved, that the ſimilitude was the ſame as that of captain Fluellin's hero, in Shakſpeare, to Alexander the Great; becauſe "there is a river "in Macedon, and there is a "river in Wales,—and there is "ſalmon in both." If, ſaid he, gentlemen call us a "committee "of public ſafety," may we not call them a committee of jacobins? If we are accuſed of forwarding deſpotiſm, may we not conſider them the partizans of anarchy?

It may not be improper here to remark, that frequent mention was made, during this debate, of the ſociety of "the friends of the "people;" of the riſe and formation of which, we gave ſome account in our volume for 1792. Mr. Grey ſeemed anxious to remove any ſuſpicion that they acted in concert with other political ſocieties; and the miniſtry were by no means deſirous of faſtening ſuch an imputation on them. Mr. Dundas indeed gave credit to its founder for having ceaſed to exert himſelf in the cauſe of parliamentary reform, adding, that the queſtion had now got into other hands; and reminding him of the caution he had formerly received, that it was much eaſier to agitate a queſtion of difficulty, than to regulate its diſcuſſion. Mr. Grey however took occaſion to ſay, that his refraining to bring forward that propoſition, did not proceed from any ſenſe of its being ill-timed or improper, but merely becauſe he had no hopes at preſent of ſucceſs.

One obſervation which fell from Mr. Windham, ſeemed to rouſe all that vehemence and ardour of which Mr. Fox's nature is ſuſceptible. Mr. Windham had ſaid, that government muſt keep pace with the neceſſity of the times; and that, if the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act ſhould be found inadequate for the purpoſe, more efficacious means muſt be tried. Good God! exclaimed Mr. Fox, what more is to be done after this?

this? Will they proceed ſtill further in their horrid mimicry of the jacobin rulers of France? They may diſclaim the compariſon, if they pleaſe; but the reſemblance is real. They, like them, fabricate ſtories of plots and conſpiracies; like them, they make terror the order of the day, in order to obtain a tyrannical ſway over the whole nation.

From the pretended convention, he maintained, no danger could be apprehended. If they meant to overawe the government, at this moment of unprecedented ſtrength, they were fit for bedlam, and bedlam only. If, on the contrary, their object really was, what they profeſſed it to be, and what he had no reaſon to diſbelieve, namely, to petition for a parliamentary reform, however he might diſapprove of the particular plan which they propoſed, the object was not only harmleſs, but conformable to the true eſſence and ſpirit of the conſtitution. The jealouſy of the people was the beſt ſecurity for the honeſty of parliament; and for the people to watch over the conduct of parliament, no more argued a deſign to ſuperſede its functions, than the vigilance of parliament over the executive power, indicated a diſreſpect for the perſon or authority of the ſovereign.

He candidly acknowledged that recent events had worked a change in his mind, and corrected ſeveral opinions that he had formerly held. He had once deſpiſed the ſentiment, "Iniquiſſimam pacem juſtiſſimo bello antifero;" but he was ready to ſay, that he could hardly frame to himſelf the condition of a people in which he would not rather covet to continue, than adviſe them to fly to arms. But if the preſent ſyſtem of oppreſſion ſhould, as had been threatened, be perſiſted in, the next ſtep might be a privation of trial by jury; and he did not know but he ſhould prefer any change to ſuch a tyranny as that.

The impolicy moreover of this proceeding, both at home and abroad, Mr. Fox contended, was equal to its iniquity. Here it would exaſperate the minds of the people, engender diſcontent, and ſpirit them up to reſiſtance. Power never could controul opinions, and perſecution generally confirmed them. With reſpect to France, what muſt be the joy, he aſked, excited there? How triumphantly would Barrere hold forth this as a proof, that all the ſtories he had propagated reſpecting England are true. How would their project of invaſion be promoted by the news that an inſurrection was ready to break out in their favour! That the French party was become ſo formidable as to threaten the exiſtence of the government, and had driven it to the deſperate reſource of ſuſpending the conſtitution, in order to counteract their efforts!

Mr. Pitt recalled the houſe to a true conſideration of the caſe before them; he declared, the conſtitution of the country was not to be ſuſpended; that to ſay the paſſing of this bill would at once take away the rights of the people and the privileges of parliament, was unfair and falſe. The object was ſimply to inveſt the executive government with a diſcretionary power for about ſix months; to ſecure perſons, upon well-grounded ſuſpicions, without bringing them

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to trial. So far from imitating, as was ſaid, the deteſtable uſurpers of France, the miniſters were following the wholeſome examples of their anceſtors; they were reſiſting French crimes by Engliſh principles. It was for the houſe to conſider, therefore, whether the emergency of the occaſion was ſuch as to demand the ſacrifice propoſed. Did gentlemen, he aſked, who complained of the ſeverity of this meaſure, imagine that, if a jacobin convention were once eſtabliſhed, its progreſs would be checked by indulgence and conceſſion?

That the people had a right to aſſemble for legal purpoſes, and to petition parliament, was a propoſition never diſputed, and the aſſertion of it totally irrelevant to the preſent ſubject.

Mr. Pitt read many of the papers contained in the report, to ſhew, that a reform in parliament, was neither in the minds nor in the mouths of theſe ſocieties; and argued, from the whole tenor of their proceedings, that their object was to reſiſt and overturn the government. As to the complaint, that nothing new was contained in the report, he obſerved, that whether the proofs were new or old, provided they ſubſtantiated the grounds upon which the alarm took place, it was but of little conſequence. However, ſome of the moſt important diſcoveries were not old, particularly the Norwich correſpondence, in which the general intention of aſſembling a convention was brought to light. The fact of arms being prepared, though given cautiouſly by the committee at firſt, becauſe they had not time to inveſtigate the affair fully, was new alſo; and the committee were now convinced that they ſhould ſoon obtain further information on the ſubject.

With reſpect to the impolicy of this proceeding, he ſaid, that the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act was the very firſt ſignal the conſpirators had agreed on for putting their deſigns in practice. What effect the paſſing of this bill would have before their doctrines were promulgated, or their ſchemes ripe for execution, might eaſily be gueſſed. And if it tended to the confuſion and diſcomfiture of domeſtic traitors, it could furniſh no very flattering hopes to our enemies, who had reckoned on their co-operation.

Before the diviſion, Mr. Thomſon declared, that the ſociety for conſtitutional information, to which he belonged, had objected to the term convention, and had paſſed a reſolution not to ſend any delegates. As no notice was taken in the report of this reſolution, much harſh language was uſed againſt the committee. Some gentlemen contended that it proved the whole to be a forgery and an impoſture, ſimilar to the plot of Titus Oates. This altercation continued with great violence, until, upon a re-examination of the papers, it was allowed by the miniſter that an error did exiſt, but that it was neither intended nor important. Many members, ſatisfied with having given their votes on the queſtion for adjournment, having retired in the courſe of the evening, the numbers, on paſſing the bill, were, Ayes, 146; Noes, 28.

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The ſame buſineſs was intro-
May 17. duced into the upper houſe by a ſimilar meſſage from the King; and ſhortly after, the report of the committee of the houſe of commons was referred to a ſecret committee of the lords, who declared themſelves ſatisfied of the truth of the facts and opinions contained in it.

Lord Grenville then proceeded
May 22. to trace, in a ſummary manner, the hiſtory of that conſpiracy which exiſted in the kingdom, and to comment on the proceedings of the two political ſocieties, from the year 1792 to the preſent time. He particularly noticed their ſtudied imitations of the jacobin party in France; their adoption of all their phraſes, and all their forms, in tranſacting buſineſs; their addreſſes to the national convention, in which they expreſſed their unqualified approbation of all its acts; as well as their hopes that a ſimilar convention would be ſoon eſtabliſhed in England. They were indefatigable, he ſaid, in their endeavours, by diſperſing ſeditious publications, to alienate the minds of the people from the King and Parliament. They had diſclaimed, in explicit terms, their regard for the laws of this country, which they termed the laws of their plunderers and oppreſſors, profeſſing to ſeek for redreſs only from their own laws. And if any thing was yet wanting to convince the moſt incredulous, of their treaſonable intentions, it appeared that they had already begun to provide arms for their adherents.

His lordſhip propoſed, therefore, that the houſe would, with all convenient ſpeed, forward the bill which had been ſent up to them from the commons, in order to arm the executive government with that power which had been uſually intruſted to it in times of public danger. If it were alleged that the obſcurity of the agents in this conſpiracy removed all juſt ground of alarm, he anſwered, that wherever there was a conſpiracy, there muſt be a danger. If we looked into the page of hiſtory, we ſhould find that the overthrow of all governments had been effected by obſcure individuals. In France, the majority were adverſe to a revolution. Robeſpierre himſelf was regarded, for a time, as a madman, in the national aſſembly; and, previous to the great rebellion, Cromwell was conſidered as a deſpicable character, until he roſe to eminence amidſt the general convulſion. It was want of early caution, and vigorous meaſures, in the executive government, that enabled deſperate men to ſucceed; and he entreated the houſe to conſider the fall of the French monarchy as a leſſon.

On the other hand, the report of the committee was condemned by lord Stanhope as extremely unfair, and made up entirely againſt all the rules of evidence. Parts of their correſpondence, and thoſe the moſt unfavourable, were ſelected, and the favourable ones omitted. The ſocieties were accuſed of applauding the ſpeeches of Barrere and Roland, but not a word of thoſe ſpeeches was mentioned in the report. His lordſhip then compared the conduct of the ſocieties to that of the duke of Richmond in 1782, declaring that

the celebrated letter of his grace, to colonel Sharman, expreſſed the ſame reſolution of not applying to parliament for reform, as was imputed to them. Theſe, and many other objections which we noticed in the debates of the other houſe, were urged with great eloquence by lord Lauderdale, lord Derby, and the marquis of Lanſdowne. They affirmed, that on all former occaſions of a ſimilar nature, ſome direct or manifeſt neceſſity, either of treaſon or rebellion, was adduced. Nothing of the kind was done now. They were told of ſocieties who conſpired againſt the ſtate; but the only proofs aſſigned were, that they had ſpoke and acted after the example of perſons now poſſeſſing the higheſt offices and rank in the country. The duke of Richmond's letter was ſtated to contain the ſame doctrines with Paine's pamphlets; and the language of the ſocieties to be a cloſe imitation of Mr. Burke's letter to his conſtituents at Briſtol.

With reſpect to the providing of arms, ſome mention of it had been tacked on to the end of the report; how did the committee know, but that the object was to furniſh each houſe with a muſket, in order to reſiſt the dreadful outrages of a church and king mob?

Thoſe who ſupported the bill did not ſeem to think much pains neceſſary in order to confute theſe objections. They ſtated that there had been no conteſt about the principle. It had been admitted, that if there were a convention which aimed to give laws to parliament and the country, this meaſure would be wiſe and ſalutary. The only difference then between them was about the fact, whether it was intended only to petition for parliamentary reform, or to erect a power paramount to the government of the country. As ample evidence, that the former was merely a ſtalking horſe, to cover the latter, which was the real object, they appealed to the documents contained in the report. As to the numbers of the conſpirators, they could not pretend to ſpeak with accuracy; but they were at leaſt tenfold greater than thoſe who began the riots in 1780.

On the ſubject of precedents, there could not be one more in point than that of 1722; a caſe which differed only from the preſent, inaſmuch as the houſe did not then proceed on ſuch full information.

Lord Thurlow, as well as the lord chancellor, remarked, that a very general error ſeemed to prevail with reſpect to the extent of this bill, and that much of the extraneous matter brought forward in debate, aroſe from this miſtake. It was not, in fact, a ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act, though vulgarly ſo named; for that act would remain in full force if this bill ſhould paſs to-morrow. It gave no additional power to confine and detain ſuſpected perſons, but merely to delay, for a certain time, the bringing them to trial. All therefore that had been ſaid of its being a revolutionary meaſure, that it was a full indemnity to miniſters for all their acts; that it gave them the power of lettres de cachet, was idle declamation. Lord Thurlow ſaid, that from what he had ſeen of the report, there were many things

highly ſeditious, but he was not prepared to ſay that they amounted to treaſon. If indeed it could be ſhewn that the ſocieties intended to proſecute their ſyſtem by force, and in oppoſition to the known laws, there could be little doubt.

The other lords who ſpoke in favour of the bill were, lord Barrington, earl of Abingdon, earl of Caernarvon, marquis Townſhend, lord Sydney, duke of Leeds, and the earl of Mansfield. It was carried on the ſame night by a very great majority, there being, on a motion of adjournment, nine including two proxies; againſt it 108, including 11 proxies.

Two proteſts were entered againſt the bill; one ſigned by lord Stanhope, the other by the duke of Bedford, lords Albemarle, Lauderdale, and Derby.

On the 13th of June, lord Grenville brought up the ſecond report of the ſecret committee, in which they entered into a detail of the nature and deſigns of the Britiſh convention at Edinburgh, and their connexion with the Engliſh ſocieties: they ſtated that, upon the breaking up of the former, it was agreed that a new Britiſh convention ſhould be aſſembled in ſome central ſpot; that arms had been prepared for the purpoſe of reſiſting any interference of government to diſperſe them; and that as ſtrong a degree of evidence exiſted as the nature of the caſe would admit, that the aim of the leading conſpirators was to effect a revolution in this country, ſimilar to that of France. Having commented for ſome time on the contents of the report, his lordſhip moved an addreſs to his Majeſty, ſetting forth the concern which the houſe felt at this heinous conſpiracy, their wiſh to veſt additional powers in the executive government for the ſuppreſſion of ſuch crimes, and their readineſs to give energy and vigour to the law.

The addreſs met with ſome oppoſition from lord Lauderdale, who maintained, that if the conſpiracy had proceeded to this alarming height ſo long after it had been known to exiſt, miniſters were to blame for not having nipped it in the bud. He added, that this declaration was full of injuſtice, by prejudging the caſe of thoſe individuals, who were now impriſoned under charges connected with the conſpiracy, and were about to take their trial. The addreſs however was voted without a diviſion.

It is ſomewhat remarkable, that notwithſtanding the air of ridicule with which ſeveral members of both houſes treated the apprehenſions of the miniſtry, notwithſtanding their repeated declamations, that they believed the report of the committee to be a groundleſs calumny, and that no improper deſigns were in agitation againſt the ſtate, they yet betrayed the moſt delicate anxiety to detach themſelves, in the eyes of the public, from all connexion with thoſe ſocieties, whoſe conduct they had defended; and repelled, with a warmth that little leſs than the imputation of guilt could inſpire, even the moſt diſtant inſinuation of the ſort. Thus, in the preceding debate, lord Lauderdale replied with briſkneſs and aſperity to an ironical remark which fell from the other ſide of the houſe, that if

his lordſhip was able to give any other information to the committee reſpecting the ſocieties, they would liſten to it with pleaſure; and the following affair ſeemed to betray a ſimilar feeling among ſome members of the houſe of commons.

The ſecond report of the ſecret committee was brought up, and read to the houſe of commons, on the ſame day that the addreſs from the lords was ſent down to them for their concurrence. It began with a full developement, as far as information had been received, of that part of the conſpiracy which related to the providing of arms. It ſtated, that this ſcheme had advanced to the greateſt maturity in Scotland, where large orders for the ſecret fabrication of pikes had been iſſued, and people had aſſembled in conſiderable numbers during the nights, to practiſe the uſe of thoſe weapons. That ſimilar meaſures were preparing among the different ſocieties in England; that the propoſed form and dimenſions of the weapon were contained in two letters from the Sheffield ſociety to Mr. Hardy, and to the Norwich ſocieties; that the pretence on which theſe arms were recommended was, the danger to be apprehended from the introduction of foreign troops, and the violence of the oppoſite party. It then proceeded to detail ſo much of the tranſactions, reſolutions, addreſſes, and correſpondence of the different ſocieties, as tended to ſhew that they acted with one common deſign to aſſemble a general convention, for the purpoſe of aſſuming the legiſlative power. They had frequently declared that no allegiance was due to a government not conducted by the repreſentatives of the people; that the preſent parliament were not their repreſentatives; that they would petition them no more; and that they would ſeek for more effectual means to obtain redreſs. They had approved of and adopted Paine's pamphlets on the Rights of Man; and inſerted in their books copies of the ſpeeches delivered by Barrere, Roland, and St. André, in the French convention, in January 1793, which attribute ſupreme power to a convention formed in the manner they propoſed.

The Appendix contained authentic copies of all the papers on which were founded the facts and inferences mentioned in the Report. Among theſe were inſerted ſome communications to the Britiſh convention of delegates that met at Edinburgh, ſigned by Mr. Daniel Stuart, a gentleman who had acted in the capacity of ſecretary to the "friends of the people." The firſt contained a vote of thanks from that ſociety, to the convention, for their zeal and activity in the cauſe of parliamentary reform: the two others were merely on the ſubject of ſome publications and newſpapers, which it had been uſual for ſocieties of a ſimilar nature, to tranſmit to each other, through the medium of their ſecretary. However, previous to the reading of the report, a ſupplement was brought up by Mr. Pitt, containing a letter to him from Mr. Grey, with another ſigned by Mr. Daniel Stuart, and other papers. The report of this committee was to ſhew, that no intercourſe took place between the ſociety of the friends of the people and the Scotch convention, after

that ſociety aſſumed the name of the Britiſh convention. That the vote of thanks referred to their proceedings prior to December 1792; and that the letters of a date ſubſequent to this, were of a private perſonal nature, and not written by Mr. Stuart in his official capacity.

Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Grey complained, that the committee had acted unfairly in attempting to implicate the ſociety of the friends of the people in the charges brought againſt other ſocieties, and in bringing forward with this view the private ſentiments of the ſecretary as the language of the ſociety at large. Not indeed that they diſapproved of thoſe ſentiments, but the negligence, or the miſrepreſentation of which the committee were guilty in this inſtance, was enough, they ſaid, to ſhake the credit of all its aſſertions.

It was replied by Mr. Pitt, that the letters in queſtion bore the appearance of having been written under the direction of the ſociety, as they contained orders for newſpapers, &c. in their name. Beſides, it might not be improper for the houſe to know, what were the ſentiments expreſſed by a gentleman ſo highly in the confidence of the ſociety. The committee did what they thought their duty in detailing dates and circumſtances, and in leaving the concluſion to the houſe.

Upon the motion for agreeing to the addreſs, Mr. Pitt gave a ſhort and perſpicuous ſummary of the evidence that had been laid before the houſe relating to the conſpiracy, and declared himſelf ready, if any gentleman ſhould be inclined to diſpute any of the poſitions, to enter into a more particular diſcuſſion. He dwelt with peculiar energy on the diſcoveries lately made in Scotland, on the ſubject of arms; at the ſame time, expreſſing his hopes, from the eager and laudable ſolicitude which ſome gentlemen had ſhewn to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the ſocieties in that quarter, that the preſent queſtion would meet with unanimous concurrence. It was not, however, ſuffered to paſs without much animadverſion, and ſome attempts to introduce amendment in that part which declared the belief of the houſe in the exiſtence of a conſpiracy; becauſe, as Mr. Fox obſerved, a declaration to this effect, from ſuch high authority, would probably tend to prejudice the minds of a jury againſt the priſoners now under a charge of being acceſſary to the crime. The attorney-general replied in a manner that ſeemed to ſatisfy the houſe, that this had been the uniform practice in caſes of the ſame nature, and that no inference unfavourable to the priſoner had ever been drawn from it. Nay, it often happened that the houſe addreſſed his Majeſty to proſecute an individual, but it had never been imagined that the perſon ſo proſecuted did not meet with a fair trial. It would, moreover, he ſaid, be indecent in the houſe to refuſe an anſwer to information conveyed to them from the throne, which concerned the deareſt intereſts of the ſtate.

Almoſt all the former matter was again brought forward upon this occaſion, but rendered intereſting to the hearers, by that charm of eloquence with which Mr. Fox is ſo well able to adorn

every ſubject. Amongſt other ſtrictures on the conduct of adminiſtration, he alluded to the arguments uſed in ſupport of the war, accuſing them of perverting every circumſtance to the purpoſes of party influence, however contradictory to the common ſenſe and common obſervation of mankind. They would make us believe, ſaid he, that France is full of royaliſts, and England of republicans.

Whatever eagerneſs was ſhewn by the members of Mr. Grey's ſociety to ſeparate themſelves from the ſociety for conſtitutional information, the latter did not want an advocate in the houſe. Mr. Thomſon avowed that he belonged to it, and defied any perſon to point out what was treaſonable, or even ſeditious, in their proceedings; but Mr. Wharton, who had been alſo a member of that ſociety, declared, that he reprobated the conduct of many of its members, and voted heartily for the addreſs. It paſſed without a diviſion.

CHAPTER XII.

Motion in the houſe of lords reſpecting a ſuppoſed communication from lord Dorcheſter to the American Indians; obſervations of the marquis of Lanſdowne; and of lord Grenville; the motion negatived. A motion on the ſame ſubject offered by Mr. Sheridan, but withdrawn. Mr. Sheridan moves to admit Roman Catholics to hold commiſſions in the army and navy; the previous queſtion carried. Lord Hawkeſbury brings in a bill for improving the navigation laws; his ſpeech; the bill paſſes. Mr. Dundas's ſtatement of India affairs; his motion to enable the Eaſt India Company to add a million to their bond debt; oppoſed, but paſſes. Mr. Wilberforce moves for a bill to prevent the ſupply of foreign colonies with ſlaves brought from Africa in Britiſh veſſels; ſupported by Mr. Pitt and other members; oppoſed by various members; the bill brought in; petitions againſt it; debate on the ſecond reading; the bill paſſes the commons; motion of the biſhop of Rocheſter to refer the hearing of evidence to a committee; oppoſed by the duke of Clarence; ſupported by the biſhop of London; rejected; Mr. Wilberforce's bill alſo rejected. Motions by the duke of Bedford, and Mr. Fox cenſuring the meaſures of adminiſtration; debates on them; they are rejected by great majorities. Motion by Mr. Sheridan for an addreſs to the king not to prorogue the parliament; debate; the motion negatived, without a diviſion. Several members of oppoſition accept places under government; reflections of Mr. Sheridan on them; they are defended by Mr. Pitt. Thanks unanimouſly voted to ſir Charles Grey, ſir John Jervis, and lord Howe; thanks to lord Hood oppoſed in both houſes, but carried. Prorogation. Account of the proceedings of ſeditious ſocieties reſumed; efforts in Scotland; Watt and Downie apprehended, tried, and executed. Proceedings againſt the perſons apprehended in London; ſpecial commiſſion; charge of lord chief juſtice Eyre; bill found; trial of Hardy; ſpeech of the attorney-general, nature of the evidence; defence of the priſoner by Mr. Erſkine;

evidence for the prisoner; speech of Mr. Gibbs for him; reply of the solicitor-general; summing up by chief justice Eyre; prisoner acquitted. Mr. John Horne Tooke and Mr. Thelwall also tried and acquitted; the other prisoners discharged; observations.

HAVING now finished our detail of a subject, which from its magnitude and distinct character was deserving of a separate notice, we resume our account of the proceedings in parliament during the remainder of the session. Before the termination of the preceding business, a debate unexpectedly arose on the same day in both houses on the subject of America, occasioned, as it appeared, by the contents of a New York newspaper lately arrived in town. This paper gave at full length what purported to be an answer from lord Dorchester, governor of Canada, to the delegates of several Indian tribes (dated Quebec, 10th Feb. 1794,) complaining of the encroachments made on the boundary line by the people of the United States, and observing that a war between the States and Great Britain was not unlikely to take place within the present year. It was written in the peculiar style which is usual in all communications with the American Indians, and was considered by persons conversant in American affairs to bear evident marks of authenticity.

May 26.

In the marquis of Lansdowne, in a general attack upon the conduct of administration towards the neutral states, more particularly accused them of having exasperated America by repeated provocations, as if they were either ignorant of or little regarded the importance of preserving peace with that power. The first of these insults was, he said, the order of council dated June 8th 1793, empowering his majesty's ships to detain all vessels bound with corn or flour to France, except those of Denmark or Sweden; sixty American ships had in consequence been seized in the West Indies only. He then noticed the part this government had taken in the late arrangement between Portugal and Algiers, an arrangement certainly injurious to the American interests: and lastly, he read the answer of lord Dorchester to the Indians, which he reprobated as a direct attempt to spirit up those savages to hostilities against the United States. He concluded with saying, that he heartily wished the paper might prove to be a forgery, but as he thought it nearly concerned the honour of this country to have the matter cleared up, he moved for copies of all instructions given to lord Dorchester respecting the differences between this country and America.

To these charges it was replied by lord Grenville, that the right of detaining ships laden with provisions for the enemy was universally allowed by the law of nations; that the ships so detained had not been condemned, but their cargoes sold for the benefit of the owners; that with respect to Algiers, the court of Lisbon had desired us to use our good offices with the Barbary powers, in order to enable Portugal, our ally, to co-operate with us more effectually against the common enemy; and no minister could

could heſitate in accepting the propoſal. As for the paper which had been read, he knew nothing of it; if it were authentic, it would be time enough to proceed upon it when it ſhould be regularly tranſmitted home by lord Dorcheſter, but till then, he did not much ſee the propriety of the houſe committing its high and grave character upon the authority of a New York newſpaper. The ſame remark being made by ſeveral other ſpeakers, the houſe divided upon the marquis's motion—content 9, not content 69.

The language of miniſtry in the lower houſe was more explicit; and Mr. Sheridan withdrew his motion, which was ſimilar to the marquis of Lanſdowne's, upon the ſecretary of ſtate's declaring that he never heard of the ſpeech attributed to lord Dorcheſter before, that he believed it to be a forgery, that no inſtructions had been ſent out which had the remoteſt tendency to produce a rupture with America, on the contrary that miniſters had uſed their utmoſt endeavours to put an end to the hoſtilities which prevailed between the Indians and the American ſtates.

On the ſame evening Mr. Sheridan moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable Roman Catholics to ſerve as officers in the army and navy, by abolithing the old teſt, and ſubſtituting the following in its room, viz.—"I *A. B.* do ſwear "that I will bear true allegiance "to his Majeſty, and defend his "right to the crown, the laws and "conſtitution of theſe kingdoms, "and the ſucceſſion to the throne, "as by law eſtabliſhed." He reminded the houſe that an act had lately paſſed in Ireland, admitting catholics to fill certain ranks in the ſervice, but that it was nugatory in effect, becauſe, until a ſimilar act ſhould take place here, no catholic officer could ſerve without rendering himſelf liable to the ſevereſt penalties; that this was obſerved during the debate in the Iriſh parliament, and that the lord chancellor then ſignified his expectation that within two months a ſimilar law would be enacted in England. Mr. Sheridan alluded to the emigrant corps bill lately paſſed, which he allowed to have given birth to this motion, and repreſented it as a hard and prepoſterous caſe, that we could truſt a Roman Catholic in our ſervice, provided he were a Frenchman, but refuſed to place that confidence in our own countrymen of the ſame perſuaſion. Such certainly was the law, but he believed that the prejudices and jealouſies which exiſted in the minds of people were now deſervedly done away. The Roman Catholics were a loyal body of men, attached to the conſtitution and to the reigning family, and at a time when we were calling for the aid of all claſſes, and arming even foreigners for our defence, it was cruel to deprive them of one great means of proving their fidelity.

A deciſive objection was, however, ſtarted againſt this meaſure by Mr. Dundas. He admitted all that had been ſaid concerning the loyalty of the catholics, but he remarked that the bill went to the repeal of all religious teſts whatſoever; a meaſure, to which, if any judgment might be formed from the paſt, the houſe would be but little inclined to accede. At any rate, a ſubject of that magni-

tude demanded a ſeparate diſcuſſion, and he therefore moved the previous queſtion.

On the other hand Mr. Fox declared, that it was on that very ground the bill would have his warmeſt approbation; but as he conſidered the propoſal of Mr. Dundas in the light only of poſtponing, and not condemning the meaſure, he would not object to it. The ſubject was accordingly diſpoſed of in that manner.

April 3. As ſome relief amidſt the jarring of party, a ſubject was introduced into the upper houſe by lord Hawkeſbury, which, if it has in every period of our hiſtory been cheriſhed as the darling hope of Engliſhmen, could not fail at the preſent moment of awakening with peculiar energy in their breaſts feelings of exultation and honeſt pride in the pre-eminence of their country. It was not, indeed, the ſplendour of a naval triumph that he was about to celebrate, or the undiſputed dominion which we held over the ſeas by our ſhips of war, but to lay before parliament and the nation a plain ſubſtantial ſtatement of that which is, under Providence, the cauſe and the preſervation of this dominion, our national commerce: without which the pageant of fleets would be in vain attempted, or if it were attempted, would be worſe than vanity; it would be a feeble and ruinous effort to maintain a rank among nations to which we had no claim, by draining the country of its internal ſtrength and riches. The baſis of our maritime power, we have reaſon to rejoice, is not of this artificial kind. Experience has ſhewn, if ought can be ſhewn by it, that it is natural and permanent; that it exiſts in the peculiar advantages of our ſituation, in our national character, and in the enterprizing ſpirit of our merchants, encouraged as it is, and protected by freedom and wiſe laws.

It was for the purpoſe of enforcing more effectually the law concerning the crews of our trading veſſels, which enacts that three-fourths ſhall at leaſt conſiſt of Britiſh ſeamen, but which had been ſhamefully evaded in many inſtances, and to provide ſome new regulation for the regiſtering of ſhips and ſeamen, that lord Hawkeſbury propoſed a bill to parliament, comprizing all theſe with ſome other inferior points. In the courſe of his ſpeech he took a review of our commercial hiſtory from the earlieſt times, and exhibited a ſeries of epochs from the reſtoration downwards, with authentic accounts of the tons of Engliſh ſhipping at each period, from which may be ſeen at once the vaſt and rapid increaſe of our trade, particularly within the laſt ten years:—

		Tons of Engliſh Shipping.
The Reſtoration	1663-9	95,266
The Revolution	1688	190,533
The Peace of Ryſwick	1697	144,264
The laſt years of William III.	1700-1-2	273,693
The Wars of Queen Anne	1709-12	285,156
The firſt of George I.	1713-14-15	421,431
The firſt of George II.	1726-7-8	432,832
The Peaceful Years	1736-7-8	476,941

The

		Tons of English Shipping.
The War of - - -	1739-40-41 - - -	384,191
The Peaceful Years -	1749-50-51 - -	609,798
The War of - - - -	1755-6-7 - -	451,254
The first of George III. War	1760 - - - -	471,241
	1761 - - - -	508,220
The Peaceful Years - -	1764-5-6 - - -	639,872
Ditto - - - - -	1772-3-4 - - -	795,943
The American War - -	1775-6-7 - - -	760,798
The French War - -	1778 - - -	657,283
The Spanish War - -	1779 - - -	590,911
The Dutch War - -	1781 - - -	547,953
The Peaceful Years - -	1784-5-6 - - -	926,780
Ditto - - - -	1790-1-2 - - -	1,329,979

He regretted that no certain document could be obtained of the number of seamen from the enumeration which took place in 1581 down to 1787. In the former case they amounted to 14,295, and the shipping to 72,450 tons; and from 1787 both ships and mariners had been continually increasing till 1792, when there appeared to be from the register under the *New Navigation Act* belonging to the British dominions 16,079 ships of 1,540,145 tons, navigated by 118,216 seamen, of which England alone employed 10,633 ships of 1,186,610 tons and 87,569 men. He noticed, as a curious specimen of the growth of our navy, that the privateers fitted out by the single town of Liverpool during the last war, nearly equalled in burden the whole fleet sent by queen Elizabeth in 1588 to oppose the Spanish armada, which consisted only of 31,985 tons, and 15,272 men, while the other measured 30,787 tons, and were manned by 8,754 seamen. The bill was speedily carried through both houses without opposition or amendment.

While this interesting account of the general state of our commercial affairs was going on in the house of lords, that branch of them which is by far the most important both in dignity and extent, was, according to annual custom, laid before the commons.

Mr. Dundas opened the India budget for the year with observing, that every statement which had come under his consideration justified the expectations he entertained from the measures recommended by him to parliament in the last session. He then laid before the house in detail, an account of the actual receipt and expenditure of the different settlements, compared with the estimate made by the respective governments in India, and also with the estimate laid before the commitee last year; the general result of which was as follows:— April 4.

Revenues in the Year 1792-3.	
Bengal - - - - - -	5,526,934
Madras - - - - -	2,476,310
Bombay - - - - -	242,316
	8,245,560

Brought

Brought forward		8,245,560
Civil and Military Charges.		
Bengal	2,956,068	
Madras	1,963,665	
Bombay	681,569	
Supplies to Bencoolen and Pinang, &c.	74,184	
Intereſt of Debts at the three Preſidencies	642,376	
		6,317,862
Surplus of Territorial Revenues		1,927,698
To this add the Amount of Sales and Certificates		489,839
Total Surplus		2,417,537

Exceeding the Surplus in laſt Year's Eſtimate by £.903,960.

As a part however of this ſum aroſe from temporary reſources, namely, a payment made by Tippoo Sultan, and a large collection from Tanjore, which country is now reſtored to the Rajah, Mr. Dundas deducted the odd £.417,537 on thoſe accounts, leaving a clear annual ſurplus of £.2,000,000 applicable to the purchaſe of inveſtment, payment of debts, &c. and exceeding the eſtimated ſurplus of laſt year by about £.500,000; and this ſum, he proved might, by a variety of ſtatements, be fairly reckoned upon for the annual average ſurplus in future.

He next exhibited a ſummary of the Company's affairs at home and abroad, commenting on the ſeveral articles as he went along with great perſpicuity. From this ſtatement it appeared, that the Company's debts were diminiſhed, and their aſſets increaſed ſince laſt year—

In India, by		2,344,144
Ditto in China and St. Helena		274,926
Ditto at Home		1,357,792
		3,876,862
But towards this Sum there was raiſed by an increaſe of Capital Stock	2,000,000	
Deduct alſo Corrections in laſt year's Accounts	207,108	
		2,207,108
Nett improvement of the Company's affairs after providing for the payment of £.500,000. to the Public		1,669,754

Mr. Dundas proceeded to ſhew, that a continuance of the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of the affairs in India might be relied on, as far as any reliance could be placed on the ſtability of human events, that the total expulſion of the French, the humiliation of Tippoo, whoſe ceded territories yielded a revenue greater than had been eſtimated by himſelf, and above all, the good faith and honour which had diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh name, ever ſince the adminiſtration of marquis Cornwallis,

wallis, might well juſtify the preſumption. Of the character of this nobleman Mr. Dundas ſpoke in the higheſt terms of praiſe, adding, that the numerous plans of improvement and judicious regulations he had introduced throughout every department in India, in as much as they rendered the ſituation of the inhabitants more comfortable and ſecure, muſt proportionably augment the wealth and proſperity of the country. It was a natural conſequence, that with the riſing credit of the governments, whatever was ſanctioned by their authority ſhould riſe in value; and this effect had been ſenſibly felt already at Madras, where the rate of intereſt was conſiderably reduced.

After this proſperous ſituation of the Company's affairs it might perhaps be wondered, he ſaid, why they came to parliament for relief, for that was the object of the motion he was about to propoſe; but he explained it to ariſe from ſeveral accidental circumſtances, ſuch as were not likely to occur again; from the temporary ſhock which commercial credit had ſuſtained laſt year, and which neceſſarily created a falling off in the ſales, from increaſed charge of freight and ſeamen, owing to the war, and from the natural conſequence attending the new arrangements in their firſt operation, which, by the increaſe of dividends to proprietors, and of payments to government, drained their treaſury at home. Beſides, the application made, was only for leave to raiſe, on their own credit, a ſum ſufficient to carry on their affairs, an indulgence to which he thought them fully entitled. he therefore moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable them to add one million more to their bond debt, increaſing it thereby to three millions. The motion, as well as all the reſolutions were carried *nem. con.*

This bill, however, was not permitted to paſs without exciting ſome clamour both in and out of parliament. The contractors for the laſt loan complained againſt it as an infringement of the conditions entered into with the miniſter, that no more money ſhould be borrowed under the ſanction of government during the remainder of the year, and Mr. Francis repeated the ſame language in the houſe of commons, beſides caſting many reflections on the ſtatement given by Mr. Dundas of the Company's affairs. To this it was anſwered, that the propoſed increaſe of the bond debt could not be fairly conſidered in the nature of an increaſe of debt. Half of the ſum had already been paid by the Company beyond what they were bound to do by the acts of the laſt year, and the remaining half was found neceſſary, becauſe they had given credit for their ſales to that amount for a much longer period than uſual.

Amidſt theſe queſtions of more immediate concern, which agitated both houſes of parliament, Mr. Wilberforce did not appear to have forgotten the conſtant object of his ſolicitude and earneſt endeavours, the abolition of the ſlave-trade. Leſs indeed was effected during the preſent ſeſſion towards the attainment of that object, than might have been expected from the favourable manner in which it was firſt uſhered into parliament, and the very general intereſt it had excited throughout the nation. Add

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to this, the well known diſintereſtedneſs and integrity of him who was the principal conductor of the cauſe, backed as it had always been, by the powerful and zealous aid of the two unrivalled leaders of both parties. The matter ſeems, however, to have been viewed apart from all other political queſtions, and to have met with ſupport or oppoſition indiſcriminately, as each felt himſelf inclined to act, without regard to unity of ſyſtem, or to that concurrence of ſentiment which is conſidered as neceſſary in the main to give vigour and efficacy to public councils.

As the general queſtion was at preſent under the conſideration of the houſe of lords, the evidence which had been hitherto heard by their lordſhips being but a ſmall part, in compariſon of what yet remained, if the committee for this purpoſe ſhould be revived, Mr. Wilberforce did not think proper to urge the meaſure of total abolition until the lords had come to a declaration on the ſubject, but thought the interval would be well employed in procuring ſome arrangement of a ſubordinate kind, that might tend to diminiſh at leaſt the evil, which he ſtill hoped in the end to remove entirely. He therefore moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the ſupply of foreign territories with ſlaves from the coaſt of Africa by Britiſh veſſels, a trade which was, he ſaid, now almoſt extinct, but his wiſh was that it might not be permitted to revive.

Feb. 7.

He was ſupported by the miniſter as uſual, by Mr. Ryder, Mr. Wm. Smith, and Mr. Whitbread. The latter gentleman paſſed ſome ſevere ſtrictures on the dilatory conduct of the other houſe, and recommended the agitation of this ſubject from day to day, till they had ſhamed them into a ſenſe of their duty. They obſerved, on behalf of the bill, that all thoſe who had concurred in the vote for a gradual abolition of the ſlave trade, ought to ſupport the preſent meaſure; that nothing could be more in conformity to the ſpirit of that reſolution; that this was in fact the firſt inſtance in which it was attempted to be carried into execution. They called for the aſſiſtance of thoſe alſo who had oppoſed the abolition on the ground that it would deprive our iſlands of a due ſupply of ſlaves, for to abſtain from ſupplying foreign ſettlements, as was now propoſed, would tend moſt effectually to ſecure a ſufficient number for ourſelves. It had been allowed, they ſaid, by many of the advocates of the trade, that if ſuch a traffick were propoſed them *de novo*, they would condemn it at once; but in the preſent caſe the ſame reaſoning would apply, becauſe the foreign trade was nearly annihilated, and no inconvenience or confuſion could ariſe to the ſettled order of things, if an abſolute prohibition of it were to paſs.

The other ſide indulged in much declamation on the old ſubject of total abolition, but the principal objections to the meaſure in debate were, that all interference would be improper while the buſineſs was under conſideration with the other houſe; that the alteration propoſed was an unjuſt aggreſſion on private property, and would clog the exertions of the merchant by throwing

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ing trouble and perplexity in the way of trade, at a time when this country ſtood moſt in need of his ſupport; that at beſt it was uſeleſs, if the trade which it went to aboliſh did not exiſt. To this colonel Cawthorne added, that the attempt was of an inſidious nature, and made a part of that ſyſtem which was purſued by the enemies of our conſtitution to effect its ruin.

The other ſpeakers on this ſide were Mr. alderman Newnham, Mr. Eſte, col. Tarleton, Mr. Dent, Mr. Jenkinſon, Mr. Lechmere, and Mr. Payne.

An able reply was made by Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Pitt, in which they diſclaimed any want of reſpect for the noble aſſembly alluded to, but maintained that the ſpeed or delay of their proceedings was not to become the ſtandard of their own duty. That houſe having thought fit to devote only four days in the laſt year to a buſineſs of ſuch importance, was no reaſon why they ſhould follow the example.

Leave being granted, by a majority of 63 to 40, a bill was ſhortly after brought in by Mr. Wilberforce. In the meantime ſeveral petitions were preſented by the merchants of Liverpool and London againſt the regulation, and another diſcuſſion took place on the ſecond reading of the bill, ſimilar in ſubſtance to the former.

On this occaſion col. Tarleton diſputed the aſſertion, that the foreign ſlave trade was nearly extinct: no leſs than 40 or 50 veſſels had, he ſaid, ſince the laſt ſeſſion failed from Liverpool for that purpoſe. It was alſo advanced againſt the bill, that great danger was to be apprehended from the agitation of theſe ſubjects, leſt it might unſettle the minds of the negroes, excite them to revolt, and introduce all thoſe horrors which had from a like cauſe prevailed in the French iſlands.

To this it was anſwered, that the ſlaves already well knew what had paſſed in this kingdom on the ſubject, the votes of the houſe of commons, and other ſymptoms of public feeling. To ſhrink from any farther declaration was a weak and temporizing meaſure. The hour muſt come at laſt when the deciſion of the houſe of lords would be pronounced; to preſerve quiet therefore among the negroes by keeping them in ignorance, was a attempt not only diſguſting bu impracticable. Mr. Pitt even contended, that inſtead of promoting diſcontent and diſorder, this regulation would have a contrary effect. Experience ſufficiently proved, that diſturbances were not cauſed by thoſe ſlaves who had been once attached to their maſters, and had remained long in their ſervice, but by new comers, the number of which it was the object of this bill to leſſen, eſpecially of thoſe who would be tainted by the horrible ſyſtem the French had adopted in their colonies, and who might be uſed by them as inſtruments for effecting the like deſolation in our own. Beſides, as Mr. Fox obſerved, it was high time to take ſome ſtep that might manifeſt the ſincerity of their intentions with reſpect to the gradual abolition, to which the houſe ſtood pledged; for there remained but two years, conſiſtently with the declaration of parliament, to carry the whole of their reſolutions into effect. As to the inquiry now

now pending in the other houſe, he had too great an opinion of their lordſhips wiſdom and juſtice, to ſuppoſe that they would reject this or any meaſure which came before them backed by the urgent recommendation of the commons.

An oppoſition was perſiſted in by the ſame ſpeakers as on the former night; and even in the ſucceeding ſtages, ineffectual attempts were made to throw out the bill; but when the buſineſs came before the lords, a violent ſtruggle was made againſt it, and notwithſtanding the opinion expreſſed by Mr. Fox, it could not obtain their concurrence.

In the meantime, before it had yet paſſed the commons,

March 10. a motion was made in the upper houſe by the biſhop of Rocheſter [Dr. Horſley] to refer the hearing of evidence on the ſlave trade to a committee, alleging as a reaſon, that the buſineſs had now been three years before the houſe, and ſo little progreſs had been made in it by the ordinary mode of examining witneſſes at the bar, that the delay was inconſiſtent with the reſpect they owed to their own character, to the houſe of commons who were anxious to confer with them, and to the public opinion.

The motion was reſiſted by the duke of Clarence, on the ground that it militated againſt a former reſolution of the houſe, and that the importance of a trade which ſupplied our navy with ſeamen, and which, through the medium of the Weſt Indies, brought 24,000,000 of money annually into this country, entitled it to the moſt ſerious and deliberate attention. The ſame objections were made by the earl of Mansfield and lord Thurlow. They ſaid, the records of parliament did not furniſh an inſtance of a queſtion of ſuch magnitude being referred to a committee above ſtairs. In ſpeaking of an inquiry of this nature, the term diſpatch was improper; and even that argument was unfounded, for it was not likely that the lords would attend a committee more diligently than they did the houſe. It was their duty not only to examine evidence, but to hear the arguments of counſel alſo, and from the whole to form their judgment; but if this was confined to a committee, how could a majority of the houſe ground their deciſion on what they would never hear?

The biſhop of London replied, that the committees above ſtairs were in general better attended than the houſe had been, when the examination of witneſſes on the ſlave trade took place; and that the propoſed committee would be an open one, ſo that every noble lord would have an opportunity of inveſtigating the ſubject if he choſe. If, however, any better mode could be deviſed, that would tend to introduce greater expedition, he was ready to accede to it. For admitting that the property at ſtake was conſiderable, and therefore demanded weighty and ſerious deliberation, it was likewiſe true that the happineſs of millions depended on a ſpeedy determination.

The biſhop of Rocheſter's motion was negatived by 42 voices to 14.

On the 2d of May, the bill for aboliſhing the foreign ſlave trade being read a ſecond time in the houſe of lords, it was furiouſly attacked by the earl of Abingdon.

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He considered it as the offspring of French philosophy, and lavished every opprobrious epithet, of which he possessed no small stock, on the doctrines and designs with which he held it to be connected. It met with a more effectual opposition from the bishop of Rochester and Lord Grenville, who were of opinion, though by no means friendly to the traffick, that no measure of the kind ought to be adopted, pending the inquiry then before the house. After some slight support from lords Stanhope and Lauderdale, in the course of which the former professed himself a jacobin, and "a correspondent not of Mr. but of Citoyen Condorcet," it was rejected by a large majority, the numbers being 43 to 4.

Before the breaking up of the session, one grand attack more was made upon the ministers by the opposition party in both houses, in which, however, very little new or interesting occurred, as the debate consisted on one hand of a repetition of the same charges which had been advanced over and over before, and on the other of a refutation and defence, in substance nearly the same with those already detailed.

May 30. The duke of Bedford, in the upper house, and Mr. Fox, in the lower, moved a string of resolutions, which seemed to be a compendium of the creed professed by the opposition ever since the opening of parliament. In some of them they recapitulated the several stages of the war, with a design to shew that the views and professions of this government had altered, both with respect to the object of the contest, and the means of carrying it on: in others, they reprobated the late subsidiary treaties, and the conduct of our allies; they observed that a secure peace appeared to be within our reach, and ought to be attempted, and that for this purpose all interference in the internal affairs of France should be disavowed, or at least the nature and extent of that interference distinctly specified.

Such was the purport of this joint effort of the party; and if there appeared little of novelty in the matter, some amends were made by the spirit and vivacity of the debate. In support of the first article of the charge, the fluctuation of our councils, it was alleged that the defence of Holland was the original plea for hostilities, and they really gave ministers credit for their intention not to meddle with the government of France, when they remarked that early in the war the garrisons of Valenciennes and Mentz were permitted to return home, on purpose, as it should seem, to act against the royalists in La Vendée. That this delusion, however, was quickly dissipated by lord Hood's declarations at Toulon, in which he guaranteed to the inhabitants the constitution of 1789, the same constitution which was styled in our minister's (lord Auckland's) memorial to the states-general, January 1793, "the work of mis-"creants assuming the name of "philosophers." After this came lord Moira's expedition, and then the declaration (dated Whitehall, Oct. 29), which was said to be verbose, obscure, and equivocal, and which, when stripped of all its elegant rubbish, declared only, that the restoration of monarchy, without specifying of what kind, was the

the ſole condition on which we could treat with France.

This laſt ſtep, it was maintained, was the moſt impolitic of all. To demoliſh jacobiniſm, without promiſing to erect any thing in its room, was the worſt kind of interference we could profeſs; for if we would declare our object in explicit terms, let it be either the conſtitution of 1789, of 1791, or even the ancient deſpotiſm, we ſhould find followers and friends; but at preſent all parties ſtood aloof, for none knew what they had to expect from the ambiguity of our language. It was, moreover, an object which they muſt utterly condemn. The experience of ages had proved that monarchies, oligarchies, ariſtocracies, and republics might exiſt in all variety of forms, without impoſing the neceſſity of endleſs wars amongſt each other; and if once it were eſtabliſhed as a principle, that the tenets of one people are dangerous to another, we ourſelves muſt be odious to all other governments leſs free than our own, and might juſtify the raiſing of a cruſade in Europe for our deſtruction.

Another fertile topic of complaint was the defection of our allies, and the ſubſidizing of thoſe powers whoſe intereſts were more involved in the conteſt than our own, yet whoſe co-operation we could not enſure. If it was true indeed, that the exiſtence of jacobiniſm was incompatible with our ſafety as a nation, we muſt go on to ſubſidize not only the king of Pruſſia, but the emperor alſo, and every other ſtate that like him found out that war coſt money, and therefore thought fit to demand it of us. As for the reſt of the confederates, Ruſſia was undoubtedly bound not to lay down her arms, except with the common conſent; but it ought firſt to have been provided that ſhe ſhould take them up. Sardinia had ſerved rather to weaken the emperor's force by calling off an Auſtrian army to her aid, than proved any annoyance to the French, while the ſervices of Naples and Spain had been completely ineffectual.

But it was not the ſtate of the confederacy alone that rendered the proſpect diſmal and even hopeleſs: while our own ſtrength and ſpirits were wearing faſt away, the enemy improved in both. Whatever hopes might have been entertained at firſt from the rawneſs and want of diſcipline in their troops, they had withſtood our utmoſt efforts then, and it was not likely that three years experience would make them leſs ſerviceable now. At the ſame time the government of France was acquiring freſh vigour and adherents daily, by the confiſcation of church lands, and the property of the emigrants.

It was not expected that the reſolutions would be allowed to paſs, but one good would ariſe from the diſcuſſion, that the people would be led ſeriouſly to reflect on the evils that ſurround them, that they would aſſemble, perhaps in the courſe of the ſummer, in a legal manner, and by declaring their ſentiments with a ſtrong voice, awaken miniſters to a ſenſe of the true intereſts of the country.

It may be eaſily gueſſed in what manner the reſolutions were received on the ſide of adminiſtration. They maintained the propoſitions they had uniformly held, that

that peace with France could not be obtained, or if obtained could not be relied on; that interference in the internal affairs of an hoſtile country was ſtrictly juſtifiable, eſpecially if neceſſary for the ſecurity of ourſelves and the reſt of the world; that the deſtruction of the jacobin government was eſſential to that ſecurity, and was aimed at by the allies, as the beſt means of procuring peace; that a ſecure and honourable peace was undoubtedly the leading purpoſe of the war, but that the mode of obtaining it might and muſt vary with the change of circumſtances. They denied that the power and reſources of France were augmented while our own were diminiſhed; that country was at this moment torn to pieces by inteſtine tumults, and the loſs of nearly all her colonies added as much to our wealth and proſperity as it detracted from her own. But even if this flattering picture were reverſed, it would be better, they affirmed, to perſevere and periſh in the cauſe, than baſely to deſert our allies, and relinquiſh every object for which we had hitherto been contending.

Such was the language held in the houſe of peers by the lords Grenville, Fitzwilliam, Auckland, Darnley, Mansfield, and Hawkeſbury; and previous to the queſtion being put upon the firſt reſolution, a motion of adjournment, at the inſtance of lord Auckland, was carried by 100 voices, including 81 proxies, againſt 13 only, who ſided with the mover. Among the latter were the duke of Grafton, the earl of Lauderdale, and the marquis of Lanſdowne, who bore a part in the debate.

In the houſe of commons, the only ſpeakers on this ſide were the hon. Mr. Jenkinſon and Mr. Pitt. It was ſtrongly inſiſted here, that the miniſtry had never profeſſed it to be their ſole deſign in commencing hoſtilities with the French to defend Holland from their aggreſſions, but that they had openly declared their purpoſe to obtain indemnity for the paſt, and ſecurity for the future. It was moreover poſitively denied, that all interference in the government of France had ever been diſclaimed. On the contrary, an appeal was made to the language of his majeſty's meſſage, ſo early as the 28th of January 1793, a language re-echoed by the houſe, where, in addition to the object of ſupporting his allies, his majeſty expreſsly ſpecifies the *ambitious views* and *dangerous principles* of France, as his reaſons for augmenting the ſea and land forces.

Mr. Pitt appealed alſo to his own aſſertions at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion, as a proof that he did not think it poſſible ever to make peace with the jacobin government of France. He vindicated the conſiſtency of his majeſty's declaration (dated Whitehall, Oct. 29), with the declarations of lord Hood. The latter promiſed protection to the people of Toulon, without ſpecifying any particular form of government, and the Touloneſe choſe that of 1789. His majeſty's declaration offered protection to all the French that approve of hereditary monarchy, and this claſs moſt certainly comprized the other.—With regard to the laſt of the reſolutions, he had often, he ſaid, profeſſed it to be his own doctrine, that interference in the govern-

ment of an enemy was every way juſtifiable as an operation of war; but he felt ſome ſurprize that the perſon who controverted this right ſhould himſelf carry the principle to an extreme, and recommend us to preſcribe the preciſe form of government to be adopted in France: the obvious effect of which would be, independent of its injuſtice, to alienate and diſperſe all parties but one—all, in ſhort, whom it was our great intereſt to conciliate and unite.

The old arguments were uſed on the impracticability of peace; and on the ſubject of ſubſidies it was alleged, that the king of Pruſſia, being an artificial power, depending merely on his treaſures, muſt neceſſarily feel himſelf exhauſted after two campaigns carried on at a great diſtance from his own territories; there was nothing therefore unreaſonable or uncommon in his demanding the pecuniary aſſiſtance of his allies.

Mr. Fox, in a ſhort reply, argued, that the deſtruction of the French republic was a hopeleſs project, becauſe the French nation were almoſt unanimous in their deſire to preſerve it; in proof of which he inſtanced the ſmall number that had joined the ſtandard of the allies at Valenciennes and Toulon, while even Dumourier himſelf was unable to bring over with him more than a few officers and domeſtics. He reprobated the argument, that becauſe the houſe had already ſanctioned a meaſure, its propriety muſt therefore not be queſtioned. It was an argument that might be made to cover any error, however enormous: it had frequently been uſed in the American war, and often as it had been uſed, he had as often deſpiſed it.

The houſe then divided upon Mr. Jenkinſon's motion for the previous queſtion—Ayes 208, Noes 57; majority 151.

From the numbers of the minority upon this occaſion, it ſeemed likely to be July 10. the laſt ſtruggle they meditated for the preſent ſeſſion. There were, nevertheleſs, ſome points which ſtill remained behind, and which, as Mr. Sheridan termed it, enabled him to give the miniſter a few words at parting. Beſides going over the beaten track of charging him with miſconduct in the war, he demanded whether in the preſent diſaſtrous ſtate of things he perſevered in the object before avowed of deſtroying the jacobin government? Whether the ſubſidy had been paid to the king of Pruſſia, and whether that prince had fulfilled his engagements? And what was the ſtate of the diſpute in which we were involved with America? The ſpeech of lord Dorcheſter was now, he ſaid, admitted to be authentic, and he wiſhed to know what directions had been given to him, and what meaſures were to be taken in conſequence of it. But the treaty with Pruſſia he deemed the moſt deſerving of inquiry, and moved, therefore, "for an account of all "monies paid to that power, and "of the troops employed in pur"ſuance of it," with the intent, if this motion ſucceeded, to move farther to addreſs his majeſty not to prorogue parliament during the preſent critical poſture of public affairs.

On the firſt of theſe queries the language of the miniſter was open and

and energetic. He affirmed, that the war was not for the conqueſt but for the emancipation of France. That the deſtruction of the jacobin government was, and ever had been the avowed purpoſe of this country; and he truſted that the ill ſucceſſes of a few weeks would not relax the firmneſs of Britiſh councils. With regard to Pruſſia, he replied, that all inquiry into the number and diſtribution of the auxiliary troops was obviouſly improper, that miniſters were reſponſible for the fulfilment of the treaty, and that on this reſponſibility the matter muſt for the preſent reſt. The ſame argument applied to America. The time when a perſon had arrived from the United States for the purpoſe of ſettling all difficulties ſubſiſting between the two powers, and was juſt opening his negotiation, was ſurely of all others the moſt unfit for the diſcuſſion which was recommended. Upon the deſign of keeping parliament ſitting, in order to watch the conduct of the king of Pruſſia, and the negotiation with America, he remarked, that it was in other words a deſign to ſuperſede and control the functions of the executive power, and no farther argument was neceſſary to expoſe its abſurdity.

This anſwer, however, was far from giving ſatisfaction to the other party. They obſerved, that on a former occaſion the miniſter had made a pompous declamation on the importance of the Netherlands to the general cauſe; but that now theſe provinces were loſt, he treated it as a trifling ſucceſs, an accidental check. They warmly reprobated the air of myſtery with which he enveloped other ſubjects on which it was his duty to give information to the houſe. Any queſtion which it did not ſuit his whim to anſwer, he got rid of on the plea of a ſtate ſecret. Upon my word, ſaid Mr. Grey, I am ready to admit that the whole is a ſecret; a ſecret why the treaty with Pruſſia was entered into at all; a ſecret why the money was granted; and a ſecret why the troops ſo paid are no where to be found. Having then contended, that the avowal of the miniſter concerning the object of the war, however he might quibble in his expreſſions, meant nothing leſs, in fact, than extermination; and having reminded him and his friends of the lofty language once held by their predeceſſors in office towards America, and of the conſequent humiliation to which they were reduced, the queſtion was put upon Mr. Sheridan's motion, and negatived without a diviſion.

About this period, thoſe members of the oppoſition party who had latterly been in the practice of ſupporting the meaſures of government, no longer heſitated in acceding to the propoſals which had been long ſince made to them of accepting a ſhare in the reſponſibility; a reſolution the more honourable, as it is *well known* that the uſual ſtipulations of place and patronage were, on this occaſion, little regarded, and the aſpect of public affairs was ſuch as to render the reſponſibility which they incurred by no means light and eaſy. Earl Fitzwilliam was deſirous of being left to ſupport the new union without any official ſituation, but at the preſſing inſtances of all, he finally acquieſced in accepting the preſidency of the council; earl July.

Spencer was appointed lord privy-seal; the duke of Portland, secretary of state for the home department; and Mr. Windham, who had twice declined the more honourable and efficient place which he now yielded to the duke of Portland, became secretary at war, with a seat in the cabinet. This accession of talents and of character, on the broad basis of public service, was rendered the more valuable by the sacrifice of private friendship and connexion which it necessarily involved; a sacrifice the most keenly felt by men of liberal and enlarged minds, and which such only are able justly to appreciate.

These arrangements having necessarily vacated for a time the seat of Mr. Windham, Mr. Sheridan took occasion in the course of the debate above-mentioned, to expatiate on the inconsistency of those who had joined the ministry, particularly of the new war minister, who, he imagined, was now reposing himself in the cool shade of the Chiltern Hundreds. He lamented the dereliction of principle in that gentleman and the duke of Portland, both of whom had, he said, pledged themselves never to act with the present administration. They had indeed accepted a share in the responsibility, and he predicted that it would be a perilous one, that a solemn hour of account would at length arrive, which no accession of numbers could ward off or protract, when the hearts of the nation would be turned to one man, whose glory no diminution of party could impair, but who appeared to stand on higher ground by being less surrounded. To him in the stormy hour would the nation turn, and they would find him

"Like a great sea-mark, standing every flow,
"And saving those that eye him."

Mr. Pitt, on the other hand, in a burst of animated declamation, described the unprecedented nature of the crisis which formed this union, and pronounced a warm panegyric on those who had contributed their aid in the season of alarm, and had justly considered all other questions as swallowed up in the magnitude of the impending danger; at the same time he recriminated on the opposition for having withstood every measure of importance that was calculated to promote the success of our arms, and to secure the country from the infection of French principles, noticing in particular the subsidiary treaties, the volunteer bill, the emigrant corps bill, and the late measure for the suppression of a treasonable conspiracy.

Among the few questions bearing any reference to the war, that met with unanimous approbation, were the vote of thanks to sir Charles Grey, sir John Jervis, and to lord Howe, for their brilliant atchievements; but when the same honour was proposed for lord Hood it was peremptorily opposed. In the house of peers it was contended by lords Lauderdale and Derby and the duke of Bedford, that no service sufficiently meritorious had been performed by lord Hood to justify the conferring upon him the only distinction in the power of that house to bestow. They considered the proposal only as the panegyric of ministers on themselves for the wisdom of their choice, and the more strongly to mark their sense of its impropriety, an amendment

June 17.

was

was moved, that the name of lieutenant-col. Villette of the marines, who had acted with lord Hood at Corſica, be inſerted alſo.

Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox urged the ſame objections in the houſe of commons, declaring that the buſineſs of Toulon was diſgraceful inſtead of honourable, and that the taking of Baſtia was not an affair of ſuch importance, as to merit the ſame honour as had been paid to our other commanders for the moſt brilliant ſervices. They expreſſed their reſpect for the noble admiral, and added, that they did not believe he could feel much gratified himſelf with thanks ſo little deſerved.

Before the motion for including lieut-col. Villette in the vote of thanks, the more delicate method was tried of getting rid of the buſineſs by the previous queſtion. It was rejected in the upper houſe by 31 to 5, and the original motion of courſe carried, but no diviſion took place in the commons although the ſame oppoſition was made.

Within a few days after an addreſs was voted to his majeſty, at the inſtance of Mr. Pitt, for a monument to be erected in Weſtminſter abbey, in memory of captains Harvey and Hutt, who died in conſequence of the wounds they had received on the 1ſt of June, and to aſſure his majeſty that the houſe would make good the expence attending the ſame.

Parliament having thus diſcharged the laſt offices of gratitude to the defenders of their country in arms, and the houſe of commons having expreſſed the ſame ſenſe of the importance of their ſervices to the late managers of the impeachment of Mr. Haſtings, by a perſonal communication of thanks delivered through the ſpeaker to the members attending in their places, and no further public buſineſs remaining to be ſettled, the commons were ſummoned on the 11th of July, to attend at the bar of the upper houſe, and the ſeſſion was terminated by a ſpeech from the throne.

Before we proceed to the relation of tranſactions in France, and of the campaign on the continent, it remains to conclude the hiſtory of thoſe domeſtic events which, till the cloſe of the year, kept the public mind in a ſtate of conſiderable agitation.

It has already been ſtated, that after the Britiſh convention had been diſperſed, the London correſponding ſociety, in conjunction with the ſociety for conſtitutional information, projected the formation of a new one, and as a neceſſary meaſure to the accompliſhment of this purpoſe, they deputed emiſſaries into Scotland, to examine and report on the temper of the people, to encourage thoſe who were infected with the ſpirit of ſedition, inſpire thoſe who were not, and to ſelect delegates for the approaching convention, and provide a fund for defraying their expences Of the moſt active of theſe emiſſaries, five formed a committee of union, and theſe, no longer affecting ſecrecy as to their ultimate objects, framed and communicated a plan for deſtroying the government in Scotland, by ſetting fire to Edinburgh, overpowering the guard from the caſtle, ſeizing the judges, plundering the banking houſes, and obtaining poſſeſſion of the caſtle. Arrangements were preſented for obliging the agriculturiſts to bring their produce to market as uſual,

and for obliging the country gentlemen, under pain of death, to remain at their own houſes. An addreſs was then to be ſent to his majeſty, commanding him to put an end to the war, and change his miniſters, or take the conſequences. It is not ſuppoſed that they who detailed this project poſſeſſed, or fancied that they poſſeſſed, adequate means to carry it into execution; they avowed it as their end, and for means they relied on their emiſſaries, who were to collect money and inflame partizans, and theſe men had actually proceeded ſo far as to order, from a ſmith named Orrock, 4000 pikes to arm their adherents.

Government being regularly apprized of theſe proceedings, iſſued orders for apprehending two of the moſt active of theſe emiſſaries, named Robert Watt and David Downie. A ſpecial commiſſion being made out for the purpoſe, they were tried at Edinburgh, and, on the cleareſt evidence, convicted of high treaſon. The principal defence they attempted to eſtabliſh was, that they acted in correſpondence with the ſecretary of ſtate, and made their treaſonable propoſals in order to obtain ſufficient matter of crimination, but this defence was altogether unſupported by evidence, and repugnant to probability. They were both executed according to their ſentence*.

Aug. & Sept.

Meanwhile preparations were made for the trial of the perſons apprehended in London.

A ſpecial commiſſion having been iſſued in the beginning of September, lord chief juſtice Eyre delivered an eloquent and able charge to the grand jury, laying down with preciſion the law of treaſon, and pointing out the general complexion of the caſe about to come under their conſideration. A bill was found againſt Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, John Auguſtus Bonney, Stewart Kyd, Jeremiah Joyce, John Richter, John Thelwall, John Baxter, Thomas Wardle, Thomas Holcroft, Matthew Moore, and Richard Hodgſon. The laſt four were not in cuſtody, but Mr. Holcroft ſurrendered himſelf in court previous to the trial. Againſt John Lovett, one of the parties accuſed, no bill was found.

Sept. 2.

The priſoners having ſignified their choice to be tried ſeparately, Thomas Hardy was firſt put to the bar, and the attorney-general opened the proſecution with a ſpeech of near nine hours duration. Having read the ſtatute of the 25 Edward III. on treaſons, he moſt ſolemnly diſavowed any intention of ſtating "*conſtructive treaſon, cumulative treaſon, treaſon by analogy,*" or any thing in ſhort but the crime diſtinctly ſpecified in the ſtatute. He then undertook to prove, both from the reaſonable interpretations of the law, and the uniform practice of all the courts, as well as from the concurrent teſtimony of all the greateſt lawyers, that "the depoſing the king, entering into meaſures for depoſing the king, conſpiring with foreigners to invade the kingdom, taking any ſtep to procure an invaſion, conſpiring to raiſe an inſurrection to dethrone or impriſon the king, or to oblige him to alter his meaſures, or remove evil counſellors,

Sept. 29.

* See their trials, Appendix to the Chronicle, p. *192 to *209.

"were all overt-acts of high trea-
"ſon." And the plain reaſon of this appeared, from the ſame authority to be, becauſe, in the common courſe of human affairs, all ſuch attempts are known to affect the life of the ſovereign. The principal point, therefore, for the conſideration of the jury was, whether upon the evidence it ſhould appear that the priſoner was party in a *conſpiracy to depoſe the king*. Other counts in the indictment charged alſo the providing of arms for this purpoſe, and a conſpiracy to levy war within the kingdom; and theſe were of themſelves ſufficient overt-acts, even if the other proof ſhould fail, on which he dwelt moſt largely, namely, the calling of a *convention* to aſſume the powers of government.

Before the attorney-general proceeded to lay open the circumſtances on which this charge was founded, he premiſed, that even if the object had been to retain the title and office of king, but to limit his authority, or to create a new legiſlature to act with him, ſtill it would in law amount to a conſpiracy to depoſe the king. If he accepted the crown on ſuch conditions, he would not be king of England; but he could not accept it; he is ſworn not to govern; he muſt refuſe, muſt reſiſt; and in conſequence of reſiſting his life muſt be in danger.

Having laid down the principles, he explained the ſyſtem on which the ſocieties for conſtitutional information and the London correſponding ſociety, with their dependents, were formed; remarking the ſimilarity of the inſtitution to that of the jacobin clubs in France. That their principles and views were the ſame he endeavoured to ſhew, by producing a multitude of written documents, moſt of which were contained in the report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons. What their own ideas were of the nature and powers of a convention, aſſembled according to their plan, might beſt be ſeen in the ſpeech of Barrere, and which the conſtitutional ſociety had formally approved and entered on their books. As a further proof, he noticed the tranſactions of the convention which met in Scotland to which Margarot and Gerald were ſent *as delegates* by the London conſtitutional ſociety; Sinclair and Yorke by the ſociety for conſtitutional information. They not only inſtituted their *primary ſocieties*, divided the country into *departments*, appointed *provincial aſſemblies*, *aſſumed an epoch*, and talked, in the language of authority, of effecting a union *between the two nations*, but come to a reſolution that they will, notwithſtanding any law to the contrary, "continue to meet and conſider "of the beſt means by which they "can accompliſh a real repreſent-"ation of the people, until com-"pelled to deſiſt by ſuperior "force;" and upon the diſperſion of the convention, the London correſponding ſociety declared, after complaining of the tyranny of government, "that they muſt ſeek "redreſs by their own laws," not by the laws "of their plunderers, "enemies, and oppreſſors," and reſolved upon the firſt motion that ſhall be made in parliament inimical to the liberties of the country to call a "general convention of "the people." This reſolution was communicated to the ſociety

for conſtitutional information, and a joint committee appointed for carrying it into effect. The plan was moreover imparted by a circular letter from the priſoner to all the ſocieties connected with them, ſtating, that they had a central ſituation in view, which for the preſent they *concealed*, and that they had provided a *ſecret committee* to conduct the buſineſs.

In order to ſhew the criminal intentions of theſe men, the attorney-general read various extracts from reſolutions, addreſſes, and letters, comparing the dates and combining paſſages which related to each other. The counſel for the crown firſt detailed the written evidence, in which the letter that ſeemed to bear hardeſt on the priſoner was written from Sheffield, ſigned Richard Daviſon, acquainting him that a certain form had been adopted for pikes to be furniſhed to the patriots, that this meaſure was rendered neceſſary by the barefaced ariſtocracy of the preſent times, and ſtating accurately the dimenſions and the price. After theſe papers had been read and identified, the parole evidence was called. Much of this conſiſted ſolely in proving certain inflammatory and ſeditious language to have been held by different perſons at the meetings of the ſocieties, and frequently without ſpecifying the individual ſpeaker. Some exception was, therefore, taken on the part of the priſoner, who alleged that ſuch teſtimony was irrelevant; but it was anſwered, and allowed by the court, that the evidence was of two kinds, firſt to ſhew generally that a conſpiracy did exiſt, and then that the priſoner was a party concerned. To the former part the evidence objected to was intended to apply. Several of the witneſſes were ſpies of government, and, independent of this circumſtance, the credit of ſome was ſhaken on their croſs-examination, by prevaricating and contradictory anſwers. The authenticity, however, of the written evidence could not be impeached. On the ſubject of arms it was alleged, that pikes had been manufactured at Sheffield and ſent to London, that an aſſociation had been formed by one Franklow, a taylor, at Lambeth, conſiſting of ſixty men, all members of the London correſponding ſociety, and that they drilled in private.

On the fifth day of this extraordinary trial, Mr. Erſkine opened the defence of his client. Although it might well be ſuppoſed that the vigour of his faculties would be exhauſted by the want of natural reſt, and the unremitting intenſion of mind he had endured, yet he diſplayed his accuſtomed powers. He endeavoured in the outſet to ſhew, that the main charge, ſuppoſing it to be proved, was not treaſon by the ſtatute of Edward III. He complained, that the proſecutors had unwarrantably confounded the natural with the political life of the king; and maintained that a conſpiracy againſt the former only was in law an overt-act to evidence a traiterous compaſſing of his death, whereas a conſpiracy to depoſe the king, or to work ſuch a gradual change in the public opinion as ſhould lead to an alteration of the form of government, or even the entire ſubverſion of the monarchy, however it might be puniſhable by the laws, and puniſhable as a miſdemeanor,

meanor, did not come within the letter or meaning of the ſtatute.

In the ſame manner, he contended, that under the ſecond branch of the ſtatute, the actual levying of war within the kingdom is made an overt act of high treaſon, but the *conſpiring* to levy that war is not ſo.

Having fortified his doctrine by citations from Coke, Hale, and Foſter, he declared, that all this diſcuſſion on the matter of law was merely an exceſs of caution in himſelf, who ſtood in a fearful ſituation, as advocate not only for Mr. Hardy, but for all who might be tried after him, for himſelf, for his poſterity, for his country, and all mankind; that it might therefore be important to ſettle the point once for all; but that as to the caſe in hand, no evidence of a conſpiracy, no charge of a ſingle diſloyal word or thought could be proved againſt the priſoner. And firſt he objected to the nature of the evidence adduced on the part of the crown, which was not as required by the words of the ſtatute [*provably*] direct plain evidence, but partial extracts, and the unconnected writings of men unknown to one another, out of which was drawn a treaſonable intention, by compariſon of mutilated paſſages, by a forced conſtruction and analogy.

He then proceeded to comment upon it, obſerving the irrelevancy of ſome parts, and the inconſiſtency and contradiction of others, and treating without mercy the perſons employed by government to watch the ſocieties. He inſiſted, that the attainment of a parliamentary reform, by legal and peaceable means, was the object always profeſſed by them; in which if they erred, they were led aſtray by the example of eminent political characters, more eſpecially of the duke of Richmond, whoſe plan was moſt generally approved. As to the proceedings of the Scotch convention, whether they were illegal or not, they were foreign to the preſent caſe, for the delegates of the London ſociety who aſſiſted, were expreſsly inſtructed to ſupport only *conſtitutional meaſures*, and if the agents exceeded their commiſſion, it was contrary to reaſon and common ſenſe to implicate the principals in their crimes.

With reſpect to the charge of procuring arms, it was clear, he ſaid, even from the witneſſes for the crown, that the purpoſes for which they were intended was ſelf-defence, and that the idea was ſuggeſted in conſequence of a hand-bill, circulated at Sheffield during the night, threatening the members of the political ſociety with perſonal violence. The letter of Daviſon to Hardy was written on the ſame ground, ſuppoſing that the ſocieties in London might ſtand in need of weapons for their protection; but that Hardy had no intention of acting upon this letter, was clear from his never anſwering it, or producing it to the ſociety, and by his never having forwarded, according to deſire, the letter to Norwich, on the ſame ſubject, which came to him incloſed in the other.

The parole evidence on the part of the priſoner chiefly went to prove his peaceable, moderate, quiet character, and that the witneſſes themſelves, who were attached to the conſtitution, never imagined the real purpoſe of the ſocieties to which they belonged, to be different from the avowed one,

that

that thoſe who had pikes procured them for ſelf-defence, that the Lambeth aſſociation was a loyal body, and did not wiſh to conceal their numbers or their meetings.

After this was gone through, Mr. Gibbs addreſſed the jury, ſumming up the evidence, and remarking upon it in a very maſterly manner. The reſolution of the ſocieties, previous to their calling the convention, not to petition parliament, was, he ſaid, the natural conſiſtent mode of action. It was becauſe their individual petitions had been rejected that they propoſed a convention, the voice of which, as of a larger body, they thought moſt likely to be heard.

The attorney-general had inſiſted much upon one of the articles of inſtruction ſent by the London correſponding ſociety to their delegates at the Scotch convention, namely, that it is the duty of the people to reſiſt any act of parliament repugnant to the conſtitution. Although he admitted this to be indecent and improper, yet he denied it to be treaſonable, maintaining the ſame doctrine with Mr. Erſkine, that though "aſſembling and acting with force in "oppoſition to ſome law be high "treaſon under the ſtatute, yet "the purpoſing to do ſo is not "treaſon." Theſe were chief juſtice Holt's words in the caſe of ſir John Friend, and if this be the law with reſpect to an actual conſpiracy, againſt an exiſting law, *a fortiori*, a reſolution to oppoſe a law that may be paſſed cannot be high treaſon.

He then noticed the ſingular teſtimony which had been borne to the good character of the priſoner. He had been ſurrounded by ſpies for theſe two years paſt, and yet not a word, not a ſyllable that was indicative of a violent deſign, or even diſreſpectful to the king, whoſe death he was accuſed of plotting, could be faſtened upon him; but he had ſhewn himſelf throughout a friend to peace, good order, and the laws.

The ſolicitor-general, in his reply, affirmed, that all the principal *acts* charged upon the priſoner had in a manner been admitted, and the *meaning* of them only diſputed, but that mode adopted by the oppoſite counſel of examining witneſſes who belonged to the ſocieties, by aſking them whether they had any wicked intentions, which was tantamount to aſking them whether they were traitors, could have but little weight; and that ſuppoſing their anſwers to be ſincere, they were not worth much, for it was all along preſumed by the proſecutors, and confirmed by evidence on both ſides, that a majority of the ſocieties were ignorant of what was paſſing, and implicitly gave up their judgment to their leaders. This circumſtance was ſufficient to acquit the maſs of the members, but aggravated the guilt of the priſoner, who was by his ſituation neceſſarily privy to all their counſels; and who by ſeveral letters of his, partly private and partly official, to Margarot and others, appeared to be no ways deficient either in artifice or activity.

On the queſtion of law he argued with great force and perſpicuity, that though the conſpiring to levy war in every caſe is not treaſon, becauſe the war may be of ſuch a nature as not to affect the king's life, yet if the object of that war is to bring the king's life in danger,

which

which the law has ever held the depoſing of him to do, then the conſpiring to levy it is an overt act of treaſon. In proof of this he cited the caſe of ſir Chriſtopher Blunt, in queen Elizabeth's time, and the words of chief juſtice Foſter, who expreſsly ſtates, that entering into meaſures for depoſing the king, or getting his perſon into the power of conſpirators, is an overt act of treaſon, becauſe experience has ſhewn that between the priſons and the graves of kings the diſtance is very ſmall. The ſame language was held by ſir Joſeph Jekyll, in the caſe of lord Wintoun, and both he and judge Foſter were as little inclined as any to ſtretch the law beyond the neceſſity of the caſe.

In explaining the intent with which the ſocieties propoſed to call a convention of the people, the ſolicitor-general referred to a letter ſo early as the 5th of July, 1793, from Skirving to the priſoner, in which he recommends a mature attention to their own organization, leſt, after the diſſolution of the preſent government, anarchy ſhould enſue. He pointed out a ſtriking diſtinction between their plan and that of the duke of Richmond, which ſome pretended that they followed. The latter only aſſerted the equal right of each individual in the choice of his repreſentatives in the houſe *of commons;* the former lays down "the right "of equal active citizenſhip, or the "right of every individual to an "equal ſhare in the *government* of "that ſociety of which he is a "member." Was this doctrine, he aſked, compatible with the exiſtence of king or peers! This term *government* they conſtantly uſe, inſtead of the expreſſion in the duke of Richmond's letter; the change he obſerved was remarkable, and was in fact a key to the whole fallacy. He then ſhewed that the idea of a convention, according to Paine, Barlow, Barrere, and St. André, neceſſarily implied an abſolute ſovereignty, and theſe ſocieties had avowed their adoption of principles which the former wrote, and the latter delivered in their ſpeeches. Though we are directed, ſaid the learned counſel, to judge of the opinions of men by their actions, it is impoſſible not in many caſes to infer the object of their actions from their opinions. If a body of papiſts had propoſed in king William's reign to reform the eſtabliſhed church, who would have doubted that they meant to introduce popery? And when a body of men, profeſſing to admire democracy, addreſs the leaders of the French revolution, who had depoſed their king, and eſtabliſhed a government by a convention of the people, in terms of the higheſt flattery, and are anſwered by the appellation of "generous republicans," when theſe men talk of a reform in the government at home, can we heſitate to interpret all their language which is capable of it, in a ſenſe conſiſtent with their principles?

After commenting with much ability on the addreſſes to the French and their anſwers, he noticed their letter to the ſociety at Norwich. This ſociety had enquired whether the generality of the ſocieties meant to reſt ſatisfied with the duke of Richmond's plan only, or whether it was their private deſign to rip up monarchy by the roots. If their deſigns had been peaceable and conſtitutional, would they not have abjured ſuch an idea with indignation, and betrayed the utmoſt

utmoſt anxiety to clear away the miſapprehenſion? On the contrary, the only anſwer they make to this letter is, "Leave monarchy, democracy, and even religion entirely aſide. Never diſpute on theſe topics." They conclude with ſaying, "We are well wiſhers to peace and the rights of man, but not ſo ſanguine as to expect that thoſe rights will be reſtored by the ſpontaneous conſent of thoſe who have ſo long deprived mankind of them."

He urged, that the whole tenor of their proceedings diſplayed an attempt to diſcredit the government in the public opinion, which opinion is undoubtedly the ſupport of all government. Did this evince a diſpoſition to reform? that though the words legal and conſtitutional occur frequently in their papers, yet they explicitly declared, "we have no conſtitution;" while in their teſt they bind their new members to uſe all *juſtifiable* means for parliamentary reform, and they inſtruct Gerald, their delegate in Scotland, to follow the ſame purpoſe by *rational and lawful* means; words capable of almoſt any conſtruction, and uſed by men who affirm it "*lawful* in the minority to reſiſt the majority when deprived of their indefeaſible rights," that is, according to them an equal ſhare in the legiſlative and executive government of their country. The ſolicitor-general proved by the correſpondence of Margarot with Hardy, that the Scotch convention acted in league with the London correſponding ſociety, and were in fact guided by the ſecret committee of that ſociety, and even admitting that the delegates Margarot and Gerald exceeded their public inſtructions, yet the London correſponding ſociety, by a ſubſequent approbation of all their conduct, moſt indiſputably involved themſelves as principals in its guilt. Having taken a view of the tranſactions in Edinburgh, he paſſed on to the meeting at Sheffield, the proceedings of which were warmly applauded, publiſhed and circulated by the ſocieties. Yorke, who was the principal ſpeaker, ended with ſaying, when the ſun of reaſon ſhould ſhine in its fulleſt meridian over us, the commanding voice of the whole people ſhall recommend the 558 gentlemen in St. Stephen's chapel to go about their buſineſs. The meeting then entered into ſeveral reſolutions, one of which was, that the people ought to demand as a right, not petition as a favour, for univerſal repreſentation, and *therefore* that they will petition parliament no more; a reaſon which muſt apply with at leaſt equal, if not greater force, to a convention conſtituted upon their plan, and is a complete refutation of the pretended deſign in calling it, namely, that they might petition parliament with better effect.

The ſolicitor-general made a number of ingenious and pertinent remarks, tending to ſhew an uniform purpoſe in the ſocieties of uſing force, if neceſſary for the furtherance of their ſchemes. That this part of the plot appeared not ready for execution, was, he contended, no proof of its non-exiſtence. When once the minute arrangements ſhould be made relative to the ſhape, ſize, and price of the weapons, it was in evidence that they could procure 10,000 in Sheffield only in a ſingle day, and if the multitude received theſe under the pretext of ſelf-preſervation, it equally anſwered the purpoſe

poſe of their leaders, who well knew that the mob would blindly follow the directions of their ſecret committee. However imperfect the preparations were, the language of the conſpirators would not admit of an ambiguous interpretation; and notwithſtanding the apprehenſion of perſonal violence, which was ſtated to have produced this meaſure of arming, it was proved by every witneſs that no application was ever made to a magiſtrate for protection.

The ſumming up of the evidence by chief juſtice Eyre was not finiſhed until twelve o'clock on Wedneſday, Nov. 5th, the eighth day of the trial, when the jury, after deliberating for three hours, returned a verdict of not guilty.

Two other priſoners were afterwards tried; Mr. John Horne Tooke and Mr. John Thelwall, but were acquitted; the attorney-general then renouncing further proceedings, the other priſoners were diſcharged.*

We have been the more particular in our account of theſe tranſactions, becauſe they are conſidered by all parties as evidence of the opinions they have reſpectively maintained. Whilſt thoſe who have been in the habit of ridiculing the alarms excited in the nation of a deep domeſtic conſpiracy, appeal with confidence to the deciſions of ſeveral honeſt juries, acquitting the priſoners of the charge; others have aſſerted, that the materials on which the charge was founded, and the evidence adduced at the trials, if not ſufficient for the purpoſes of criminal juſtice, cramped and confined as it is by the cautious jealouſy of our law, afford at leaſt ample proof of a conſpiracy that threatened the very exiſtence of the conſtitution. At the ſame time a third party, with whom we by no means profeſs to think, complain of that verdict which is the ground of triumph to the other, and in their diſappointment exclaim, that under the principles which guided that deciſion, the law can never be employed to cruſh a latent conſpiracy, but muſt wait till the banners of rebellion are actually unfurled againſt the ſtate.

Reflecting on the circumſtances of this ſingular caſe, we cannot but obſerve, that were we to ſubſcribe moſt heartily to the verdicts on behalf of the priſoners, we ſhould by no means conſider ourſelves as admitting the inference that no conſpiracy againſt the ſtate was in exiſtence. This concluſion has, however, by a ſtrange proceſs of logic, been not unfrequently extorted from the event, and the verdict was for a long time trumpeted abroad in a note of triumph, as a complete refutation of the aſſertions of the miniſters, and of the great body of both houſes of parliament. On the contrary, we conceive, and indeed it was repeatedly maintained in court by thoſe who defended the priſoners, that the evidence of a conſpiracy in general was totally diſtinct from that evidence which went perſonally to affect their clients: and ſuppoſing the former to have been made good in every poſſible inſtance, yet if any flaw or inſufficiency ſhould prevail in the latter, no other verdict than an acquittal

* See the trials of Hardy and Horne Tooke, at great length, in the Appendix to the Chronicle, page *209 to *399. That of Thelwall not being publiſhed on ſo good authority, is not given.

could

could be found. In fact, we have heard on no leſs authority than that of one of the jurors on the trial of Hardy, that they conſidered the exiſtence of a treaſonable conſpiracy in general as ſufficiently proved, but did not think any treaſonable act brought home to the priſoner at the bar. Had the indictments been for a treaſonable miſdemeanour only, the verdicts in all probability would have been widely different. And this is ſaid to have been the original advice of Mr. Burke, who remarked to miniſters, that "a clear condemnation on "ſuch a charge would have a bet"ter effect on the minds of the "people, than a dubious conviction "for high treaſon."

That illuſtrious and venerable ſtateſman, having brought to a cloſe, as far as depended on him, the ſolemn proſecution which alone had detained him in parliament ſeveral years beyond the period which he was known to have early fixed to himſelf, and having now ſeen that junction of his friends with the miniſtry, which, though he had no immediate ſhare in forming it, he had of late openly wiſhed, encouraged, and in ſome degree prepared, at length carried into execution the purpoſe which he had for ſome time meditated, of retiring for ever from the active ſcenes of political life.

The conſpicuous and important part which he had taken in all the leading tranſactions of his time, and the coincidence of his retreat with the final diſſolution of that party, to which he had been principally inſtrumental in giving conſiſtency, render this a ſort of epoch in our domeſtic hiſtory. It may be uſeful, therefore, to caſt our eyes back for a moment, and glance over the more diſtinguiſhed paſſages of his public career.

Born in Dublin, having received the rudiments of his education under a proteſtant clergyman in that city, and been removed thence to the ſchool of a proteſtant ſect in the north of Ireland, Mr. Burke took a degree at the univerſity of his native land, whence he came, about the age of twenty-three, to qualify himſelf at the Temple for his intended profeſſion of the law. Here he ſoon became eminent; he attracted public admiration by the ſpirited elegance of ſeveral well-known productions; he delighted and aſtoniſhed all who approached him, by the rich exuberance of his converſation. The charms of his language, both in writing and ſpeaking, were univerſally acknowledged. Yet his brilliancy of expreſſion was perhaps his leaſt praiſe. He ſeems ever ſtudious to bottom himſelf on ſome ſolid principle of moral or intellectual philoſophy, though he indulges his fancy in decorating the ſuperſtructure with a profuſion and ſplendor of ornament, which ſometimes dazzle the ordinary ſpectator.

A man endowed as he was could not be a ſlight and unintereſted obſerver of the ſcenes paſſing before his eyes in the ſtate; and he had much to excite his attention. He ſaw under the late king the laſt years of what was called the broad-bottomed adminiſtration of Mr. Pelham, the feeble and confuſed interval after his death, and the coalition which, under the lead of Mr. Pitt in the houſe of commons, adminiſtered the affairs of the empire with ſo much glory. At the commencement of the preſent reign

reign he saw the union between the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt, never very sincere, again dissolved by artifice; and change after change succeeding, till all parties were broken into pieces and fragments, without any common bond of cohesion among public men. At length, in 1765, when the whig party began to settle into some appearance of consolidation under lord Rockingham, Mr. Burke connected himself with them. He was private secretary to that popular nobleman during his short-lived administration, and adhered to him, even against his own remonstrances, after his dismission. It was principle alone that attached him, for he never* was sanguine in believing that way to be the road to wealth and honours.

The individuals† of whom the party was composed when he joined it, were men of sentiments pure and just. Yet what they felt rightly, they had not deduced systematically. They were new to the situation of a methodized opposition. It was necessary, however, in erecting their standard, to publish their declaration to their country. The task of preparing it was undertaken by Mr. Burke, and in 1770 executed by him in a pamphlet called "Thoughts on the Causes of the present Discontents." The materials of it were collected from various conversations with all the leading members of that party, and before it was sent abroad into the world, the particular and distinct approbation of each was obtained. The clear object of the whole was to recommend, as the best practical government for this country, an open aristocracy of rank, property, virtue, and talents, acting in concert together on a known and avowed system of opinions, agreeable to the existing constitution of the kingdom, acquiring by their principles and conduct the public confidence of the people, and in all those titles claiming the public confidence of the Sovereign. Such a political creed was not likely to be well received by either of the factions, who respectively refer every thing to the will of the monarch, or the will of the multitude. By the latter it was instantly attacked with the most unmeasured violence. By both, they who have professed it and acted upon it, have been always betrayed when they have seemed to attain well-earned and well-established power, generally by a most apparently unnatural, but most easily explicable junction of the two adverse extremes.

Mr. Dowdeswell was the acknowledged leader of the party in the house of commons when Mr. Burke entered parliament. They were firmly united in a cause which both understood and loved. They consulted together and co-operated; they gave and received mutual assistance with promptitude and cordiality. But in the year 1775 Mr. Burke lost an ‡ "excellent and honourable friend," and his country a truly wise and upright statesman, in Mr. Dowdeswell. In consequence

* See the close of his Speech on American taxation in 1774; his Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol in 1777, towards the end; and his Appeal, p. 53.

† What follows is principally taken from the Prefaces to Mr. Burke's posthumous Tracts; and more particularly from that to the "Two Letters on the Conduct of our Domestic Parties."

‡ Speech on American Taxation, last page.

of

of his death; the friends of Lord Rockingham in the houſe of commons remained ſome years without a leader; Mr. Burke, from motives of delicacy the moſt creditable to himſelf, declining to aſſume the ſtation due to his undoubted pre-eminence. Lord John Cavendiſh conſented to appear in that capacity during the interreign.

In this period it was that the diſpute with America began to wear a formidable aſpect. The ſpeeches of Mr. Burke on this ſubject form a conſiderable portion of thoſe ſhining examples of Engliſh eloquence, by which his name will be tranſmitted to poſterity. But it is now alſo known, that while he was here uſing every effort to divert and deter miniſters from the pernicious meaſures which they were purſuing, he was with equal zeal and more happy ſucceſs impreſſing the duty of loyalty on the province of New York, to which he was agent, and which he had the good fortune to retain in its allegiance to the laſt moment of the conteſt. In his parliamentary exertions relative to America, he was moſt powerfully ſupported by Mr. Fox, who having been diſmiſſed from the treaſury-board by lord North for a vote which he early gave on this queſtion, ſhewed himſelf on the ſame ſide with the friends of lord Rockingham, though for ſeveral years he did not actually belong to them. He was at liberty to have accepted any overtures from miniſters without including them. At length, about the year 1779, they received him into their ranks, and in the ſame moment placed him at their head.

The people now grew impatient under the heavy and increaſing burthens of the war. Motions were in conſequence made in the houſe of lords againſt places and penſions, but on no definite plan of well-conſidered economy. Mr. Burke therefore gave notice of the motion which afterwards produced his celebrated ſpeech on economical reform. His views for the time were defeated; but thence aroſe a queſtion which, under the name of parliamentary reform, has for a long time agitated the country.

Notions of the kind had occaſionally been thrown forth by theoriſts, and had been floating on the ſurface of men's minds at different intervals, whenever the conduct of the houſe of commons had in any reſpect given diſſatisfaction; but they had not been purſued with perſeverance, and upon ſyſtem, till the opening of the year 1780. The ſentiments of Mr. Burke had been avowed twelve years before, and at the time he had (as he intimated) all the graver perſons of his own party with him. They believed the practical good of any change in the repreſentation to be at beſt doubtful, and the miſchief of agitating the ſubject at all to be evident and great. An* idea circulated among the people, that our conſtitution is not ſo perfect as it ought to be, before you are ſure of mending it, appeared to them to be a certain method of leſſening the authority of the legiſlature,

* Theſe are in ſubſtance Mr. Burke's own words in his "Obſervations on a late State of the Nation;" a pamphlet publiſhed in 1768. See p. 97, 8vo. edit. or vol. 2. of his works, p. 136, 8vo. edit. 1803.

which depends on opinion at leaſt as much as on duty, and of which they held that too irreverent an opinion even then prevailed.

Accordingly, when theſe ſpeculations began to be rife again, towards the cloſe of 1779, they thought it the wiſeſt way, by an early and temperate, to prevent, if poſſible, a hot and inconſiderate reformation. Theſe are the motives, as * Mr. Burke himſelf ſuggeſts, which led him, in concert with them, to propoſe his plan of economical reform; a meaſure deſigned not only to alleviate the burthens of the people, but much more to ſecure the independence of parliament, by reducing the corrupt influence of the crown; and this plan, with two or three other ſupplemental bills, all on the ſame principle, conſtituted the reform of parliament in parliament, which the ſet of men with whom he had all along acted, then offered, and afterwards gave to the people.

The new project of reform was ſuggeſted and patronized by ſtanding committees, appointed in many of the large counties and principal cities and towns, which had voted petitions in ſupport of Mr. Burke's motion. Among the foremoſt was that of Yorkſhire, the more active and managing members of which were then known, and ſoon after declared themſelves, to be hoſtile to the local intereſts of lord Rockingham, and ſought thus to draw publick importance and popular favour to themſelves. Various reſolutions iſſued from them and others of the county-committees; yet all inſiſted on the economical reform as the leading point; and ſuch as ſubjoined any wiſh for a change in the duration of conſtitution of parliaments, confined it to a triennial bill, † which it was thought might be poſtponed, and the addition of a hundred county members.

The Weſtminſter committee, however, went a much greater length. A ſub-committee was appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation, and they made a report, aſſerting annual parliaments to be the hereditary and indefeaſible right of the people, and endeavouring to eſtabliſh a concluſion, that the actual ſtate of repreſentation was greatly unequal, as well with regard to property as to population. Both theſe poſitions were ſanctioned by the committee, and to the latter it was added, that the exiſting repreſentation is a departure from the firſt principles of the conſtitution. Another ſub-committee afterwards made another report, going to univerſal ſuffrage; and this was ſo far adopted as to be printed and circulated by order of the committee. Mr. Fox was at this time looking forward to a ſeat for Weſtminſter at the general election. To enſure his ſucceſs was a great object, as a popular triumph over the adminiſtration in the very ſtrong hold of government; and the committee was the principal engine to work this effect. He was, therefore, made chairman. In that character he authenticated their proceedings, contenting himſelf with having expreſſed his own more moderate opinions in a letter ‡ to the meeting of his proper county. His

* See his ſpeech on that occaſion, p. 13 and 14, 8vo. edit.

† See memorial from the deputies in London, Remembrancer 1780, part i. p. 250.

‡ See his letter to the Wiltſhire meeting, ib. p. 272, compared with that of lord Shelburne, in p. 271.

friends and followers were more zealous and ardent in the cauſe; and they comprized moſt of the men of genius and letters connected with the party. Their influence conſequently was more conſiderable than their numbers, and their activity gave them an apparent lead much beyond their real authority.

The alarming riots excited by a vulgar and bigotted cry againſt popery, in the ſummer of 1780, checked for a time the popular ſpirit, which was then rapidly riſing. The ſame event alſo brought the heads of the oppoſition into immediate contact with miniſters. Lord Rockingham, and ſuch others of the ſame connexion as were members of the privy council, were ſummoned to the deliberations of that body. There they ſoon found that miniſters were by no means ſo inclined, as they might have ſometimes ſuppoſed, to harſh and violent meaſures; while, on the other ſide, it was clearly perceived that they, who had often been accuſed of countenancing licentiouſneſs, were among the firmeſt and ſteadieſt ſupporters of order and good government. The conciliatory diſpoſitions thus produced were the remote origin of the coalition, which afterwards took place.

Another point of approximation between lord North and the friends of lord Rockingham ſoon appeared in a concurrence of opinion, on the affairs of India. When the commiſſioners, ſent out under governor Vanſittart, to reform the abuſes in the eaſt, were loſt in the Aurora, it was propoſed by ſome of the leading directors to make a new appointment, and Mr. Burke was offered his own terms, if he would ſuffer himſelf to be placed at the head. But he declined, principally from a ſuſpicion that the great body of the company did not ſincerely deſire any radical reform. The bill which the miniſter prevailed on parliament to paſs in 1773, was intended to be a remedial law, though its inefficacy was much objected by his opponents. Indeed he was himſelf ſoon convinced of it. In conſequence, he early endeavoured, in concert with the court of directors, to obtain the recall of Mr. Haſtings. But * although he had taken ſome pains to aſcertain the probable reſult, and had reaſon to count on a large majority in the court of proprietors, he found to his great ſurpriſe, that, from ſome private influence which he had not foreſeen, moſt of the old, known, conſtant ſupporters of government went againſt him, and he was completely baffled. As the difficulties of the American war began to multiply upon him, he did not think it prudent to plunge into an immediate conteſt with ſo powerful and widely extended an intereſt in the ſtate; an empire, as it has ſometimes been called, within the empire. At length the embarraſſments of the company from the preſſure of the war in the Carnatic, forced the ſubject on the notice of parliament. Accordingly a ſecret committee was nominated to inveſtigate the cauſes of that war, and Mr. Dundas, the lord advocate of Scotland, was choſen chairman. About the ſame time a quarrel between the judges and the ſupreme council at

* The writer was told this on the unexceptionable authority of Mr. Robinſon, the well known ſecretary of the treaſury, who ſaid that he had himſelf ſuperintended the compilation of a ſmall quarto volume, which was circulated at the time, to ſhew the governor-general's miſconduct.

Calcutta,

Calcutta, gave rise to a select committee of which Mr. Burke was the most efficient member, and which was empowered generally to examine into the conduct of the company's servants in that quarter. The enquiries of these two bodies, though directed to different objects, quickly induced each to form an equally unfavourable opinion, and ultimately led the chairman of the one to move the recall, and of the other to propose the impeachment, of the governor general.

In this situation of the country, and of the great parties and interests which divided it, the accumulated disasters attendant on our arms in America, struck all men with a total despair of success. The votes of the house of commons shewed the minister that he had lost their confidence. It was reported, that he was very graciously pressed to remain at his post, though he might be compelled to relinquish his measure. But he did homage to the constitution, and retired. Mr. William Pitt took that opportunity of reminding the house, that they had nothing whatever to do with the choice of those who might succeed to power; adding, that he expected no place in any arrangement, and never in any would accept a subordinate situation. In this declaration some may, perhaps, discover the germ of events which followed.

Lord Rockingham, after an opposition of sixteen years, was again put at the head of the treasury; and his connexions filled most of the superior offices of the state. Yet the whole negociation, it is said, passed through others; and the minister had not a single audience till every thing was settled. The new administration endeavoured to redeem the pledges which they had given to the people, by carrying through the reforms and retrenchments formerly attempted in vain; and with the concurrence of those among them who favoured the measure, Mr. Pitt moved for a committee to enquire into the state of representation, which was negatived by a small majority. The court party had not yet ventured to give any open obstruction to their career, when it was suddenly interrupted by the death of lord Rockingham. The earl of Shelburne took the vacant situation without consulting those of his colleagues, who were the strength of the ministry in talents as well as numbers. In consequence of this and of some disposition, which they perceived or thought they perceived, to depart from important principles already agreed in the cabinet, they resigned. One or two, however, of name and weight among them, stayed in from different motives: but their chief loss consisted in men of secondary rank, whose ambition was not proof to the temptation of being raised to offices which they could not hope to fill in any arrangement with their own friends. The same old experiment was also practised on the inferior adherents of lord North, with similar success. Mr. Pitt, who as chancellor of the exchequer, was the minister in the house of commons, was a main support of the government, no less from the affectionate reverence paid to his very name, than by his transcendent abilities. He had, moreover, now begun to attach to himself the general mass of those wilder theorists who had always viewed with much jealousy the aristocratical ascendency which guided the late popular party. The Indian interest which was pre-

dominant in the court of proprietors, looked to lord Shelburne for protection.

The remains of that connexion which had acted so long under lord Rockingham, now ranged themselves under the duke of Portland. But their numbers were much diminished. Lord North, surrounded by a considerable body of his more respectable followers, formed a third power in parliament. He could not long maintain that situation. In the agitation which then prevailed, he must soon lean decidedly to one side or the other. It was believed, that he had been invited, but had declined, to join the new administration: neither was it unnatural that the chiefs of parties long opposed should rather come to a good understanding with each other, than unite on terms of inferiority, or even equality, with those who had been formerly subordinate to them. A coalition was the result, which was irresistible in parliament, but soon became, as such a measure is almost certain to become, the source of much dissatisfaction to the country. However, after a protracted negociation, during which all the arts of intrigue were ineffectually exhausted to break and divide this formidable combination, the joint-ministry of the duke of Portland and lord North succeeded. They resumed the plans of reform, which lord Rockingham had not time to accomplish; and as the select committee, in the prosecution of its labours, had reported many fresh and more enormous abuses in the government of the east, they resolved to provide, if possible, an adequate remedy.

This opportunity of attacking them to advantage seems to have been foreseen and anxiously expected. Nor were they ignorant of their danger. It has been related on good authority, that two different projects of laws on this subject were offered to their consideration: one was described as likely to pass quietly, and such as would ostensibly acquit them of their engagement to the public, but not such as would by any means go to the bottom of the evil; the other, it was said, would answer its purpose effectually, but was liable to misrepresentation, and might put their power to the hazard. They chose the latter without hesitation. On this principle two bills were brought in by Mr. Fox; when instantly every cry, no matter how inconsistent, which could catch any class of men, was set up against it, and circulated with unexampled activity through the realm. Yet the House of Commons was firm. The first and principal of the bills was accompanied in every stage of its progress by the approbation of large majorities. But on the second reading in the House of Lords it was thrown out by a private and unconstitutional use, of the king's name to influence the decision. Immediately another administration was formed under Mr. Pitt; and the House of Commons was called upon to transfer their confidence to a minister, whose recommendation to royal favour was his opposition to a measure, which they had sanctioned. Hence sprang, during three months, a train of discussions the most interesting and most essentially bearing on the practice of our constitution, which had taken place since its settlement on the abdication of James the IId. The royal prerogative of appointing to the executive offices of state was not doubted: but it was contended, that if the persons so appointed

pointed did not poſſeſs the confidence of the houſe of commons, they could not ſerve the crown or the public with effect; and that the commons, in judging whether they ſhould give or withhold that confidence, muſt take into conſideration their previous knowledge or even want of knowledge of the perſons ſo appointed, and all the circumſtances of the appointment itſelf. It was aſſerted on the one hand, that it is contrary to the letter and ſpirit of the conſtitution for either houſe of parliament to deſire the removal of miniſters without ſome charge of neglect or miſconduct; but on the other hand, it was maintained, that, in deſiring the removal of miniſters without any ſpecific charge, the commons had the warrant of ancient uſage. There was, however, one principle avowed which many conſidered as above all the reſt, of moſt miſchievous and portentous novelty; it was, that of the crown declaredly appealing from the ſolemn ſenſe of the only conſtitutional repreſentatives of the people to the language of voluntary addreſſes from individuals. Theſe, and indeed all the other chief points in diſpute, were made the ſubject of a grave, dignified, and well-reaſoned repreſentation to the throne, which cloſed the conteſt. Their rights and privileges were thus formally ſaved to poſterity; but the real weakneſs of the houſe of commons from the overwhelming weight of the national debt, connected with the national faith, had been made too manifeſt. The ſtoppage of ſupplies was the old weapon by which the guardians of the public purſe were accuſtomed on every occaſion to enforce their juſt demands. But this was now found impracticable. They would not hazard even the menace: one ſlight meaſure glancing that way, they indeed attempted, to ſecure their own exiſtence. They reſolved, that the iſſue or payment of any money not appropriated by law, is criminal, in the caſe of a diſſolution or prorogation of parliament. Yet the parliament was diſſolved, and the reſolution violated with impunity.

From cauſes already related, the principles of very many among the party, whoſe hiſtory we are tracing, ſeem to have been gradually and inſenſibly warped, even during the life of lord Rockingham; and upon his death, the authority of the head whom they had themſelves choſen, was neceſſarily weaker than that of him around whom they had by various acceſſions, at different and diſtant times collected. The junction with lord North ſeemed at firſt to give preponderance to the ſcale of thoſe who were the moſt temperate in their notions of liberty. Yet it was only for the moment. Succeeding events concurred to puſh them ſtill further from their original ground. Their ſecond diſmiſſal within a year and a half from the ſervice of the crown, fixed their conviction of a determined proſcription having been pronounced againſt them, and threw them ſtill more on the ſupport of the people. The ſtruggle which enſued, diſplayed the good effects of the late œconomical reform on the freedom of parliament; but the iſſue of that ſtruggle, when the crown ſet up the people at large againſt their repreſentatives, taught them, from the violence with which they were attacked at all public meetings, that any thing of an ariſtocratic independency in the houſe of commons was more obnoxious to their conſtituents

conſtituents than a dependency on the crown itſelf. They thought, that the affections of the people were now only to be regained by the profeſſions of other principles than thoſe, on the credit of which the late marquis of Rockingham had firſt erected the pretenſions of his oppoſition. Indeed, the moſt diſtinguiſhed members of that immediate connection ſeemed to be the moſt marked victims of popular rage; while Mr. Fox enjoyed a ſplendid though hard-earned victory at Weſtminſter, as "the man of the people."

On the aſſembling of the new parliament, Mr. Burke endeavoured to bring the party back to their former ground by a detailed yet powerful and maſterly repreſentation on the ſpeech from the throne; but it was received by his adverſaries with a ſneer, and left to its fate with a cold inreference by his friends. In regard to one meaſure only, that by which they fell, the truth of the picture which they had drawn of Indian miſrule, was afterwards eſtabliſhed by the perſeverance and induſtry of the ſame eminent orator in his charges againſt Mr. Haſtings. The effect, however, of their ſucceſs in that particular, was much diminiſhed by the ſhare, which Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, though rather tardily, took with them in that proſecution. For the reſt, their conduct bore the common ſtamp of an able oppoſition, ſeeking to deprive the miniſter of his popularity; and chiefly by ſhewing him inſincere in the hopes which he had excited, of a change in the conſtitution of parliament. Year after year this ſubject was renewed in different ſhapes, and it was ſaid that Mr. Pitt engaged to give it every ſupport in his power, both as a man and a miniſter; but it was obſerved alſo, that the majorities againſt it ſeemed, notwithſtanding, conſtantly to encreaſe. Some few individuals were in conſequence won back to his opponents; though neither their number, nor their weight in the country, was of much conſideration. The favour of the multitude once poſſeſſed and loſt is ſeldom, if at all, and never but with the greateſt difficulty, recovered. The portion of each in the common ſhame of injuſtice and error is ſo ſlight, and the value which all men ſet on their conſiſtency is ſo high, that if they are a ſecond time diſappointed by thoſe to whom they have transferred their confidence, they rather defend themſelves againſt a ſenſe of their own paſt imprudence by blaming all ſides alike, than return with an admiſſion of their raſhneſs to thoſe whom they have injured. Hence comes a real or pretended diſguſt of all public men. There muſt be new counſellors and new councils. Some untried adventurer is ſought, whoever will promiſe moſt largely; perhaps one, whoſe principal recommendation is his neceſſary dependance on popular ſupport, becauſe he has no natural ſtrength of rank, of connexion, or pre-eminent talents in himſelf; and on him are forced wild projects, that inevitably tend, through no very remote conſequences, to change, innovation, and revolution. Such the oppoſition now found to be the temper of all that political claſs in the nation, who, looking almoſt ſolely to the democratical part of our mixt conſtitution, form the natural counterpoiſe to the lovers of monarchical power, and who are of much utility in preſerving the practical balance of the whole, when they ſubmit to be moderated by chiefs of more ſober views, and more enlightened diſcretion.

In the mean time the proſperity of the country went on encreaſing beyond the hopes of the moſt ſanguine. Our old commerce revived and flouriſhed; while branches of manufacture, before of little account, ſuddenly ſhot up with a luxuriance that overtopped at once the proudeſt growth of long-cultivated trade. The vulgar, little accuſtomed, and little anxious to trace effects back to their cauſes, are commonly ready to attribute alike all general happineſs and general miſery to thoſe who adminiſter the government. The bulk of the nation, from the middling claſs upwards, contented, if they are left to enjoy eaſe and comfort in their own way, acquieſce, even where they do not always approve; and here was much which every candid man muſt admire and praiſe in the wiſe uſe which the miniſter made of the public fortune. He took the opportunity to repair the dilapidated revenues of the ſtate. He provided for the future by eſtabliſhing a new and ample ſinking-fund; and bound himſelf down, and with him parliament alſo, as far as he could, to the rigid rule of ſupplying with every additional tax the accompanying means of its ultimate extinction. His abilities as a financier, which were ſet off by an unparalleled perſpicuity in ſtating and explaining the moſt intricate accounts, were univerſally acknowledged; and in the modern ſyſtem of Europe every thing in war as well as in peace had been made to turn on the good management of the finances. Abroad, little occurred to put his talents to the proof, except the reſtoration of the Stadtholder to his conſtitutional authority in Holland, in which meaſure he did not engage till he had received aſſurances of ſupport from his political opponents. The hereditary terror of his name, however, made Great Britain reſpected and feared by her enemies, notwithſtanding her humiliation in the preceding peace. Many, who at firſt had been ſtrongly revolted by his mode of acquiring power, thus became reconciled to the manner in which he exerciſed it. Neither was it of ſmall advantage to him, that men of moral habits and grave characters were attracted and fixed by the reputation of his private virtues. With a miniſter ſo circumſtanced, and gifted as he was with eloquence the moſt conſummate, a competition for popularity was ſoon found to be deſperate.

The name, by which a party is commonly called, is never indifferent, and ſometimes has a powerful influence in their favour. The oppoſition, in the early part of their career, had been diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Rockingham Whigs: a name, which to the profeſſion of known principles of conſtitutional liberty, tempered by well-diſcriminated and declared modifications, added a ſentiment of attachment to the perſon of a nobleman generally eſteemed and revered. But this was gone for ever. The old diviſion into Whigs and Tories, after the late junctions on both ſides, could with no propriety be applied, though ſome faint endeavours were made for that purpoſe. Neither could the deſignations of court-party and country-party, which Mr. Pulteney had affected to uſe in his oppoſition to Sir Robert Walpole, be now adopted conſiſtently with the indiſputable ſenſe of the country. In this difficulty, the oppoſition-party too much yielded to imitate their adverſaries in borrowing a name from that

that of their great leader in the houſe of commons; an unfortunate choice, ſince the contraſt of the ſons renewed all the vulgar prejudices on the one ſide and the other, which had formerly marked the political contention of the fathers, while neither ſide, in this reſpect, held forth to the public any thing which addreſſed itſelf to the reaſon, any thing which implied a ſet of clear and well-defined principles. What was offered on both ſides ſeemed too like a bond of mere perſonal connexion.

Still there remained in the party not a few, who ſaw with ſilent regret how wide had been the departure from their original tenets, but who, ſo long as no practical queſtion rendered it a poſitive duty to avow their ſentiments, were ſatisfied to ſuppreſs them from that affection with which the amiable qualities, nowiſe inferior to the great endowments of Mr. Fox, are ſaid to have inſpired all who came near him in ſociety. The French revolution by degrees more and more drew this latent ſchiſm into notice and operation. The conſequences have been largely explained in our recent volumes; and were now, in 1794, conſummated by the actual ſeparation of the two different diviſions of the party. They who joined the miniſter were unjuſtly accuſed of apoſtacy by thoſe whom they left behind. Through this trial the general eſtimation of their characters would have borne them in ſafety, but they were ſoon, unwiſely we think, extinguiſhed and annihilated by thoſe among whom they were received.

Retroſpects, ſuch as we have here traced, when occaſionally taken, and at important epochs, combine the ſcattered events of a long and deſultory narrative into one united view. They illuſtrate the paſt, and furniſh inſtruction for the future. Here, eſpecially, they are uſeful in periodical publications of contemporary hiſtory, in which the ſeveral portions, as they paſs before the mind, are neceſſarily too large to allow a comprehenſive glance over the whole. They make that a picture, which was only a confuſed groupe. The party, whoſe riſe, ſucceſs, decline and fall, we have here connectively reviewed, grew out of the circumſtances into which the tranſactions of the preceding reign had thrown the great connexions of the country; but from the example of their failure, both with the court and the country, it is not probable that their conduct and their plan of action will be imitated by others Yet their loſs may hereafter be felt and acknowledged. We may find, and too late lament, the want of ſuch a firm and ſolid barrier, capable of oppoſing reſiſtance to the will, ſometimes of the prince, and ſometimes of the people; for the lords have long ceaſed to be practically, what theoretically they are repreſented to be in our mixed conſtitution: conſequently, in any domeſtic agitation, the two extremes muſt ruſh into immediate colliſion. Whenever that awful conflict comes, whichever ſide may then prevail (and it is yet in the chances that either may, though every thing ſeem now to favour the accompliſhment of Hume's prophecy) the beautiful variety of our happy conſtitution muſt, in all likelihood, reſolve itſelf really, if not nominally, into one of the ſimple forms. We fervently hope it may not be our lot to relate it!

CHAP. XIII.

Further account of proceedings in the interior of France; effects of the ſyſtem of terror in the capital; vaſt numbers executed and impriſoned; number and ſtate of the priſons; the comfort of the priſoners abridged; ſpies introduced; the priſoners deprived of their property; cruelty to women; the priſons crouded; meals; treatment of the ſick; horrors of the night; ſyſtem of the revolutionary tribunal; frivolous charges; mode of delivering acts of accuſation. Trial of the princeſs Elizabeth; of M. Lamoignon de Malesherbes; count D'Eſtaing; the duke de Biron; M. M. Thouret, d'Eſpremenil. Iſnbeau d'Youval, and general Alexander Beauharnois. Rivalſhip of parties; the Cordeliers not united; Danton, Camille Deſmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine, in oppoſition to the reſt; alarms of Danton; his reliance on Robeſpierre; who undertakes to protect him; artful propoſals of Robeſpierre; Danton allows the arreſt of certain members of the club of Cordeliers; Camille Deſmoulins writes againſt them; alarm of the jacobins; conduct of Robeſpierre; perſeverance of Camille Deſmoulins; Hebert endeavours to excite an inſurrection, but fails; he is arreſted with ſeveral others; and tried; his behaviour; that of Anacharſis Cloots; they are executed; joy of the people; Robeſpierre pledged to deſtroy Danton and his friends; his interview with Danton; Amar preſents to the convention a report againſt certain members; St. Juſt obtains the arreſt of two more; conduct of Danton on theſe occaſions; ſpeech of Tallien in the jacobin club; the printing of it oppoſed by Robeſpierre; his ſpeech on conſpirators; report of Barrere; Danton, Lacroix, Camille Deſmoulins, and Phillippeaux arreſted; motion of Legendre that they ſhould be heard at the bar; oppoſed by Robeſpierre; and rejected; report againſt the impriſoned deputies by St. Juſt; decree of accuſation unanimouſly voted; behaviour of the priſoners; their trial; and execution; the wife of Camille Deſmoulins alſo executed, with general Arthur Dillon, and Gobet the apoſtate biſhop of Paris.

IT is now intended to reſume the account of tranſactions under that government, on the model of which the individuals whoſe trials have juſt been noticed, propoſed to reform that of Great Britain. Fatigued and diſguſted as we are, and the reader moſt probably muſt be, with the view of cruelties and enormities committed in the departments, it will not be expected that we ſhall return to that part of the ſubject: its copiouſneſs indeed is vaſt, for ſucceſs in the ſuppreſſion of inſurrection or in external warfare, did not abate the ferocity of perſecution; but its uniformity is tedious; for rapine, luſt and cruelty, even in exceſs, admit little variety of deſcription, and it would be a waſte of time, after noticing the contrivances by which towns were demoliſhed and regions depopulated, to deſcant on crimes of ſmaller extent, or particularize the wrongs and ſufferings of individuals. Suffice it then generally to obſerve, that during the exiſtence of that ſyſtem which has been called the reign of terror, the

dignified air of an old courtier, and submitted to his fate without repining.

Among others who had been conspicuous in the early periods of the revolution, and victims to its progress, were Thouret, who had shewn a disposition to accommodate himself to the prevalent opinion, whether for monarchy or a republic: and D'Esprémenil, who after having been the idol of the people for his opposition to the court, while a member of parliament at Paris, was held in detestation, and threatened with massacre for his attachment to the monarchy. These two went together to the scaffold; and D'Esprémenil, struck with the identity of their fate, notwithstanding the repugnance of their conduct, said, "This day, M. Thouret, gives us "a dreadful problem to solve: "against whom of us two will the "hootings of the mob be directed?" "Against both, believe "me," answered Thouret. If this reply afforded a dreadful specimen of the fate attending adventurers in revolutions, that of Isabeau d'Youval, formerly the chief clerk of the parliament at Paris, shews, in a striking view, the difference between the old and the modern system. The revolutionary tribunal, before which he was tried, sat in the hall which had been occupied by the parliament. "You "must recollect this hall," said the president to him with a sneer. "Yes," he answered, "this "is the place where innocence "formerly sat in judgment on "crime, but where criminals now "condemn the innocent."

The severity which sentenced to the scaffold generals who were unsuccessful in their operations, or who did not pursue their good fortune to as great a degree as the government thought they might, was instanced in the preceding volume in the fate of Custine, Lamarliere, and Houchard *. The same spirit pursued to death many other military chiefs, among whom may be particularly mentioned Alexander Beauharnois, a native of Martinique, an ex-noble, and for a short period commander of the army of the Rhine. His death alone did not seem to satisfy the ruling party, for his wife was sent at the same time to the prison of St. Pelagie; but her life was spared through powerful intervention, and the public mind was much interested in her favour by the publication of an affectionate letter which her husband addressed to her a short time before his execution.

But although these cruelties were perpetrated without apparent opposition, the ruling parties were not cordially united; although to distant observers the goverament committees jointly, and Robespierre in particular as their chief and director, appeared to govern France with uncontrouled and undisputed sway, there was, in fact, a jealous rivalship among certain leaders which could only terminate in the destruction of the party which should fail of gaining the ascendancy. The rising hostility between the jacobins and cordeliers might have been productive of a very serious conflict, had the latter been sincerely and cordially united; but

* Vol. XXXV. pages 377. 382.

Danton,

Danton, Fabre d'Eglantine, Camille Desmoulins, and some other conspicuous members of that society, could not level themselves to the degradation requisite for an intimate association with Hebert, Chaumette, and the disgusting wretches who formed their division of the club. While attacks on religion and the depravation of public morals alone were to be attempted, they acted in concert; but those who had gained wealth by the revolution, wishing also to enjoy ease and respect, were jealous of the perpetual efforts of Hebert and his associates to keep alive the feverish fermentation of the public mind, and still more angry when le Pere Duchesne began to direct his vulgar invective against the enriched patriots, Danton was now little disposed to engage in public business; he was sufficiently rich, and wished to enjoy, in voluptuous retirement, the property he had acquired. It is said, indeed, that he was anxious, in conjunction with Legendre and some others, to terminate the system of terror, and to bring about a mode of government more consistent with humanity; but personal safety was with him a matter of higher importance than the public good, and the crisis in which he saw the two popular societies involved gave him the greatest alarms. The attacks on rich patriots, although not applied to him by name, could not fail of reaching him by implication. And he, who bravely thundered forth his defence in the convention, when justly accused of causing and promoting the massacres in September, trembled with alarm at the probability that he should be accused of taking to his own use some portion of the public money during his mission in Belgium. On the other hand, when the *epuration*, as it was called, of the jacobin club began, he was equally frightened lest he should be endangered by that transaction: several leading jacobins, as Billaud-Varennes, Collot D'Herbois, St. Just, and Couthon, were his avowed enemies; but still he reckoned with confidence on the professed friendship of Robespierre.

Under the influence of alarm, he quitted his retreat, dissatisfied with the new system of government, although its principles originated with himself. He considered it a proof of weakness to abstain from a crime which could be deemed necessary, or merely useful; but to persist in acts of needless atrocity, never to enjoy the fruits of, but to be for ever enslaved to crimes, excited his contempt and indignation. He wished for a system of terror, but he considered that as attained if the sword was always ready to strike, without thrusting with it every moment. Robespierre received him with every appearance of friendship, but undertaking to be his protector, he not merely assumed, but acquired a superiority over him, and he gained the great advantage of making the popular, the impetuous Danton, bend to him, and to the committee of public safety. Robespierre managed this matter with infinite art. Having learnt from his friend, that he was displeased with the excessive and wanton effusion of blood, he affected to be equally so, but unable to direct public affairs agreeably to his own inclinations. My popularity, he said, is immense, but

but I have no power. The jacobins honour me, but they fear and they follow the filthy Hebert. Robespierre and Danton united might break the yoke of the deteſtable leaders of the commune. All the anarchy which they direct has its principle in the revolutionary laws, of which they uſurp the entire execution; be it ours to preſerve thoſe laws, but ſo to take our meaſures that we may guide their operation, and not ſuffer it to exceed the bounds which our ſafety preſcribes.

By overtures thus ſpecious and artful, Robeſpierre gained the entire confidence and co-operation of Danton, preventing the more dangerous, and to Danton more natural recourſe of an open declaration of hoſtility, and an inſurrection of the cordeliers againſt the mountain and the committee of public ſafety. Inſtead therefore of reſenting, he calmly acquieſced in the meaſure which had been adopted, of arreſting Chabot, Thuriot, Bazire, Delaunay d'Angers, Paine, and Clootz, and prepared the way for further exertions of the ſame kind, by encouraging Camille Deſmoulins to attack the men of blood.

Camille had received a good education, and from the beginning of the revolution had been engaged in the conflicts of party. His violent and ſanguinary writings, at an early period, procured him the title of *procureur general de la lanterne*; but he was allowed to poſſeſs a conſiderable portion of wit, and during the conteſt between the mountain and the girondiſts, had diſplayed it to ſome advantage in an anſwer to Briſſot's addreſs to his conſtituents. As he was conſidered a perſonal favourite with Robeſpierre, and had been his fellow collegian, Danton made no ſcruple of intruſting him with the project of a committee of clemency, which had been arranged with Robeſpierre, and the power of which was to conſiſt in extending mercy to thoſe who ſhould be convicted of crimes, without any evil intention. In a paper called *le vieux Cordelier*, Deſmoulins for the firſt time appeared the advocate of humanity. He choſe for the form of his attack, a parallel between a period in ancient hiſtory and his own times, aſſimilating France under the reign of pretended liberty, to Rome under the dominion of Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian. For this purpoſe he ſelected paſſages from Tacitus; but the application of them to living characters was ſo manifeſt, that no one could, and no one did miſtake it. Againſt Robeſpierre, however, none of theſe ſtrokes were directed; to him Camille paid direct and obſequious homage, and he diſcloſed in this paper the project of a committee of clemency. This publication inſpired joy and hope throughout the numerous priſons of the republic. The wretched captives could not believe that ſuch ſentiments proceeded from the pen of Camille Deſmoulins, without the full and explicit ſanction of Robeſpierre. Soon, however, their viſionary joys were diſpelled; the jacobins, full of horror and rage, demanded the proſcription of the author, and Robeſpierre, who by eſpouſing his cauſe, and openly adopting his project, might have ſecured unlimited power, ſhrunk from the appearance of oppoſition,

and

and after disavowing all the sentiments of Camille, affected to shield him from danger by expressions of contemptuous pity.

Instead of desisting at once from a task in which he was so little encouraged, Camille seems to have imagined that by assuming a bolder tone, he should induce Robespierre openly to avow his sentiments. In succeeding numbers of his journal, therefore, he attacked Hebert, Chaumette, and their associates, in terms which evidently prepared the way for their ruin, but which at the same time insured his own. In his efforts he was aided, and in courage even exceeded by another deputy named Philippeaux, who gave a detail of all the massacres which had been sanctioned by the committee of public safety and the commune of Paris, and alleged that they had sent troops on purpose to be defeated, in order to prolong the troubles in La Vendée.

Hebert, Chaumette, and the portion of the cordeliers acting immediately with them, sensible that in the final result of such an attack one or the other party must be sacrificed, prepared some measures of resistance, but they were feeble and ill judged. Instead of making a forcible appeal to the jacobins, they abandoned that society, and affected to elevate the cordeliers in opposition to it. Taking advantage of a temporary indisposition of Robespierre, Hebert endeavoured, by means of the cordeliers, to excite the people against the jacobins, but in vain. The section of Marat declared itself in a state of insurrection, but the rest of the city did not follow the example. Hebert, from the tribune of the cordeliers, declared that tyranny existed, and caused a veil of black crape to be thrown over the rights of man. This measure only precipitated his ruin: he was arrested, together with Ronsin, Vincent, and several associates, and conducted to the Conciergerie, tied hand and foot. The joy of the prisoners was extreme, they considered themselves secure from another 2d of September; a fear which had haunted them during their confinement, while these sanguinary ruffians governed the public mind. In prison Hebert bewailed his fate in accents of effeminate despondency. Previously to his trial he endeavoured to avert the impending storm, by declaring in his journal that he was not present at the cordeliers when the resolution passed to throw the crape over the rights of man; and that he meant not to glance at Robespierre when he attacked the enriched deputies. His assertions were calculated to ruin others, but not to save himself. When Ronsin, his fellow prisoner, saw the publication, he observed it was all idle prate, and that his only chance of defence was to have produced parallel passages from the papers of Marat.

Hebert was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, together with nineteen others, charged with a conspiracy, of the existence of which there was not a shadow of proof; but that did not prevent the jury from finding all the parties guilty, except Laboureau. Hebert, petrified with terror, did not say a word in his defence. On returning to prison he gave way to fear and despair; he repeatedly fainted, and was at times delirious; he expressed a wish

a wish to die, yet had not that gloomy courage, the offspring of desperation, bordering on insanity, which leads to the commission of suicide. Clootz alone, of all this worthless band, seemed to retain his resolution and principles. While in prison, he gloried in the blasphemous title of personal enemy to Jesus Christ, and in frequent disputes with Thomas Paine, who had recently published the Age of Reason, reproached him for retaining too many religious and political prejudices. On his trial he appealed to the human race, whose orator he had been, but none of his clients interfered, and he was condemned to death. The night which preceded their execution was passed by the rest of the condemned in complaint and mutual accusation, till Clootz finished the dispute by repeating with a loud voice, the apologue, beginning "*Je revais cette nuit, que de mal "couſumé;*" well known by the English translation,

"I dreamt that, gather'd to my fellow clay,
"Close to a common beggar's side I lay," &c.

This quotation, convincing the disputants that all their differences would be soon compromised, by sharing one common lot, brought them to a more pacific disposition. Clootz then exhorted them to die with resolution, and endeavoured to confirm their atheistical opinions, and stifle the reproaches of conscience. His efforts failed with most of his friends, who betrayed the most dreadful alarms; but Clootz himself died with a firmness not to be expected from his principles. They went to the guillotine with the genuine and heartfelt joy of the inhabitants of Paris, who hoped to gain a respite from the sanguinary, immoral, and disgusting scenes they had excited and applauded. The Parisians now ventured to wash their faces and wear clean linen, and the club of cordeliers, after a vain attempt to conciliate the jacobins, sunk into insignificance.

The exultation and derision with which the people of Paris pursued to the scaffold these wretches, before whom they had so lately prostrated themselves, rendered the victory over them alarming even to those who had gained it. When they heard the mob execrate Hebert, and repeat in tones of insult all the atrocious jokes which he had printed in his journal on the guillotine and its victims, the individuals of the predominant party anticipated their own destiny; and felt how little they could rely on the attachment of the people in any reverse of fortune. But to Robespierre and those who acted with him this reflection came too late. They were already pledged to a mode of conduct which had in part been acted upon, and from which they could not desist. The members of the committee of public safety, who felt the bitterest indignation at the publication of Camille Desmoulins, insisted on the destruction of all that party, as the condition of sacrificing the other divisions of the cordeliers. Robespierre, it is said, fought on the occasion an interview with Danton, which took place at Charenton, the scene of their former conspiracies, the place where they had made their arrangements before the 10th of August and the 31st of May. Their communication was remarkably

ably amicable and cordial; their old friendſhip appeared to renew its vigour, and probably their union and co-operation would have been perfect, but Danton, with too great openneſs, let Robeſpierre underſtand that it was part of his project to be equal with him in power. Robeſpierre, whoſe principal paſſion was ambition, and who in his preſent ſituation felt the inconvenience of having coadjutors who claimed equality of authority, from that moment abandoned the cauſe, and renounced the alliance of Danton. He returned the following day to the committee of public ſafety, and agreed that the ſacrifice ſhould extend to all the parties deſired.

In purſuance of this plan, before the execution of Hebert and his party, March 16. Amar preſented to the convention a report againſt Bazire, Delaunay of Angers, Julien of Thouloufe, and Fabre d'Eglantine, all members of the convention, who had been arreſted as conſpirators. This report charged the parties with conſpiring to deſtroy the republic, and ſeeking to effect their object by correſpondence with the enemy, by corruption, by falſifying the decrees of the convention, and by money ſpeculations. It proceeded chiefly on the diſcloſures made by Chabot in his examination. This report did not entirely ſatisfy Billaud-Varennes and Robeſpierre; they inſiſted that additions ſhould be made, declaring that the plan of the parties arreſted was to vilify and diſſolve the national repreſentation, and formed a part of the horrible perfidy of Pitt, and all the agents of foreign powers, and their propoſition was adopted. The following day St. Juſt March 17. obtained a decree of arreſt againſt Herault de Sechelles and Simon, an ex-prieſt, alſo members of the convention, the principal ground of which was, their having intereſted themſelves on behalf of a foreigner arreſted as a conſpirator.

During all theſe tranſactions, the energetic Danton, always hitherto ſo conſpicuous in times of public alarm and commotion, was little diſtinguiſhed, and never advantageouſly. In the jacobin club, Billaud-Varennes announced the conſpiracy and arreſt of Hebert and his accomplices, and, together with Robeſpierre, received great applauſes; but Danton took no ſhare in the debate. On the arreſt of Chabot and his party, Bourdon de l'Oiſe made a motion reſpecting the conſpiracy of foreigners, and mentioned the number of German deſerters aſſembled near Paris; Danton ſupported him in his uſual tone, and with his uſual effect, for his ſpeech was applauded; but the aim of his harangue was to confirm the power of his ſecret enemies, and inſpire confidence in the committees of government. He applauded the arreſt of March 19. Hebert's party, deſcribing them as men who had aſſumed the maſk of patriotiſm to aſſaſſinate the people of France. "Be "not afraid," he ſaid, "liberty "muſt bubble up till all the ſcum "boils over." In the ſame ſitting, however, he was obliged to enter into ſome explanations, in conſequence of a defence which he made of the commune, in which the preſident conſidered himſelf miſrepreſented. In theſe, which are his only recorded exertions, Danton neither did nor ſaid any thing worthy of the character he had eſtabliſhed, or of the power to which

which he aſpired. If he wiſhed to ſhare the higheſt authority with Robeſpierre, the diſplay of feebleneſs could not ſerve him; or if he feared a party in the committee of public ſafety, he acted unwiſely in ſuffering his adherents the cordeliers to be thus ſeparated, defeated, and ſent in ſmall diviſions to priſon. His ſituation was undoubtedly full of alarm and diſquiet, for amid the clamours of the day, the enriched patriots were never forgotten, and many reflections were made, both in the convention and at the clubs, on thoſe whoſe circumſtances were much improved ſince the year 1789. If Danton relied on the popularity and authority of Robeſpierre to defend him againſt theſe attacks, ſtill he muſt have known that the protector does not often deſcend to be the equal of him he has protected, and his hopes muſt have been depreſſed by obſerving, that on the occaſions above noticed, he received from him no ſupport or approbation.

The danger which Danton did not perceive, owing perhaps to his blind confidence in Robeſpierre, was certainly apparent to Tallien, who read in the jacobin club a diſcourſe, in which he declared, that it was not ſufficient to have rendered abortive the criminal projects of men who ſought the overthrow of liberty, but it was ſtill neceſſary to guard againſt the ariſtocrats, the modérés, and the feuillans. All theſe men, he ſaid, were full of joy and triumph at the preſent ſtate of things, he complained of thoſe who endeavoured to diſcourage the ſections, and popular ſocieties, by aſſerting that no confidence was to be placed in the patriots; and he expreſſed great apprehenſion leſt any one of this claſs ſhould unfortunately be comprized in an act of accuſation, and thus afford a triumph to the ariſtocrats. The obvious intent of this ſpeech was to ſuſpend proceedings of which he dreaded the reſult; and by the uſe of accuſtomed words, to drive the public attention into its uſual channel; but when ſome of his friends moved that it ſhould be printed, Robeſpierre oppoſed the propoſition with conſiderable bitterneſs. It was not true, he aſſerted, that the ariſtocrats and modérés were overjoyed and raiſing their heads; the late proceedings of the convention had overwhelmed them with deſpair. But, he added, a faction does exiſt, it is not that of the ariſtocrats of Coblentz, that has long been unmaſked; it is not that of the Lameths and La Fayette, that has long ceaſed to alarm; but the faction of the day is characterized by its crimes; it is denounced by the evidence of facts, which has enlightened the people; the moment is not far diſtant when it ſhall be unmaſked; the committee of public ſafety has promiſed; the convention and the people have commanded it; the committee will do its duty; it will perish, or the people ſhall be ſaved. Struck with terror at the tone of this ſpeech, and particularly at the concluding obſervations, in which he might eaſily think himſelf deſcribed, Tallien humbly acknowledged his error, and oppoſed the printing of his own ſpeech.

Mar. 21.

In the ſame ſitting, Robeſpierre again took occaſion to return to this dangerous ſubject. Foreign nations, he obſerved, had in their

pay in France, not only the faction of the modérés, but one of perfidious men, who under the diſguiſe of extravagant patriotiſm would murder the patriots. In the eyes of theſe wretches, the republic is nothing but an object of rapine, the people are only a vile herd fit to be yoked to their car and drag them to opulence and ſplendour. Factions of this kind appear whenever the people are tranquil. You have ſeen La Fayette, Petion, and Dumouriez, forming horrible plots to famiſh and deſtroy you. Thoſe monſters fell, others ſucceeded them, and others will ſtill ſucceed, if the convention delays to ſtrike down all factions. If the ſucceſſors of Briſſot do not ſhare his fate, prepare yourſelves for the greateſt calamities. You will ſee villains introduced into the army, and certain public functionaries combine with them; the tranquillity you now enjoy will be but fleeting; your armies will be defeated, your wives and children maſſacred; the republic will be torn into ſhreds; Paris will be ſtarved; you yourſelves will periſh by the hands of your enemies, and you will leave your poſterity under the yoke of tyranny. But the convention is determined to ſave the people, by cruſhing at once all the factions inimical to liberty. This alarming and myſterious ſpeech was received with loud applauſe, and Legendre, an intimate friend and partizan of Danton, declared, that when the committee of public ſafety ſhould have pointed out the factious, it would be the duty of all good citizens to deliver them up to the ſword of juſtice, regardleſs of the ties of blood or of friendſhip.

From theſe dreadful intimations it was eaſy to underſtand that more ſacrifices were intended, but ſo effectually were the members of the convention ſubdued by terror, and diſunited by miſtruſt, that all awaited in awful expectation, the mandate which was to be iſſued, and in which no one could be ſure that he ſhould be ſpared. Mar. 30. At length Barrere produced a report, from the committee of public ſafety, on the meaſures which had been reſorted to for purifying the offices of government, by giving places unworthily occupied to more deſerving and leſs ſelfiſh patriots. Treating then on the conſpiracy lately detected, he ſaid, the more we examine, the more we diſcover how dangerous and extenſive this combination was. It was connected with the diſſolution of all moral principles, and with the religious feuds which were to be excited by violence and by preaching atheiſm. The committee, he added, was employed on a vaſt plan of regeneration, the reſult of which ſhould be the excluſion of immorality and prejudice, of ſuperſtition and atheiſm.

That ſame night Danton, Lacroix, Camille Deſmoulins, and Philippeaux were arreſted. So little judgment can be formed of the probable conduct of men in critical circumſtances from their actions in other times, that great ſurprize has been expreſſed at the tameneſs with which Danton and Lacroix, both men of great corporeal ſtrength and conſiderable popularity, ſuffered themſelves to be taken to a priſon from which they knew they ſhould only be led out to execution. A ſtruggle could only have ended in death, which they could not hope to avoid, but might

might have intereſted in their favour a portion of the people, or even the guards ſent to ſecure them.

When the convention met the following day, Delmas moved, that the members of the committees, who were alſo members of the legiſlature, ſhould be invited immediately to attend. This propoſition being decreed, Legendre ſtated, that four members of the convention had been arreſted during the night. Danton was one; but the names of the others he did not know. He declared himſelf perſuaded of the innocence of Danton, recounted the ſervices he had rendered, and his great and effectual labours in eſtabliſhing the republic; and as a proof of the zeal of the impriſoned member and himſelf in the cauſe of liberty, he affirmed, that it had been agreed between them in 1790, that if either ſwerved from his attachment to the intereſts of the people, the other ſhould immediately ſtab him. He moved, therefore, that before any report was made the priſoners ſhould be heard at the bar.

Mar. 31.

This ſpeech ſeemed at firſt to find ſome favour with the mountain, but while Legendre was proceeding the members of the committee of public ſafety entered the hall. Their ſtep was ſlow and ſolemn, their deportment compoſed, and their looks gloomy and malignant. Legendre trembled, and pauſed: "Go on," ſaid Robeſpierre coolly, "it is fit we ſhould "know all the accomplices of the "traitors and conſpirators whom "we have arreſted." This intimation left Legendre without a ſupporter. Payan made a ſpeech in oppoſition to his propoſal, and Robeſpierre immediately appeared in the tribune. By the agitation of the aſſembly at the commencement of Legendre's ſpeech, he obſerved, it was evident that ſome queſtion of great intereſt was to be brought forward. But why was ſuch a motion now to be made; a motion which was declared criminal and contemptible when made by Danton himſelf in behalf of Bazire, Chabot, and Fabre d'Eglantine? It muſt be becauſe it was thought fit to try whether the intereſt of a few ambitious hypocrites, ſhould not prevail over the intereſt of the whole people of France. Legendre, he proceeded, affects not to know the names of the other perſons arreſted; yet all the convention knows them. His friend, Lacroix, is one; why does he feign ignorance of that? becauſe he knows it would be the height of impudence to attempt a defence of Lacroix. But Danton's name is preſſed forward, doubtleſs becauſe he thinks that to the name of Danton ſome privilege is attached. No; we will allow of no privileges; we will have no idols. We ſhall ſee, this day, whether the convention will dare to break a pretended idol long ſince rotten; and whether in its fall it will cruſh the legiſlature and the people of France. Might not all the praiſes which have been beſtowed on Danton, have been, with equal juſtice, applied to Briſſot, Petion, Chabot, to Hebert himſelf; and to many others who have ſpread through the country the lofty clamour of their deceitful patriotiſm. What then are we to think of thoſe men, who to their perſonal attachments, or perhaps to their fears, are ſacrificing the

intereſts

intereſts of the country; who, at the moment when equality triumphs, dare attempt to deſtroy it within theſe walls. They fear that the deputies will ſuffer oppreſſion; they diſtruſt then, the juſtice of the nation. I ſay, whoever expreſſes fear on this occaſion is guilty; for innocence can never be alarmed at public vigilance. Attempts have been made to alarm even me; I have been told that the danger which involves Danton reaches mé; I have received letters from his friends; they have beſet me with flattering diſcourſes, and by recalling our old friendſhip have endeavoured to relax my zeal, and cool my love of liberty. On me theſe things make no impreſſion; I deſpiſe danger; my life belongs to my country. I was once the friend of Petion, but when he took off the maſk I abandoned him; I was alſo intimate with Roland, he became a traitor, I denounced him; Danton follows their ſteps, and is nothing in my eyes but an enemy of the country. After ſome more obſervations of the ſame kind, Robeſpierre moved the previous queſtion on Legendre's motion, which he conſidered a criminal attempt, an outrage on liberty. No man ventured to ſay a word in favour of the propoſition thus attacked, and after a few words from Legendre, in juſtification of himſelf, and a furious ſpeech from Barrere againſt ſuch motions, the debate ended.

The ſpeech of Robeſpierre was heard by the galleries with the accuſtomed applauſe, and by the convention with its uſual deference; but its reception was far from ſatisfactory to the ſpeaker. Whichever way he turned his eyes, he ſaw evident marks of conſternation and diſmay; thoſe whom he endeavoured to animate he could only appal, and while he laboured to ſhew that fear was a proof of guilt, he felt himſelf its moſt forcible influence; he ſaw that of all the murders he had committed, this alone would claim ſevere retribution, and that while the blood of the innocent cried in vain for juſtice, the guilty Danton would find implacable avengers.

After Robeſpierre, St. Juſt took his place in the tribune, and read a very long report againſt the impriſoned deputies, comprizing them all in one great conſpiracy, and including in that conſpiracy all the tranſactions of all the unpopular parties which had appeared ſince the revolution. According to this rambling romance, Camille Deſmoulins, Herault de Sechelles, Danton, Philippeaux, Lacroix, and Fabre d'Eglantine, were all parties in one grand plot, which had in view only "to abſorb the "revolution in a change of dy"naſty." This plot connected together and made one guiding principle of the ſucceſſive factions of Mirabeau, the Lameths, La Fayette, Briſſot, D'Orleans, Dumouriez, Chabot, Fabre, and Danton. To believe this report, Danton, who directed the maſſacres in September 1792, was in a conſpiracy with thoſe whom he murdered; with the Briſſotines, whoſe proſcription he procured; and with Hebert, againſt whom he had declared open war, Such a maſs of abſurdities and contradictions, relating only to the tranſactions of a few years, which all preſent knew and remembered, could impoſe on no one; yet ſuch was the

effect of terror, and ſuch the abject ſlavery to which theſe aſſertors of univerſal freedom were reduced, that the decree of accuſation moved after reading the report, was paſſed without a ſingle diſſentient voice.

Meanwhile, the intended victims, expecting neither juſtice nor mercy, were preparing, not for trial, but their doom. While in priſon, the conduct of the individuals ſhewed the ſtate of their minds, and the effect of their principles. Chabot, in deſpair, ſwallowed a large quantity of corroſive ſublimate; but antidotes being timely adminiſtered, he eſcaped inſtant death, though he ſuffered excruciating tortures. Camille Deſmoulins was dejected, and indignant at the treachery of Robeſpierre, who had ſpoken to him the very evening before his arreſt with more than uſual appearance of cordiality. But in the dejection of Camille, there was no appearance of cowardice. His heart, indeed, was ſoftened, his conduct reformed, and his hopes of life animated by his marriage with a moſt amiable woman; on her his heart was fixed with ſincere affection, but he betrayed no alarm, or unmanly ſolicitude. Fabre d'Eglantine behaved with effeminate weakneſs; terror impaired his health, and he whined forth unmanly lamentations, weakly diſguiſing the real cauſe under a pretended literary alarm, leſt Billaud-Varennes ſhould aſſume the merit of a play which had been ſeized among his papers. Danton maintained the ſuperiority of his character even in his fall. He did not give way to unmanly lamentation, or indulge hopes which he knew could not be realized. He ſeemed collected within himſelf, and anxious only to leave favourable impreſſions reſpecting his own character, and ſuch ſuſpicions as might turn to the ruin of his deſtroyers. His converſation, compoſed, as uſual, of oaths and obſcenities, was intermingled with vindications of his paſt conduct, expreſſions of regret at the ſtate of the republic, ridicule of individuals in the committee of public ſafety, and praiſes of nature and rural life.

On the report of St. Juſt, an act of accuſation was framed, to anſwer which April 6. Fabre d'Eglantine, Delaunay, Chabot, Camille Deſmoulins, Lacroix, Philippeaux, Bazire, Herault de Sechelles, and Danton, deputies, together with d'Eſpagnac, a contractor, two brothers named Frey, alſo contractors, natives of Moravia, Guſman, a Spaniard, and Diederickſen, a Dane, were brought to trial before the revolutionary tribunal. Fabre d'Eglantine, incapable of recovering from his mental depreſſion, had an armchair allotted to him, and appeared in great agony; but the lofty courage of Danton imparted ſpirits to the reſt. Several made characteriſtic anſwers to the interrogatory reſpecting their age and place of abode. Camille, being thirty-three years old, made a profane alluſion to the reſidence of our bleſſed Saviour on earth: Danton ſaid his abode would ſoon be in a ſtate of non-entity, but his name would be found in the pantheon of hiſtory; and Herault de Sechelles ſaid he was called Mary-John, names not apt to fail even among the ſaints; "Before the re-"volution," he added, "I had a "ſeat

" ſeat in this hall, where I was " deteſted by the members of the " parliament." Lacroix and Camille Deſmoulins, interrupted the reading of the act of accuſation, by expreſſing ſurprize at finding themſelves involved with ſuch contemptible knaves as d'Eſpagnac and the foreigners. Danton refuſed to anſwer interrogatories, unleſs confronted by Barrere and Robeſpierre, his accuſers; demanded a peruſal of St. Juſt's report, and amuſed himſelf by ſhooting paper bullets in the face of the chief judge. The preſident was obliged to diſpatch a meſſenger to the convention, and obtain a decree empowering the jury to paſs ſentence on refractory priſoners; but Robeſpierre and Barrere refuſed to attend, on pretence that there was a plot to aſſaſſinate them. Though Danton had no hope of ſaving his life, he made a defence, in hope that it might be tranſmitted to the public. In vain the preſident endeavoured to ſilence him, his Stentorian voice drowned the tinkling of the bell. " Priſoner," ſaid the magiſtrate, " do " you hear the bell?" " Preſident," anſwered Danton, " the " voice of a man, defending his " life and character, ought to " ſilence your bell." The people, unuſed to ſuch boldneſs, expreſſed their diſapprobation in murmurs. " People," he cried, form " your judgment of me when " you have heard me; what I ſay " ought to be heard, not only by " you, but by all France; before " ſix months are paſt, you will tear " to pieces thoſe who now fit in " judgment on me, as well as the " ſcoundrels by whoſe orders I " am brought to trial. They have " reduced you to ſlavery, and are " now daily ſacrificing you." He was at length prevailed upon to retire, under pretence of taking ſome refreſhment; and, in his abſence, condemned, by virtue of the decree againſt contumacious priſoners, which had been juſt obtained from the convention.

Sentence was paſſed at three o'clock in the afternoon, and at ſix the whole party was carried to the guillotine. It was remarked as a ſingular phænomenon, that the people ſhewed no joy, but let fall ſome expreſſions of ſympathy at their fate. Danton went to the ſcaffold with the terrific countenance by which he had long been characterized; his fortitude never failed, and he even affected an extraordinary degree of pleaſantry; he quibbled with Fabre d'Eglantine, the poet, on the word *vers*, which ſignifies *worms* as well as verſes, converſed cheerfully as he ſat in the cart with his fellow ſufferers, and is ſaid to have frequently exclaimed, Robeſpierre will ſoon follow me; I drag Robeſpierre after me. His boldneſs in meeting death procured reſpect, and even ſympathy, which his general character would not have excited, and which was aſſiduouſly kept alive by his friends. They ſpread with diligence the report that his bare head, as he went to the place of execution, reſembled that of Socrates on antique gems. Camille Deſmoulins ſuffered with equal firmneſs; and his young, beautiful and innocent widow, was ſhortly afterwards ſent to the ſcaffold, as a pretended accomplice in a conſpiracy with general Arthur Dillon, in which Gobet, the apoſtate biſhop of Paris,

was also included. The end of this wretched old man was suited to the latter acts of his life; unable to derive consolation from a religion which he had renounced, but did not disbelieve, he met the stroke of death with trembling terror, betraying the pangs of remorse and despair.

CHAP. XIV.

Avowed determination of Robespierre to pursue measures of increased rigour. Report by St. Just on conspiracies; decree proposed by him. Robespierre declares against atheism; his report to the convention, acknowledging a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul, and proposing certain festivals. Attempt to assassinate Collot d'Herbois; he is rescued by Geffroy, who has a pension settled on him; a female named Armée Cecile Regnault supposed to intend to assassinate Robespierre; congratulations of the convention to the two deputies; the supposed assassins executed with sixty pretended accomplices. Robespierre appointed president of the convention; festival in honour of the Supreme Being; the popularity of Robespierre at its greatest height; a system of lenity expected; but one of greater cruelty adopted; report by Couthon; decree moved for new organizing of the revolutionary tribunal; an extensive description of traitors; suppression of forms of proceeding, and disallowance of witnesses and of council for the prisoners; an adjournment proposed; opposed by Robespierre; the decree carried; motion on it by Bourdon de l'Oise; an explanatory resolution entered; but rescinded after a violent debate. Formation of a party against Robespierre; he is hated by Collot d'Herbois and Billaud Varennes; Robespierre loses popularity; division of the committee of public safety; he absents himself from that committee; his adherents in Paris; his feeble conduct; agitation of his mind; his plan; preparations of his opponents; complaints of Robespierre at the jacobin club; he appears in the convention, and makes a speech on the conduct of the committees; violent debate on a motion to print his speech; he goes to the jacobin club; proceedings there; agitation of the committees; execrations of the friends of Danton; sitting of the convention; general union against Robespierre; St. Just begins a speech; is interrupted by Tallien; speech of Billaud Varennes; Robespierre in vain attempts to obtain a hearing; artful speech of Tallien; the sitting decreed permanent; arrest of Robespierre's adherents ordered; violent clamour to prevent Robespierre and his friends from being heard; his great exertions continually defeated; Barrere obtains a decree for reforming the command of the national guard; and for a proclamation; Robespierre and some other members ordered to be arrested; they are rescued; and carried to the hall of the commune; this body adheres to Robespierre; Henriot rescued; strength of this party; sitting of the convention continued; cowardice of Collot d'Herbois; resolution of some other members; Robespierre is put out of the law; other exertions; progress of the contest

Conteſt between the convention and the commune; Robeſpierre and his adherents defeated; their conduct; Robeſpierre and many others taken; and executed without trial.

THE prevailing opinion that Danton was preparing meaſures of mercy, and that to him alone the people were to look for a relaxation of the dreadful ſyſtem under which they groaned, received confirmation from the reports and acts of his enemies, as well as from the diſguiſed intimations of his friends. On the day of his execution, a perſon named Arthur, ſtated at the jacobin club, among other circumſtances, that Danton had ſaid, he conſidered the meaſures of government counter-revolutionary; that bringing the queen to the ſcaffold, deſtroyed a hope of treating advantageouſly with the allies; that Cuſtine had been condemned on too ſlight grounds, and that ſuch conduct toward the beſt generals made it impoſſible for the nation to be victorious. In the ſame ſitting, Robeſpierre diſcloſed his intention to adopt a ſyſtem of perſecution, of which no man could ſee the limits, or define the probable end. He invited every member to diſcloſe whatever he knew reſpecting conſpirators; for it was thus alone that the government could ſtrike terrible blows, and cruſh the enemies of liberty; it muſt be by marching ſtraight up to them, by attacking them in front and with inveteracy; by plunging into their hearts the dagger of juſtice. It was of little conſequence that the convention obliged each of its members to give an account of his property. Knaves had inveſted their fortunes in foreign countries. Briſſot ſaid he was poor; yet it was known he had houſes in London. Chabot ſaid he had never received his wife's fortune; ſo would all ſcoundrels claim a right to be conſidered poor and incorruptible, becauſe the contrary could not be proved. The evidence of patriotiſm to be required, he ſaid, did not conſiſt in mounting guard a certain number of times, or in paying ſtated contributions, but in a continual ſacrifice of their ambition and ſelf-love to the good of the country.

From this period the hope of a milder ſyſtem ſeemed to vaniſh. Robeſpierre, who was regarded as the chief director of the actions of government, ſeemed in his public ſpeeches and motions to have baniſhed from his breaſt every trace of humanity. At the jacobin club, he approved the April 9. proceedings at Lyons, affirming, that the friends of Challier had behaved with too much forbearance to certain intriguers; had it not been for them, the true patriots would long ago have plunged all the conſpirators into non-entity.

From this period too, the moſt ſevere and offenſive regulations with reſpect to the priſons; the privation of property, the employment of ſpies, the excluſion of ſtrangers, and the reports of pretended conſpiracies for the purpoſe of ſending great numbers at once to execution, all theſe were either begun or enforced with unuſual rigour. It appeared to be the intention of government to transfer to the capital the horrors which had ravaged the departments, and many were of opinion that the

convention, and even the committee of public safety, would speedily be thinned by the destruction of a considerable number of members. Hence great alarm was felt at the declarations of Robespierre at the jacobin club, at the vague tests of patriotism which he proposed, and at the vague declaration that terror and all the virtues were the order of the day.

The plan of additional rigour soon began to develop itself. After a long report from St. Just, on conspiracies and the danger of the country, a decree was proposed in eighteen articles, by which persons accused of conspiracy, in whatever part of the republic, were to be brought to Paris. The committees of public safety, and general safety, were to find out, with speed, the accomplices of the conspirators, and send them before the revolutionary tribunal. All ex-nobles, and all foreigners belonging to countries with which the republic was at war, were forbidden to reside in Paris, or in any fortified or maritime town; if found in such places after a month, they were to be put out of the law. No general officers, not actually employed, were to be allowed to reside in the above places. The committee of public safety was directed to require a strict account from all agents, and to prosecute all who should assist in plots, or should have used against liberty the powers confided to them. All citizens were bound to disclose to the constituted authorities in their neighbourhood, or to the committee of public safety, all thefts, incivic discourses, and other acts of oppression of which they had been victims or witnesses. April 15.

Persons accused of complaining of the revolution, were to be tried before a popular commission, and if under the age of sixty, and having no employment, and not infirm, were on conviction to be transported to Guyana. This decree, which contained many other oppressive regulations, occasioned only a few animadversions from Bourdon de L'Oise, principally on the regulation respecting ex-nobles; but as some of its articles were considered rather obscure, it was sent back to the committees to be amended, and being by them extended to twenty-four heads, was passed without hesitation. It was afterward made to include in the regulation against ex-nobles, all who had falsely assumed titles of nobility.

One consolation was offered to the friends of humanity in the midst of the daily increasing horrors, by the apparent determination of government to check the ascendancy of profaneness. Robespierre had long before the overthrow of the Cordeliers, expressed his disgust against the zealots of atheism, and declared in the jacobin club, that those who wished to prevent the ceremony of mass, were greater fanatics than those who performed it; and that under pretence of destroying religion, a faction was endeavouring to make a religion of atheism itself. After overthrowing the faction he had thus truly described, Robespierre began to execute his plan of restoring some semblance of religious freedom, by delivering in the convention a long report, in the name of the committee of public safety, in which he ascribed many of the plots against the republic to May 7.

atheists,

atheiſts, and procured a decree in fifteen articles, which, in compariſon to the late proceedings, might be deemed favourable to religion, though, viewed ſeparately, it would appear calculated only to found a new ſpecies of idolatry. It formally acknowledged the exiſtence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the ſoul, and that the beſt worſhip conſiſted in practiſing the duties of man, and provided for the freedom of religious worſhip: but it alſo decreed, that on each decade, feſtivals ſhould be celebrated, the firſt to the Supreme Being; others to the human race, or particular claſſes, as the French nation, and the martyrs of liberty; ſometimes virtues were to be idolized, as modeſty and integrity; ſometimes abſtract ideas, as liberty and equality; or paſſions or ſentiments, as love, diſintereſtedneſs, and the hatred of tyrants: the nation was occaſionally to celebrate the various ſtages of human life, as infancy, youth, old age; then its purſuits, as agriculture; its accidents, as ſucceſs, misfortune; and ſometimes the cauſe and effects of man's preſent exiſtence, his anceſtors and poſterity. So grateful, however, was the acknowledgement of a Deity and the immortality of the ſoul, in contradiction to the oppoſite doctrines which had been advanced, that Robeſpierre's report was ordered to be tranſlated into all languages, and printed and diſtributed with profuſion.

Before the day appointed for the firſt feſtival of this ſeries, that to the Supreme Being, ſome events happened which occaſioned general alarm, and changed the ſituation of Robeſpierre, by raiſing him ſtill higher in the popular admiration, as an intended martyr of liberty. Collot d'Herbois, having returned from his labours of depopulation at Lyons, was made a member of the committee of public ſafety, and appeared ſo conſpicuouſly at the jacobin club as to occaſion ſome jealouſy in Robeſpierre, who dreaded nothing ſo much as a rival in popularity. An unforeſeen occurrence ſeemed to give him, for the moment at leaſt, a ſuperiority. A man named l'Amiral, who had formerly been in his confidence, but who was offended at ſome pecuniary arrangements, attempted to ſhoot him with a piſtol. Collot was reſcued, but the danger of ſo good a patriot filled all Paris with anxiety; his eſcape was celebrated as a divine interpoſition, a lockſmith named Geffroy, who had received a wound in reſcuing Collot, became the object of popular adoration; the beſt ſurgeons were employed to attend him; their bulletins or reports on the ſtate of his hurt were daily read in the convention; and when he recovered a penſion of 1800 livres (£.65. 12. 6.) was ſettled on him by the nation.

On his interrogatory, l'Amiral acknowledged that his intention was to aſſaſſinate Robeſpierre as well as Collot; but as the player had encountered all the danger, he received the greater ſhare of public homage, but the next day gave Robeſpierre, through the ſame means, and without the ſame danger, all the honours which had raiſed his envy. Led by curioſity, or impelled by fanaticiſm, a young woman, named Aimée Cecile Regnault, the daughter of a ſtationer in Paris, called at Robeſpierre's lodging, at nine o'clock in the

the evening, requiring to see him; on receiving an answer that he was not to be spoken to, she pertly replied, that a public functionary ought to be accessible at all times. These words were sufficient to occasion her immediate arrest; she was examined before the committees of public safety and inspection; her answers were sometimes vague, and occasionally flippant; she said, she would prefer one king to 50,000 tyrants; and that she went to Robespierre's lodging in hopes of seeing how a tyrant looked, but she positively denied any intention to do him harm; and it clearly appeared that she had neither accomplice nor confidant. Robespierre and Collot were, however, jointly congratulated on their miraculous preservation; numerous deputations implored the legislature to watch over the lives of such valuable members; Barrere accused Mr. Pitt of contriving the plot: and Robespierre, with affected courage, boasted his readiness to offer his life a sacrifice to the public weal. L'Amiral and Cecile Regnault, with threescore others, without trial, or the examination of a witness, were declared guilty of a conspiracy against the republic. The monstrous iniquity of combining so many innocent persons as accessaries, with principals whom they had never seen, struck l'Amiral with surprize and indignation; he declared it was the only circumstance of his fate which gave him pain.

In expectation of the day appointed for the festival, in honour of the Supreme Being, Robespierre was unanimously elected president of the convention. David the painter contrived the pantomime, the course of march, pauses and embraces, the emblem representing the destruction of atheism, the dresses and decorations of the members and females, their tri-coloured plumes and scarfs, their garlands of oak, and their nosegays of flowers and wheat-ears. Robespierre harangued the people in the gardens of the Thuilleries, and then proceeded to the Champ de Mars, where, among other devices, an artificial mountain was erected, to the top of which he climbed, while the rest of the convention gained inferior heights; here he made another harangue to the people, and the day terminated with hymns and choruses to the Supreme Being. Although great pains had been bestowed in preparing the exhibition of this day, it did not, in all respects, answer the intentions of the projectors; Robespierre gave offence by walking at too great a distance from his colleagues, and still more by keeping them waiting for his arrival. As he marched at their head, he heard the voice of one behind him, saying, "Robe-" spierre, I love your festival, but "you I detest." It was Lecointre of Versailles. Nor did the people receive him with so much joy as he expected; nor join in an effort which was made to raise the cry of *Vive Robespierre.*

Yet in all parts of the republic, the authority of this demagogue was at its greatest height; the convention in general moved only by the dictates of his will; his name gave authority and popularity to all the acts of government; and to him were more abject compliments, and a greater profusion of homage paid, than to all the crowned heads in Europe; nay, some tributes of adulation approached

proached the ſtyle of Aſiatic bombaſt and ſervility. He was termed "the glorious and incorruptible "Robeſpierre, who covers the republic with his virtues and talents as with a ſhield; who joins, "to the ſelf-denial of a Spartan or "Roman of early dates, the eloquence of an Athenian." Even the tenderneſs and humanity of his diſpoſition were praiſed! One man congratulated himſelf on a perſonal reſemblance to him, and another, at the diſtance of ſix hundred miles, declared he was haſtening to Paris to feaſt his eyes with a ſight of him. He was compared, not by an individual, but by a public body, to the Meſſiah, announced by the Supreme Being as the reformer of all things; and afterwards he was ſaid to manifeſt himſelf like the Almighty, by miracles. On ſome occaſion a *Te Deum* was performed for him, the burthen of which was *Vive Robeſpierre, Vive La Republique!*

As the miſerable anxiouſly catch at every circumſtance which preſents a ſemblance of good, the priſoners, and their numerous relations and friends, ſuffered themſelves to hope that the public acknowledgment of a Supreme Being would introduce a reform favourable to juſtice and humanity; eſpecially as the day of the grand feſtival was marked as a day of mercy, the ſittings of the revolutionary tribunal were ſuſpended, the operation of the guillotine ſtopped, and all arreſts were forbidden. The next day but one, however, cruſhed all theſe expectations;

May 10. for Couthon, after a long report from the committee of public ſafety, propoſed a ſeries of decrees, for the purpoſe he ſaid, 1ſt. of completing the number of the judges and jurors of the revolutionary tribunal, diminiſhed by various circumſtances; 2d. of fixing the principles of that inſtitution, ſo as to ſecure liberty to calumniated patriots, by accelerating the proceedings againſt conſpirators; and 3d. of conſolidating the laws on this ſubject. This new decree was comprized in twenty-two articles. It ordained, that the tribunal ſhould be compoſed of a preſident and three vice-preſidents; a public accuſer and four deputies; twelve judges and fifty jurymen. The individuals to form it were named, and appeared to be ſelected from the moſt furious and blood-thirſty wretches the revolution had produced.

By articles VI. and VII. the following deſcriptions of perſons were to be deemed enemies of the people, and puniſhed with death. Thoſe who called for the re-eſtabliſhment of royalty, or ſought to vilify or diſſolve the national convention, or the revolutionary republican government, of which it was the centre. Thoſe who betrayed the republic in the command of fortreſſes or armies, or any other military function, held correſpondences with the enemies of the republic, or laboured to prevent the victualling or ſervice of the armies. Thoſe who had endeavoured to prevent the victualling of Paris, or to occaſion a ſcarcity in the republic. Thoſe who had aſſiſted the projects of the enemies of France, whether by favouring the retreat or impunity of conſpirators and ariſtocrats, by perſecuting and calumniating patriotiſm, or by miſuſing the principles

ciples of the revolution, or the laws and measures of government, by false and perfidious applications of them. Those who had deceived the people or their representatives, in order to induce them to take measures contrary to the interests of liberty. Those who sought to depress the courage of the people, in order to favour the enterprizes of the tyrants leagued against the republic. Those who spread false news to divide or agitate the people. Those who sought to mislead the opinion and hinder the instruction or deprave the morals of the people, to corrupt the public conscience, and alter the energy and purity of the revolutionary and republican principles, or arrest their progress, whether by counter-revolutionary or insidious writings, or by any other machination. Unfaithful contractors, dilapidators of the public property, servants of the public who abused their functions to serve the enemies of the revolution, harass the patriots, and oppress the people; and finally, all those intended by the preceding articles, who, whatever means they might have used, or whatever semblances assumed, had made attempts against the liberty, unity and safety of the republic, or laboured to prevent its firm establishment.

It is difficult to imagine that any man in France could consider himself safe from being comprized in some of the descriptions or suggestions in this most atrocious clause; but those which followed completed the scheme of iniquity. On the subject of evidence it was declared, that it consisted in every kind of document, material, moral, verbal or written, which could naturally obtain the assent of any just and rational mind. The rule of decision was the conscience of the jury, enlightened by the love of the country; the end, the triumph of the republic and the ruin of its enemies; the proceeding, those simple means which good sense would indicate to attain the knowledge of truth, in the forms determined by the laws. Every citizen was empowered to seize and carry before a magistrate, all conspirators and counter-revolutionists, and bound to denounce as soon as he knew them; but the national convention, the committees of public safety and general safety, the representatives on missions, and the public accuser, only could send parties before the revolutionary tribunal.

By article XIII, if there existed proofs, whether material or moral, independent of testimonial proof, no witnesses were to be called, unless it should be deemed necessary for the detection of accomplices, or other reasons of great public importance. If witnesses were examined, they were all to be called by the public accuser, without distinguishing those for the prosecution from those for the prisoner; and the prisoners were to have no official defenders.

When this monstrous decree was read, Ruamps moved that it should be printed, and the debate on it adjourned, declaring that if it were immediately adopted, he would blow his brains out. Lecointre of Versailles seconded the motion, and Barrere himself seemed inclined to support it, for he only expressed a hope that the members did not mean an adjournment *sine die*, he should wish to limit the adjournment to three days. Lecoin-

tre

tre anſwered, that he required only two; but Robeſpierre declaimed vehemently againſt any adjournment; the decree might be diſcuſſed article by article, and the ſitting prolonged to a late hour, but he would not aſſent to any adjournment. The convention obeyed his mandate, and the decree was adopted with one ſlight amendment in the article reſpecting dilapidators of the public property, and a feeble and unſucceſsful attempt to obtain for priſoners permiſſion to call witneſſes in their favour.

May 11. The next day, Bourdon de l'Oiſe mentioned the alarms he felt, leſt the members of the convention ſhould, by the operation of the decree, be ſent for trial to the revolutionary tribunal, without any decree of accuſation. He did not deny the right of the committee of public ſafety to arreſt proviſionally, nor did he complain of the decree in general, which he termed highly ſalutary; but he was anxious that the repreſentatives of the people ſhould protect their own privileges, and therefore he made a motion to explain the decree ſo as to enſure the ſafety of the deputies. They who oppoſed the motion, inſiſted, that confidence was due to the committees of government; Merlin of Douay moved the previous queſtion, on the ground that the privilege of the convention in this particular was unalienable. Bourdon required that this aſſertion ſhould be reduced to writing, which being done, it paſſed without further obſervation.

May 12. The day following, a diſcuſſion took place of much more warmth, in which perſonal invective was not ſpared on either ſide; Charles Delacroix required an explanation of the crime of depraving the public morals, and Mallarmé objected to the article in the decree which deprived the priſoner of his defenders. Couthon complained of the ſpeech of Bourdon on the preceding day, as an unwarrantable attack on the committee of public ſafety. To ſuppoſe, he ſaid, that when that committee preſented the outline of a ſalutary law, they aimed at ſovereign power, was to uſe the language of Pitt and Cobourg; and he moved that the mere order of the day be entered on the proceedings without the declaratory clauſe added by Merlin. Bourdon defended himſelf, and inſiſted that the language of Couthon was unjuſtifiable. The committee of public ſafety, he ſaid, accuſes me of uſing the language of Pitt and Cobourg; ſuppoſe I were to reply in ſimilar terms; in what a ſtate ſhould we be?—but God forbid I ſhould have recourſe to ſuch expreſſions. Robeſpierre launched out in moſt violent terms againſt Bourdon, and the proceedings of the day before. In the progreſs of his diſcourſe, he deprecated the arts of thoſe little, deſpicable, hypocritical intriguers, who were endeavouring to ſeparate a ſmall portion of the mountain, that they might be heads of a party. Bourdon interrupting him, required proof that he aſpired to be the head of a party. Robeſpierre continued, without ſeeming to notice the interruption, but when it was repeated, he ſaid, in his piercing manner; "I did not name "Bourdon, but be the evil to him "who names himſelf. If he will, "in a general picture, recognize "his own portrait, it is not in "my

" my power to prevent it." As a proof of the induſtry that was uſed to create prejudices againſt the decree in queſtion, he ſtated, that on the day it paſſed, certain members of the convention, going out of the hall in extreme ill-humour, met ſome patriots, two of whom were couriers of government, whom they abuſed in the groſſeſt terms, charged them with being ſome of the 20,000 ſpies employed by the committee to watch the repreſentatives of the people, and drove them before them with blows. Tallien, to whom this ſtory applied, roſe to explain the circumſtances; while he was proceeding in his ſtatement, Robeſpierre ſuddenly interrupted him; exclaimed that the facts he alleged were falſe; but one thing was certain, that Tallien was one of thoſe who inceſſantly talked in public, with evident alarm, about the guillotine, as a matter which concerned himſelf, and with a view to vilify the national convention. Tallien perſiſting in his attempts to explain, was again and again interrupted by Robeſpierre, and at laſt borne down by Billaud Varennes, who proclaimed him an impudent liar, whoſe audacity exceeded belief. Barrere roſe to prove the neceſſity of unanimity, that they might fruſtrate the conſpiracies of the Engliſh nation, and read, from a London newſpaper, an account of a maſquerade at Ranelagh, where one of the characters repreſented the ghoſt of Charlotte Corday, coming out of a tomb with a dagger in purſuit of Robeſpierre, whom ſhe ſwore that at a fit opportunity ſhe would *Maratize*. The convention ſhuddered with horror, and paſſed Couthon's motion amidſt loud applauſes.

From the decree of the tenth, and this moſt diſgraceful ſcene in the convention, it was evident that Robeſpierre had enemies whom he had reſolved to deſtroy, and that they, aware of his intention, were meditating the formation of a party for their own protection. The victory gained over their firſt effort being ſo deciſive, it appeared inexplicable that Tallien, Bourdon, and ſome others were permitted to live. This extraordinary circumſtance aroſe from the ſituation in which Robeſpierre was placed by the progreſs of his own meaſures, and the effects of his own ambition. Two conſpicuous men hated, and were plotting his overthrow; Collot d'Herbois and Billaud Varennes. Collot was at the head of thoſe who before had acknowledged Hebert as their chief, and Robeſpierre feared and hated him more than any other; but Billaud Varennes, equally blood-thirſty, but more crafty than Robeſpierre, was a more dangerous rival. The ambition of Robeſpierre to be conſidered ſole ruler of all public affairs in France, now ſtood confeſſed, and he would have gained no credit by attempting to conceal it; but Billaud diſguiſed his intents with art more inſcrutable, and appeared to co-operate with the man he was plotting to overthrow. Robeſpierre hoped to attach to himſelf a large portion of the people by reſtoring a ſemblance of divine worſhip; but he miſſed his aim, by neglecting to combine with the acknowledgment of the Deity, the practice of his moſt engaging attribute—mercy. On the

day

day of the feſtival, he ſaid in one of his ſpeeches to the people, "let "this day be wholly conſecrated "to peace and happineſs"—the hearts of thouſands opened to hope;—"but to-morrow," he continued, "we will reſume our la-"bours, and with renewed vigour, "ſtrike the enemies of the country." —Theſe fatal words deſtroyed the popularity he was ſo anxious to ſecure; they who, on the leaſt ſhow of mercy, would have ſhouted *Vive Robeſpierre*, and ſpent their days and nights in confirming his abſolute power, in the hopes of gaining the liberty of thoſe who were dear to them, retired to weep before the doors of the priſons, and to lament the afflicting conviction that the return of religion promiſed them no greater benefits than the continuance of atheiſm.

The aſſiſtance given to Robeſpierre during the late conflict in the convention by Billaud Varennes, and other members of the committee of public ſafety, did not proceed from general cordiality, but from the deſire felt by all to ſupport the ſyſtem of terror, in virtue of which all hoped to rule. From that day, however, Billaud began to effect his ruin in the committee. He irritated him by frequent contradictions; checked his deſigns, and impeded his projects of ambition and revenge. With affected diſdain, but with real envy, Robeſpierre beheld the efforts of thoſe to whom the labours and reports were confided. Carnot was particularly odious to him; his ſucceſsful adminiſtration of military affairs, gave him a degree of credit which rendered him dangerous. He was alſo jealous of Robert Lindet, and Prieur, who were intruſted with portions of the adminiſtration. He inſiſted on the deſtruction of Carnot; Billaud defended him; he had victims of his own in view, and as he could not exactly agree with Robeſpierre in all the perſons to be ſacrificed, even thoſe reſpecting whom both united in opinion, as Tallien, Bourdon, and Lecointre were ſtill ſuffered to live, amid the menaces of both. Billaud Varennes took particular pleaſure in thwarting the religious plan of Robeſpierre, and therefore felt gratified in procuring the condemnation of a fanatical old woman, who called herſelf Catherine Théos, whom Robeſpierre was deſirous to protect, and whom Billaud ſuſpected he had employed. Aided by Vadier, Billaud cauſed this wretched woman and her fanatic followers to be executed as conſpirators.

The contradiction which Robeſpierre experienced on this occaſion haſtened the critical ſhock of parties. For more than three weeks before, he had abſented himſelf from the deliberations of the committee of public ſafety, where his only friends were Couthon and St. Juſt. He was collecting about himſelf partizans and adherents. He found them in crowds in the jacobin club, the revolutionary tribunal, and the commune of Paris; all the revolutionary committees were firmly attached to him, and through Henriot he commanded the national guard of the city. With theſe means every thing he deſired might have been achieved; but he had not the talents requiſite for the head of a party.

party. He was engaged in frivolous and minute objects inſtead of grand comprehenſive labours: and when he ſhould have meditated ſome mighty blow, he ſpent his time in correcting the liſts of the morrow's ſacrifices preſented to him by Fouquier Tinville; in dooming to death unoffending old men and helpleſs women. What is more extraordinary, at this great juncture of his fate, he is ſaid to have abandoned the auſtere ſelf-denial he had ſo long practiſed, and which had gained him the name of the French Cato, and to have ſought forgetfulneſs of his anxieties and cares in ſenſualities for which nature had not fitted him; in women of the moſt abandoned character, and in wine, from which he might derive oblivion but not joy. Beſides the irritation he felt from political oppoſition, which he never could endure with temper, he had alſo ſecret cauſes of vexation. Numerous were the private letters he received, containing expreſſions of admiration as fulſome as thoſe which were beſtowed on him in public addreſſes, but ſome contained alſo thoſe ſtrong expreſſions of hate and emphatical malediction, which crimes like his were calculated to provoke. Some execrated, ſome derided him, and one writer aſſumed the character of his evil genius, threatening to hover perpetually around him in a menacing attitude, to appear in his dreams, and to be, for the remainder of his life, his unceaſing tormentor. Such communications kept him in inceſſant alarm, and accounted for the meaſures he adopted to obtain the bleſſing of temporary forgetfulneſs.

In preparing the means to put his meditated plan of vengeance in execution, he conſulted with Payan, whom he had made *procureur de la commune*. A maſſacre of his foes is ſaid to have been determined on at a fête, at which the members of the convention were to be preſent. Henriot had his inſtructions, and was prepared; but Robeſpierre could not reſtrain his vanity, which made him impatient to appear in the tribune of the convention, and proclaim the diſcord which prevailed in the committee of public ſafety.

But while their deſtruction was thus meditated, the diſcontented deputies were preparing ſome plans of their own. Although ſurrounded by ſpies, they contrived to obtain ſhort interviews for the purpoſe of conſultation. This fact was not unknown to Robeſpierre, although he was not apprized of the nature of the conſultations, or the reſolutions adopted. The meetings were moſt frequently held at the houſe of Fouché; and were attended not only by Billaud Varennes, and the members of the convention whom Robeſpierre had moſt violently attacked, but by ſeveral others, as Freron, Barras, André Dumont, Merlin de Thionville, and Legendre. Tallien was animated by political animoſity, perſonal fear, and intereſt in the woman he loved, who was ſtill in priſon, and whoſe ſafety was involved with his own. The confederates determined rather to deſtroy Robeſpierre, even in the hall of the convention, than to permit his longer reign, and Tallien ſhewed himſelf among the moſt ready, not only to adopt, but to execute this dangerous reſolution.

Robeſpierre

Robeſpierre had already, on more than one occaſion, noticed at the jacobin club theſe meetings at the houſe of Fouché, and complained of the ſyſtem of calumny purſued againſt him: his enemies, he ſaid, were reviving the perſecution of the Briſſotines, and the very accuſation of Louvet; they repreſented him as aſpiring to the dictatorſhip. The club expreſſed their wonted ſympathy in his complaints, and their wonted rage againſt his enemies, whoever they might be. When he deſcribed himſelf as an inſulated patriot, who had none on his ſide but his virtue and his courage; No! exclaimed the people in the galleries, you have on your ſide every true Frenchman; and it was decreed that Fouché ſhould attend to juſtify his conduct.

July 1, 11, 16.

Robeſpierre having in ſome of his ſpeeches at this club attacked Dubois Crancé, a deputation attended in the hall of the convention, and made a ſtrenuous addreſs againſt foreign intrigues, calumny, and a ſyſtem of indulgence, inſtead of one of virtue. Dubois Crancé took this opportunity to juſtify himſelf, and obtained a reference of his conduct to the committees of public ſafety and general ſecurity. Barrere alſo made a vigorous defence of the committees, from ſome charges which Robeſpierre had advanced againſt them at the jacobin club, filled with invectives againſt the factions which had been deſtroyed, and it was received with unbounded acclamations.

July 25.

Although the tranſactions of this day might have convinced Robeſpierre that a party was formed, able and determined to reſiſt his ſway, his conduct was neither wiſe nor bold, but a compound of raſhneſs and fear. After a long ſeceſſion, he appeared in the convention, and, aſcending the tribune, delivered a prolix, ill-connected ſpeech, complaining of the treatment he received from intriguers and calumniators, both abroad and at home: at the head of thoſe abroad he placed the duke of York and Pitt; thoſe at home he ſhould not name, but the courſe of his ſpeech pointed ſo evidently at freſh denunciations, and at the ſame time ſeemed to embrace ſo great a ſcope of crimination, that no one could think himſelf ſecure. This act of Robeſpierre ſhewed his mind to be truly little and trivial. For fifteen months he had held the convention in abject ſubjection, yet now he appealed to their arbitration in a diſpute between himſelf and his colleagues. He called its members to his aid, and at the ſame time threatened them with general deſtruction. His obſcure and declamatory phraſes too ſtrongly ſhewed the fear which prevailed in his own mind, to create the terror he deſired in the minds of his hearers; and, in fine, to complete the liſt of his abſurdities, he began the combat without intending to finiſh it the ſame day, for he propoſed nothing.

July 26.

Lecointre, of Verſailles, moved, that his ſpeech ſhould be printed, but Bourdon de l'Oiſe required a previous reference to the committees, againſt the members of which many of its charges were directed. Cambon and Vadier complained of Robeſpierre's inſinuations, and accuſed him of intending to deſtroy the patriots, and of paralyſing the will of the whole convention.

Couthon defended Robeſpierre, reprobated the ſyſtem of calumny which prevailed, inſiſted that a line of demarcation ſhould be drawn between the patriots and the intriguers, and that, without being referred to the committees, the ſpeech ſhould be printed and ſent to all the communes of the republic. A tumultuous debate enſued, in which Freron demanded the exemption of the members from arreſt, adding, that no man could ſpeak freely while influenced by that fear. Billaud Varennes anſwered, that he whom fear hindered from delivering his opinion, was unworthy the title of repreſentative of the people. Barrere ſpoke a few equivocal words, and Bentabole, Chalier, Amar, Thirion, and Panis, joined againſt Robeſpierre. In the end, the printing of his ſpeech was ordered unconditionally, but the tranſmiſſion to the communes was not decreed. This partial victory, as Robeſpierre might have perceived, was owing to the neutrality of the remaining members of the Gironde party. To their great ſurpriſe, they ſaw themſelves courted by their diſunited enemies; and, for the firſt time ſince the expulſion of their chiefs, conſidered as of ſome conſequence; they were not, however, diſpoſed to fight for a choice of oppreſſors, but ſaw the conflict without partaking in it.

From the convention Robeſpierre haſtened to read his ſpeech at the jacobin club, where it excited a general enthuſiaſm in his favour. Couthon denounced the two committees as traitors; Coffinhal, a judge of the revolutionary tribunal, propoſed the purification of the convention, which was well underſtood to import the deſtruction of all the members except thoſe devoted to his patron. Robeſpierre profeſſed his devotion to the cauſe of the people, and that he was ready to drink the hemlock of Socrates; "and I, my friend," exclaimed David, "will ſhare it with you." The enemies of Robeſpierre were declared enemies of the republic; "let them be named," ſaid the members of the club, "and ſoon they ſhall have ceaſed "to live." Liſts of proſcription were opened, and great exertions and great crimes meditated, but a night ſo precious was allowed to paſs away without the performance of any act which could be of uſe to the party.

The committees were alſo deliberating, and in equal conſternation, for their choice was difficult to make. The loſs of their power was certain if they made common cauſe with all the opponents of Robeſpierre; but their lives were more imminently endangered if he ſhould be victorious. But the other deputies, who ſaw that in this great ſtruggle they muſt form a party capable at once of deſtroying Robeſpierre and checking the committees, were more active, and made more uſeful exertions. The friends of Danton went to all the friends of Briſſot: "To-morrow," they ſaid, "the tyrant will come "again to the convention; there "let us overwhelm him. Do you "deplore your friends? ſo do we; "Robeſpierre is the deſtroyer of "both. Have you friends whom "you wiſh to ſave? ſo have we; "help us to pull down the tyrant, "and we will be anſwerable for "your other oppreſſors." From theſe members they went to thoſe of

of the committees, and with their usual appearance of submission, offered their services to assist in avenging them of the enemy with whom it were vain to enter into treaty, and from whom it were absurd to expect mercy.

While the means of his destruction were thus assiduously combining, Robespierre awaited with impatience the time when he should again appear in the convention, not doubting that the effect of his presence would be the instant dismay and submission of his enemies. The moment of his entrance dissipated the illusion; on every side a deep murmur was heard, and surrounded him in whatever place he attempted to fix himself. He trembled and turned pale; every man's eye was upon him, but none ventured to associate with him. Under these inauspicious circumstances, St. Just, who was recently returned from the army, and who had the night before been offended at the committee of public safety, ascended the tribune. He disclaimed all party connexions and all factious views, and although the tribune might be to him, as it had been to many others, the Tarpeian rock, he would speak his opinion on the causes of the divisions which had burst forth. He was proceeding in the same style and to the same effect that Robespierre had used on the preceding day, when Tallien, impatient to bring on the grand crisis, interrupted him, furiously exclaiming against the hypocritical professions of men who were about to murder, and therefore laboured to disunite the convention. Then turning to Robespierre, he said, "Will you, "tyrant, pretend to conceal your "guilty intentions against the na- "tional representation? Did not "I, myself, yesterday, see all the "preparatives of your proscrip- "tions? I was at the jacobin club; "I heard you devoting us all to "the daggers of your assassins! At "this very moment the infamous "Henriot is assembling them; they "march; but we will prevent "them. In this hall you cannot "fix your eyes on a man who is "not your enemy; whom you have "not forced to be so. The country, "the whole human race, rise up "against you, and we will fulfil "their demands of justice."

July 27.

This violent speech was received with three distinct peals of applause. Billaud Varennes, now first publicly declaring himself against Robespierre, accused him, in the most extraordinary manner, of having protected aristocrats, connived at peculation, and prevented for some time the arrest of Danton; to these charges he added that of intending to destroy the convention.

Robespierre immediately darted into the tribune. Could he have been heard, it would have been most easy for him, taking advantage of the indiscreet speech of Billaud, to have separated the friends of Danton from those of Brissot, or perhaps to have combined both against the committees; but Tallien and his immediate coadjutors would not permit Robespierre to be heard, his feeble voice was drowned by incessant clamours of "Down with him! "down with the tyrant!" and Tallien, drawing a dagger, and brandishing it before the eyes of his colleagues, said, he would destroy him with it unless the convention delivered him to the sword

of juſtice. He then, although not in the tribune, obtained a hearing, and with conſiderable addreſs removed the bad effects of Billaud's ſpeech. He recalled the Girondiſts, by inſiſting that Robeſpierre projected another 31ſt of May; he pleaſed the adherents of Danton, by diſclaiming the title of *Modéré*, and reminding them of their exertions againſt La Fayette, and other leaders of factions; and he amuſed the whole aſſembly by calling Robeſpierre Cromwell and Catiline, and comparing his adherents to Verres. He obtained a decrée that the ſitting ſhould be permanent, until the ſword of the law ſhould have aſſured the revolution; and that the creatures of Robeſpierre ſhould be arreſted. On the motions of Billaud Varennes and Delmas, decrées of arreſt were iſſued againſt Dumas, Boulanger, and Dufraiſe, and againſt Henriot and his ſtaff.

"Let us now think of Robeſpierre," was ſoon repeated on all ſides in the hall; but they who were moſt deeply intereſted in the reſult of the day were moſt anxious to prevent any deliberation. Several members ſaw with reluctance the proceedings againſt Robeſpierre; and many were of opinion, that even the greateſt of criminals ſhould not be condemned unheard. An inceſſant clamour was employed to prevent theſe two parties from coming to a mutual underſtanding, and to prevent any perſon on behalf of Robeſpierre from obtaining a hearing. Lebas made incredible efforts for this purpoſe, but a crowd of deputies, placed on purpoſe, always thruſt him from the tribune. They were peculiarly anxious to prevent the putting of that natural and unanſwerable queſtion, If we deſtroy Robeſpierre, what will be done next? Robeſpierre, ſcreaming with rage, ran to all parts of the hall; but he only quitted one knot of enemies to fall into another more inveterate. In vain did he appeal to the galleries, which for five years had been his never-failing reſource; the people there, although ſelected by his friends, ſat mute, through aſtoniſhment and terror. He liſtened, but heard no noiſe indicating ſuccour from without. Sometimes, almoſt ſuffocated with exertion and choler, he called for death: "Yes," ſaid his enemies, "that is your doom; "but firſt you ſhall experience the "torture; it is begun, and we "enjoy it." His efforts to get poſſeſſion of the tribune being always fruſtrated, he ran towards the preſident's chair. In the abſence of Collot d'Herbois, it was filled by Thuriot, who made no anſwer to the appeals of Robeſpierre but by ringing his bell, which drowned the voice of the indignant deputy. "For the laſt time," he exclaimed, "preſident of aſſaſſins, I demand to "ſpeak." A more violent ringing of the bell was the only anſwer. His voice now began to fail, the violence of his exertions rendered him inarticulate. "Wretch!" ſaid a member to him, "do you not "perceive that the blood of Dan-"ton chokes you?" Enraged ſtill more at this apoſtrophe, he anſwered, "Ah, robbers! it is Danton then:" and, quitting his poſt near the preſident's chair, he fought the ſurvivors of the Briſſotine party; to them he endeavoured to recommend himſelf by affirming that he was now perſecuted chiefly for having ſaved the lives of their ſeventy-two friends ſtill in priſon; but

but they repulſed him with indignation. "Be gone, villain!" ſaid one, "you pollute theſe benches; "on them ſat Vergniaud and Con"dorcet."

In the mean time, the general voice of the convention had called Barrere to the tribune, where, in the name of the committee of public ſafety, he delivered a report on the ſtate of the national guard of Paris, and obtained a decree, ordaining that it ſhould be put on its original footing; all ranks above that of commander of a legion ſuppreſſed; and that of theſe every one ſhould be commander in chief in turn. This decree was of conſiderable importance, even ſhould the hope of overthrowing Robeſpierre be fruſtrated. Barrere obtained, beſide, the ſanction of the convention to a proclamation addreſſed to the French people, on the exiſting criſis of affairs, and which was ordered to be printed and diſtributed to the ſections, the departments, and the armies.

This affair being diſpatched, Vadier, Bourdon, and Tallien brought forward new charges againſt Robeſpierre; ſtill preventing him from being heard, except in ſhort, unconnected, abuſive ſentences. Louchet moved for a decree of accuſation againſt him, which was carried unanimouſly. His brother, in a tranſport of generous indignation, inſiſted on ſharing his fate, and his requeſt was granted. Similar decrees were alſo iſſued againſt Couthon, St. Juſt, and Lebas. Collot d'Herbois, now firſt interfering in the tranſactions, obtained an order that St. Juſt ſhould leave at the bar the report he intended to deliver, and made a long ſpeech againſt Robeſpierre and his adherents, who being decreed in a ſtate of arreſt, were ordered to take their ſtation below the bar. The officer who was ordered to take them into cuſtody, and lead them to the committees of public ſafety and general ſecurity, impreſſed with the habitual reſpect and fear excited by the preſence of Robeſpierre, heſitated to obey the repeated commands of the preſident, and would not receive the priſoners till their chief made a ſign expreſſive of his obedience to the law, when they were all led out.

The convention now, without adjourning, diſcontinued buſineſs, the members of the two committees being called away to attend their ſittings. With inconceivable levity, they ordered Robeſpierre and his adherents to be conveyed to the Luxembourg, under a feeble eſcort of guards devoted to his perſon. When they arrived at the priſon, the keeper informed them that he had received orders, from the jacobins and the commune, not to admit any more priſoners; the guards threatened; he perſiſted; a mob was collected; the guards, without reſiſtance, ſuffered the deputies to be reſcued, and conducted in triumph to the hall of the commune. This body was already aſſembled, and ſwore to defend Robeſpierre and his friends; adminiſtered the ſame oath to the people; declared themſelves in inſurrection, and were joined by ſeveral revolutionary committees. Fleuriot Leſcaut, mayor of Paris, Payan, procureur de la commune, and Coffinhal, a vice-preſident of the revolutionary tribunal, were among the moſt active, and their numbers

were continually augmenting. The arreſt of Henriot was announced. Coffinhal immediately ſallied forth, followed by a few reſolute adherents, and reſcued the commandant of the national guard, who ſoon attended the meeting with a powerful reinforcement. He had gained over the cannoneers placed for the defence of the convention; they, too, ſwore to defend Robeſpierre; the ſuburbs, it was ſaid, were in motion; the jacobins had declared their ſittings permanent, and the party, had wiſdom or courage had any ſhare in their councils, muſt have triumphed over all oppoſition.

The convention had now reſumed its ſitting. Collot d'Herbois, equal in guilt, folly, and cowardice with the worſt and meaneſt of thoſe to whom the convention was oppoſed, took his place in the chair, and put on his hat, in ſign that the country was in danger. "The "committees of government," he ſaid, "are forced; their members "diſperſed; the rebels are in "arms; the republic is loſt: no-"thing remains for us but to die "on our curule chairs, let us "ſwear to die there without baſe-"neſs." The oath was then taken; but the deſponding and cowardly tone of the preſident did not ſatisfy Tallien, Freron, Barras, and Legendre. "Thanks be to "fate," ſaid one of them, "Ro-"beſpierre revolting is leſs dan-"gerous than Robeſpierre ſubmiſ-"ſive; in the one caſe, we muſt "have waited for his trial; his "ſentence is now only neceſſary; "let us put him out of the law." The propoſition was immediately decreed with acclamation, and extended to the other deputies arreſted with him. Barras was appointed to command the armed force; in accepting the commiſſion, he ſwore to return victorious. Seven deputies were appointed to harangue and arm the ſections, and furniſhed with a proclamation from the convention to the people.

The activity thus aſſumed was ſpeedily crowned with ſucceſs. The beating of the generale on the behalf of the convention, rivalled the ſound of the tocſin calling the people to the hall of the commune; but the means of aſſembling a mob of violent and hardy ruffians were much diminiſhed within the laſt fifteen months. Paris afforded a field of combat, but combatants were not eaſily to be found. Terror, impriſonment, and diſtreſs, had greatly diminiſhed the number of thoſe whom the demagogues in earlier days of the revolution could at will rally around them. Attended by as many as he could engage in the ſervice, Henriot appeared in the court yard of the Thuilleries, intending to beſiege and intimidate the convention. This wretched conſpirator, to raiſe his ſpirits to the degree he thought neceſſary, had drunk to brutal exceſs, and, when he offered to ſummon the convention in the name of the commune, he and the commune were alſo put out of the law. The ſoldiers, panic-ſtruck, refuſed to obey his orders; the people demanded his arreſt; and he, confuſed and abaſhed, haſtened to the *hotel de ville*, to inform his colleagues of his ill ſucceſs. Robeſpierre had heard with dread and agitation the reſolve to march againſt the legiſlature; he was too timid to accompany the troops, and the ill ſucceſs of Henriot completed

pleted his conſternation. Henriot's drunken follies diſguſted every one, and Payan, by a trick, which he conceived would animate the people againſt the convention, deprived his party of all their followers. He read aloud, and with a tone of diſdain, the decree putting the deputies and the commune out of the law, and added, from his own invention, an article, declaring all the people in the galleries in the ſame predicament. Hardly had he pronounced the words, when every one of them fled.

As night advanced, the members deputed by the convention found their labours more and more ſucceſsful. The tranſactions of the day became more generally known; the numerous fugitives from proſcription, concealed in various places in Paris, came forth from their retreats, and, with a zeal and boldneſs proportioned to their fears and their hopes, excited the people to join the convention, and end the reign of tyranny. The members of the revolutionary committees could not reſiſt the effect of theſe exertions. Deſtitute of leaders endowed with any capacity or credit, they awaited their fate; and, when the commiſſioners from the convention arrived, they ſaw themſelves received with general acclamations. Barras, having gained a number which he conſidered ſufficient to make ſome attempt againſt the commune, would not loſe the advantage of being the aſſailant; animating his followers, therefore, with promiſes of national gratitude, he haſtened to the hotel de ville, diſtributing his force in ſuch a manner as to cover all the paſſages to the houſe. Night concealed the inſufficiency of his numbers; but the victory was gained without even the ſemblance of a ſtruggle, for among all the aſſaſſins who were collected, not one had the ambition to die fighting. The hotel de ville might have made a vigorous reſiſtance; but the ſoldiers of the national guard, hearing that the commune and the deputies there aſſembled were outlawed, refuſed obedience, and laid down their arms at the firſt ſummons, crying, "*Vive la convention, "vive la republique.*" The cannoneers were differently diſpoſed. But the curious mob had obtained poſſeſſion of the gun-carriages, and uſed them as ladders to enable them to look into the windows. Bourdon de l'Oiſe, having read to the people the proclamation of outlawry, ruſhed into the hotel de ville, armed with a ſabre and piſtols, and followed by a conſiderable force. The younger Robeſpierre leaped out of a window, but was taken up miſerably bruiſed and wounded. St. Juſt, too puſillanimous to effect his own deſtruction, beſought Lebas to ſhoot him. "Coward," anſwered Lebas, "imitate me," and immediately blew out his own brains. Coffinhal, in a rage, threw Henriot out of a window; he crept into a common ſewer, and was drawn forth, covered with blood and filth, by ſome ſoldiers, who beat out one of his eyes. Coffinhal himſelf eſcaped, but was, after a few days, betrayed by an intimate friend, and delivered up to judgment. Couthon was found under a table, with a knife in his hand, apparently intended for the purpoſe of ſelf deſtruction, but which he durſt not uſe. Robeſpierre, whom cowardice had

prevented from appearing among the people who came to defend him, is faid with equal cowardice to have attempted his own life, but fo to have mifmanaged the attempt, that, inftead of blowing out his brains, he only fractured his jaw. Other writers ftate, that a foldier, having difcovered him fitting fquat againft a wall in one of the chambers of the hotel de ville, with a knife in his hand, and apprehending fome refiftance, fired two piftols at him, one of which wounded him on the head, and the other broke his jaw. He was conducted before the committee of general fecurity in an arm chair, his broken jaw bound up with a cloth, paffed under his chin, and tied at the top of his head. As he was carried along in this condition, he refted his chin on a handkerchief which he held in his right hand, while the elbow was fupported by his left. A meffage was
July 28. fent to the convention, to know if he fhould be brought to the bar; but the members unanimoufly exclaimed, that they would no more fuffer their hall to be polluted by the prefence of fuch a monfter. He lay for fome hours in an anti-chamber of the committee of general fecurity, ftretched on a table, motionlefs, apparently infenfible of corporal anguifh, though the blood flowed from his eyes, mouth, and noftrils; but, torn with racking recollections, and abandoned to remorfe, he pinched his thighs with convulfive agony, and fcowled gloomily around the room, when he fancied himfelf unobferved. After enduring, in this fituation, the taunts of all who beheld him, he was replaced in the arm chair, and carried to the hofpital, called *hotel Dieu*, where his wounds were dreffed, merely to prolong his exiftence, and from thence was fent to the prifon of the Conciergerie.

He was brought before the revolutionary tribunal the fame day, together with his accomplices, twenty-one; and as they were all out of the law, the identification of their perfons alone was neceffary, and fentence of death was demanded againft them by their former friend and creature, Fouquier Tinville, the public accufer. In the evening, at about five o'clock, they were conducted to the place of execution, amidft the acclamations of numerous fpectators, who confidered the proceffion before them as the earneft of future happinefs. The ftreets, the windows, and the roofs of the houfes were crowded; even the guard who efcorted them, partook of the general tranfport, and, which they were never before known to do, joined the cry of *Vive la convention!* A group of women ftopped the carts, and danced around them to teftify their joy.

During this fatal progrefs, Robefpierre, pale and disfigured, held down his head on his breaft, and never looked up. He fuffered laft but one. When he was about to be tied to the fatal plank, the executioner fnatched the dreffing from his broken jaw, which immediately fell, and a profufion of blood guffied out. The horrible chafm occafioned by the width of his mouth, owing to this accident, rendered his head, when fevered from his body, and held up to public view, a moft terrible and difgufting fpectacle.

On the enfuing day, the triumph

of

July 29. of the convention was secured by the execution of the fixty-two members of the commune, who had alſo been decreed out of the law. Beſide theſe, ſome other obnoxious perſons were executed, and the revolutionary tribunal had to paſs ſentence on its own preſident, and one of its vice-preſidents, Dumas, and Coffinhal.

CHAPTER XV.

Effects of the fall of Robeſpierre; the public anxious for the abolition of the ſyſtem of terror; the convention appear at firſt reſolved to continue it; degraded ſtate of that body; a party formed under the name of Thermidorians; they unite with the remaining Girondiſts; party of terroriſts; terror unpopular; the Girondiſts elevated into unexpected importance; reform in the conſtitution of the committees, and of the revolutionary tribunal; Freron impeaches Fouquier Tinville, who is taken in cuſtody; accuſation of Joſeph Le Bon, who is arreſted, with David, and ſome others. The ſyſtem of terror not yet overthrown; efforts of the men of blood; their threats; oppoſition of Tallien; Louchet formally propoſes that terror ſhall be declared the order of the day; it is referred to the committee of public ſafety; alarm of the Briſſotines; publications in their favour; Freron obtains a decree for unlimited liberty of the preſs; a party formed under the title of Jeuneſſe de Freron. Lecointre of Verſailles brings forward charges againſt Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrere, and others, which are voted falſe and calumnious; hopes and exertions of the jacobins; a ſaltpetre manufactory burnt, and a gunpowder manufactory blown up; the jacobins aſcribe theſe events to the other party; they loſe ground in the convention; violence of the jacobin club; they publiſh a political profeſſion of faith; attempt to aſſaſſinate Tallien; Carrier and his aſſociates are again taken in cuſtody; the event aſcribed to the jacobins. Humane exertions of Legendre; he clears the priſons; remonſtrances of the jacobins; they place in their pantheon the remains of Marat; trial and acquittal of ninety-four priſoners from Nantes; Carrier accuſed; the revolutionary committee of Nantes proſecuted; they demand that Carrier ſhall be tried with them; the matter inveſtigated in the convention. Proceedings of the jacobins; Legendre their enemy; Lyons declared no longer in a ſtate of rebellion; the jacobins and Thermidorians attack each other; law for reforming popular ſocieties; petition to the convention for the releaſe of the Briſſotine deputies; violent reſiſtance of the jacobins; their club diſperſed and aboliſhed; the inveſtigation of Carrier's caſe proceeds; his defence of himſelf; his accuſation voted; the charges againſt him amply proved; defence of the priſoners; Carrier and two others found guilty and executed; the others acquitted and ſet at liberty; diſſatisfaction of the public. An accuſation voted againſt Maignet; the ſame againſt Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrere, and Vadier; the ſeventy-three impriſoned deputies reſtored to their ſeats; report on the fugitive deputies, who are reſtored to all their rights except their ſeats. Obſervation.

THE fall of Robeſpierre forms an epoch in the French revolution; but it is chiefly remarkable for its conſequences, which none of thoſe who planned it could have anticipated. The event was produced by no principle of public virtue, but effected by hatred or fear; the leading perſons were themſelves conſpicuous ſupporters of the ſyſtem of terror, and, in the tumultuous debate which took place during the ſtruggle in the convention, far from expreſſing a deſign to aboliſh, they praiſed, and profeſſed to maintain that mode of government. Yet the advantages which the people of France had no reaſon to expect from the characters or views of theſe perſons, were, after a time, neceſſarily derived from the ſucceſs of their attempt. The party which prevailed in the convention was formed of many factions, in each of which rooted diſlike of the others was a characteriſtic principle, and none could retain influence but by ſome appeal to popularity. After the 27th of July, or *neuf Thermidor*, as it was called in the language of the revolution, the voice of the people of Paris clearly indicated the only courſe which could be ſucceſsfully purſued for the attainment of public favour. During the ſtruggle between the adherents and deſtroyers of Robeſpierre, the exertions of perſons proſecuted and in concealment were conſpicuouſly energetic, and on the following days the public opinion was loudly pronounced in favour of a ſyſtem of moderation and lenity. The relations and intimate friends of thouſands who had been put to death by the revolutionary tribunal, and of the ſtill greater numbers who were in confinement, or in danger of being ſo, formed by themſelves a very numerous and powerful party; they took the readieſt means to ſhew their ſentiments by the public expreſſion of their hopes. In every ſtreet, where of late nothing had been ſeen but the agents of terror looking for their prey, and a few gloomy paſſengers, racked with dread leſt they ſhould be the intended victims, now were beheld numerous perſons throwing off all reſtraint, ruſhing into each others arms, to expreſs mutual congratulation and mutual hope. The priſoners who had ſuffered the torments of inexpreſſible anxiety during the ſtruggle between the convention and the commune, and who had been prevented by their jailors from learning the ſtate of the event until it was concluded, were now filled with joy and hope, and they derived additional ſpirits from the dejection of the priſon ſpies, and the ſubmiſſive humility of their keepers, both of whom had before behaved to them with inſulting ferocity. Nothing indeed can more clearly diſplay the wretched ſtate to which terror had reduced the minds of men, than the paſſiveneſs with which the daily murders in Paris were endured, and the unreſiſting tameneſs with which the great majority ſaw their liberty, ſafety, and lives, the ſport of a few reſolute and remorſeleſs individuals. In fact, their ſubmiſſion amounted in ſome inſtances to participation in the guilt. They had poured forth addreſſes of congratulation and compliment to the governing power; they had by turns ſhewn themſelves warm devotees of every prevailing ſyſtem; they had exalted every crime, by idoliz-

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ing the perpetrators; and they had adopted the ferocious phraſeology and eſpouſed the ſanguinary doctrines, of thoſe who enſlaved and were preparing to murder them. But in proceſs of time, the profeſſion of cruelty in the majority of the people had become a mere hypocritical compliance, for the ſake of ſafety. They ſaw with diſguſt and dread the daily aſſaſſins of the revolutionary tribunal; they deplored in ſecret the fate of the numerous victims whom tyranny ſent to priſon or to the ſcaffold, and they abhorred the whole race of their oppreſſors, from the tyrants in the committee of public ſafety, down to the hireling females called revolutionary women, who daily took their ſtation at the door of the Conciergerie, to embitter by reproach the laſt moments of the unfortunate perſons who were aſcending the fatal vehicle which was to convey them to the guillotine.

The convention, ſuddenly emancipated from the galling tyranny to which it had ſo long ſubmitted, appeared rather aſtoniſhed at a change, the reſult of which could not be foreſeen, than delighted at the recovery of the liberty it had ſo baſely reſigned. The members gave no early promiſe of an intention to aboliſh the reign of terror; but, on the contrary, adopted without difficulty a proclamation propoſed by Barrere in the name of the committees, declaring, in milder terms indeed than were employed on former occaſions, but to the ſame effect, that the authority of the committees, and the reign of terror, ſhould ſtill be continued. This aſſembly was, in fact, reduced to the loweſt degree of contemptibility. The few men of talent who had been returned to it on its formation were deſtroyed or baniſhed, and thoſe who now remained, were for the moſt part timid, time-ſerving wretches, unconſcious of independence or elevation of mind, and ready to ſanction any meaſures enforced by terror, or recommended by power. Eloquence had been conſidered as the only certain means of attaining high conſideration in this body, and accordingly the principal actors had formed a ſtyle of their own; but no people ſtruggling to emerge from barbariſm, ever uttered their thoughts in language more poor, more notoriouſly filly and affected: and even of theſe declaimers, the beſt had been ſwept away, ſo that no one could hope, by the poſſeſſion of extraordinary talent, to aſſume in the preſent times a permanent aſcendancy.

Tallien, Legendre, and ſome of their adherents, who had laboured moſt aſſiduouſly to effect the fall of Robeſpierre, ſoon perceived that unleſs ſome conſiderable alteration could be effected in the ſyſtem of government, they would not only loſe all the advantages to which they were entitled from their exertions, but would alſo, in the end, be victims of the hatred in which they were held by ſome members of the committees. They declared themſelves advocates of a mitigated ſyſtem, and, renouncing the name under which it had been firſt recommended, that of *old Cordeliers*, called themſelves *Thermidorians*. This party, being only about forty in number, could not by themſelves hope to achieve any important alteration in the government, but they contrived to cement into an effective

effective co-operation the slight connexion which they had commenced with the remainder of the girondists. These deputies were about sixty; and, although friendship or confidence could not be the bond of their union, still mutual interest and common hopes made them adopt modes of conduct calculated to answer the views of each other. On the other hand, Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrere, Cambon, Amar, and Vadier, were the chiefs of a party of resolute terrorists, and they were supported by a considerable number, who fancied themselves obliged to them for protection during the life of Robespierre, and by many who were still fanatically attached to the system of blood, and would have viewed with horror any avowed attempt to overthrow it.

In this division of parties, one circumstance was considerably in favour of the Thermidorians. The members who were attached to their adversaries were for the most part anxious for popularity, but not able to guide the popular opinion, which was now rapidly turning toward the principles opposite to those they had espoused; while the Brissotine division of the new allies were eager to convert to the advantage of themselves and their prosecuted and imprisoned friends, the sentiment of mercy which began to be strongly manifested by the people. This remnant of a party was indeed most suddenly and surprisingly elevated. For fifteen months they had seldom been mentioned in the convention but as the refuse of creation; as toads of the marsh, who were endeavouring to climb up the sides of the mountain. In the day of contest with Robespierre, they were courted by all parties, and having now, though not without reluctance, formed an alliance with their inveterate persecutors, they soon began to acquire a political importance, and to entertain hopes of resuming the preponderance of which their leaders had been fatally deprived on the 31st of May. They used every effort to augment the popular clamour for the return of humanity; they sought adherents by promising the prisoners a speedy melioration of their lot, and even that they should regain their liberty if unjustly detained. The people hailed these promises with joy; and it was soon expected that every trace of the late horrors would be obliterated, and a more just and lenient system rise on the ruins. Against these expectations, however, some obstacles still prevented themselves; the men of blood were sufficiently powerful to create numerous alarms; and although the execution of Robespierre and his legislative adherents, and of Henriot and his accomplices, without a trial, as men out of the law, was not censured as an act of cruelty, considerable apprehensions were entertained when sixty, and, subsequently, twelve members of the commune, were in like manner sent to the scaffold; and many began to fear that the system of terror was not to be relinquished, but only the description of victims changed.

Soon after the fall of Robespierre, the two parties came to a direct trial of strength, July 29. which terminated to the advantage of those who opposed the committees. Barrere, after a long report,

report, nominated three perſons to fill the vacancies in the committee of public ſafety, occaſioned by the execution of Robeſpierre, Couthon, and St. Juſt. As his report was received with great applauſe, he was not perhaps prepared for any oppoſition; but one member inſiſted, that conſidering the powers intruſted to this committee, its numbers ought always to be full, which could not be the caſe if any of its members were allowed, as Jean Bon, St. André, and Prieur, then were, to be abſent on miſſions. This reaſonable obſervation was followed by a motion to adjourn the election of members to fill up the vacancies, which was ordered; and decrees were likewiſe paſſed, directing that a fourth part of the members of the committee ſhould go out every month, thoſe who retired not to be re-eligible for the month enſuing. However vicious ſuch a regulation might be as a principle of government, it was uſeful under preſent circumſtances, as the mean of curbing the extraordinary powers which the committees had been enabled to accumulate and uſurp. On July 31. the next day but one, a decree was obtained, by which David, Lavicomterie, and Jagot, three adherents of Robeſpierre, were expelled from the committee of general ſecurity, and the conduct of David underwent a ſtrict inveſtigation. In his explanations to the convention, he no longer appeared the ſtrenuous friend who would drink hemlock with the patriot he idolized, but a ſhuffling equivocator, palliating the expreſſion he had uſed, and complaining that he, like others, was deceived by the hypocriſy of Robeſpierre. To fill the vacancies in the committee of general ſecurity, ſix members were elected, who were known to be attached to the new or Thermidorian party; but Jean De Bry, who was one of the ſix, was obliged to give in his reſignation, on account of his known attachment to the Briſſotines.

When the renewal of the revolutionary tribunal came under conſideration, Freron, an active Thermidorian, ſaid he perceived with horror that ſome names were continued, whom public opinion marked with reprobation. All Paris, he ſaid, cried out for the well-deſerved execution of Fouquier Tinville; he moved therefore "that he ſhould be ſent to "expiate in hell, the blood he had "ſhed; or in other words, for a "decree of accuſation againſt him." If the aſſembly did not vote this propoſition unanimouſly, it was only becauſe the decree would have done this wretch too much honour; it therefore merely directed that he ſhould be taken into cuſtody, and tried before the revolutionary tribunal. This victory was followed by another, of at leaſt equal importance. A deputation from the commune of Cambray being admitted to the bar, denounced Joſeph Le Bon, member of the convention, as an emiſſary of Robeſpierre and St. Juſt, and cited againſt him many acts of cruelty and oppreſſion. Amidſt the execrations of the convention, he aſcended the tribune to anſwer the charges advanced againſt him, and in many caſes admitted facts of great atrocity, but alleged, that they had been ordered by the committee of public ſafety, and directed or approved

Auguſt 1.

Aug. 2.

proved by the legiſlature; and, above all, that had it not been for what he conſidered wholeſome ſeverity, ariſtocracy would have triumphed over the revolution. His ſpeeches were heard with great impatience; he was often interrupted by members reproaching him in the coarſeſt terms; and finally his arreſt was ordered; as was that of David, who before had only been removed from a committee; of Heron, and Baptiſte, two adherents of Robeſpierre; Roſſignol, one of the generals who had ſerved in La Vendée, who, inſtead of being with his troops, was loitering in Paris; and Haller, accuſed of being an accomplice with the younger Robeſpierre in ſome acts of peculation in Italy. Theſe meaſures of ſeverity againſt the ſupporters of the ſyſtem of terror were aided by the formation of various other committees, which executed part of the functions of the committee of public ſafety; the revolutionary tribunal was new modelled; the judges and juries were leſs exceptionable than thoſe formerly employed; the place of Fouquier Tinville was given to Leblois, who had filled the ſame ſtation in the department of *deux Sevres*, and although the influence of Billaud's party prevailed ſo far as to obtain for the impriſoned public accuſer a hearing at the bar of the convention, ſtill they received mortifying proof of the horror in which their ſyſtem was held, by the contempt and averſion diſplayed toward this their creature.

But although in ſome reſpects the Thermidorians and their new allies were ſucceſsful, yet they could not obtain all the relaxations of the ſyſtem of blood which they deſired. The priſons were not thrown open without reſerve; the laws of blood were not repealed; and while ten or a dozen priſoners were occaſionally liberated in Paris, murders without trial were ſtill perpetrated in Belgium, at l'Orient, and at Breſt. The revolutionary tribunal at Paris, though its powers were conſiderably abridged, continued to condemn priſoners for *federaliſm*, and for *degrading the national repreſentation*; and the friends of the impriſoned deputies entertained ſerious alarms leſt the promiſes made to them by the jacobins, in oppoſition to Robeſpierre, ſhould be retracted, and attempts to inforce them conſidered as new crimes. Many hints and threats were uttered, which tended to confirm theſe ſuſpicions: the jacobin club, which had been ſhut up on the 27th of July, renewed its ſittings; Collot d'Herbois affirmed that the jacobins of the 27th of July were not the old faithful jacobins, and theſe were invited to reſume their antient luſtre; and Billaud Varennes more explicitly declared, that the lion would ſpeedily be rouſed, and that his awaking would be terrible. In the convention too, the men of blood made conſiderable efforts to reſume their aſcendancy. In Aug. 13. one of their ſittings, Duhem complained that moderatiſm and ariſtocracy were raiſing their heads; and ſhortly afterward, a petition complaining of the illegal violence and extortion of ſome members of a revolutionary committee, in making an arreſt, having been heard at the bar, Baudot, Tailleſer, and Vadier, expreſſed themſelves with great vehemence

againſt the new and dangerous ſyſtem of lenity; and Duhem moved that thoſe who had ſolicited the liberation of certain ſuſpected perſons, ſhould themſelves be put in arreſt. The debate became extremely warm; a decree was obtained, ordering that a liſt ſhould be printed of all the perſons ſet at liberty, with the names of thoſe who had ſolicited their diſcharge. Granet moved as an addition, that where the name of the perſon ſoliciting did not appear, the parties ſhould again be taken in cuſtody. Several other motions were made, tending to revive the ſyſtem of terror; when Tallien, after expoſing the artifices of the oppoſite party, moved, that beſide the liſt of perſons ſet at liberty, there ſhould alſo be printed one of the perſons impriſoned, together with the names of thoſe by whoſe orders they were confined. This propoſition was warmly ſupported for its tendency to counteract the reſolution previouſly obtained; but many members exclaimed that it would create a civil war; and Tallien, declaring that he only brought it forward to ſhew the danger of that which had before been adopted, conſented, if the former were repealed, to withdraw his own; an arrangement which was readily acceded to by the oppoſite party. This event did not prevent Louchet from making, in a few days, a moſt violent ſpeech, in the ſtyle ſo uſual in the time of Robeſpierre, filled with declamation againſt kings, nobles, prieſts, and their valets, and requiring that terror ſhould be maintained the order of the day. Perceivng that this demand occaſioned a violent ſenſation, he endeavoured to qualify it, ſaying that by terror he only meant the moſt rigid juſtice; but Chalier, adding to the explanation, juſtice for patriots, terror for ariſtocrats, a general exclamation broke out, No, no; juſtice for all! Louchet being allowed to conclude, moved certain propoſitions; on which Tallien obſerved that terror was the weapon of tyrants, and was declared the order of the day by Robeſpierre, to enable him to impriſon good citizens, and ſet knaves at liberty. Tallien took care, however, to accord ſufficiently with the ſentiments of the terroriſts to prevent the hope that any ſyſtem of general benignity was in his contemplation, and he ſucceeded in cauſing the ſpeech and motion of Louchet to be referred to the committee of public ſafety. Shortly afterward, the friends of moderation attempted to obtain a decree of accuſation againſt Maignet; but while it was under diſcuſſion, the jacobin club, regenerated, as they ſtyled themſelves, appeared at the bar, and by their orator deprecated the too frequent liberation of ſuſpected perſons, many of whom were confirmed ariſtocrats, and would only make uſe of their liberty to conſpire anew againſt the republic. This addreſs was heard with ſome indignation, and the preſident in anſwer admoniſhed the club to confirm the good opinions entertained of them, by their ſubmiſſion to the laws.

Aug. 19.

Aug. 25.

Theſe repeated attacks on the ſyſtem of lenity, ſhewed that the oppoſing party retained great power and influence; and as many of the Thermidorian jacobins might have felt alarm at the proſpect of being defeated, and therefore have fought

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ſafety in compromiſe, it did not appear improbable that the remnant of Briſſotines would again have ſunk under the audacity and activity of their enemies in the convention; but means were found to intereſt the public indirectly in their behalf. Under pretence of unveiling the horrors of the priſons, many publications began to decry the ſyſtem which had occaſioned thoſe calamitous ſcenes, and to extol the magnanimity, wiſdom, and even the innocence of the Briſſotines. The members of the mountain party expreſſed ſome indignation at theſe appeals, and appeared to menace reſtraint or vengeance; when Freron, Aug. 26. in an able ſpeech, intereſted the convention in favour of the liberty of the preſs. This verſatile deputy, a ſower of ſedition in the early days of the revolution, a terroriſt from the firſt ſitting of the convention, one of the miſſionary aſſaſſins at Toulon, and an opponent of Robeſpierre only through perſonal fear, now found it neceſſary to eſtabliſh a reputation, and, as the advocate of the popular ſocieties, implored a decree, authorizing the unreſtrained freedom of the preſs, as the only means of ſecuring the republic againſt the annihilation of liberty, and deſtruction of national repreſentation. He extolled all the great revolutions, particularly that of the 31ſt of May 1793, aſcribing them intirely to the freedom of the preſs, and decried the tyranny of Robeſpierre as derived intirely from his having been able to fetter the right of publication; not by a direct declaration that printing was forbidden, but by making the guillotine fall on the neck of every man who availed himſelf of his right. Other arguments of the ſame kind, calculated to pleaſe all parties, and intermixed with recommendations of mercy and reform, produced the deſired effect; a decree for unreſtrained freedom of the preſs paſſed by acclamation, and from that time, publications in favour of the Briſſotines multiplied, the ſanguinary jacobins grew daily in greater diſrepute, and the orator himſelf formed the center of a knot of young men aſſociated for the purpoſe of repreſſing the exertions of any ſociety to attain a dangerous aſcendancy, and who were called *la Jeuneſſe de Freron*. They were diſtinguiſhed by vociferating a ſong called *Le Reveil du Peuple*, which, in miſerable poetry, to a dull tune, exhorted the people "to reſtore to "the monſters of the infernal re"gions all the drinkers of human "blood." The public walks and the theatres were frequently diſturbed by contentions between the ſingers of *Le Reveil du Peuple*, and thoſe untameable jacobins who perſiſted in their old ſong called the Marſeillois hymn.

While the parties were thus trying their ſtrength, the cauſe of the Thermidorians was greatly injured by the indiſcretion of one of its ſupporters. Without conſulting any of his friends, Aug. 28. Lecointre of Verſailles read from the tribune a long denunciation againſt Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Barrere, members of the committee of public ſafety, and Amar, Vouland, and David, members of the committee of general ſafety. His accuſations were compriſed in twenty-ſix articles, in which, not content with imputing

ing to them thoſe cruelties and crimes of which they were notoriouſly guilty, he charged them with many acts during the latter days of Robeſpierre, which the public conſidered as ſufficiently virtuous to redeem, in a great meaſure, their former iniquities. The individuals accuſed poſſeſſed great influence in Paris; the clubs zealouſly eſpouſed their cauſe; the party with whom Lecointre was connected, not having been previouſly conſulted, did not conſider themſelves bound to ſupport him: his charges were treated with great contempt, a motion was made that he ſhould be declared out of his ſenſes, and, after four days occupied in the diſcuſſion, in which each of the perſons inculpated made his defence, the charges were voted falſe and calumnious, and Lecointre, in a temporary diſgrace, was obliged to reſign the ſecretaryſhip of the legiſlature. This event greatly raiſed the hopes of the terroriſts, who could not but regard it as a favourable omen, when the convention treated a mere doubt of their virtues and ſervices as a proof of inſanity. They again threatened, complained, preached their ſyſtem, invented accuſations, and procured addreſſes. They loudly proclaimed a counter revolutionary conſpiracy, accuſed the new race of *modérés* of a deſign to ruin the republic, and affirmed that the liberated priſoners, and thoſe who had been relieved from confinement in their own houſes, were combined in a plot to re-eſtabliſh royalty. A ſhort time before their triumph in the convention, the abbaye of St. Germain-des-prés, which had been converted into a manufactory of ſaltpetre, was burnt, together with a valuable library which had not been removed; and at the time of their acquittal, the gun-powder manufactory at Grenelle blew up, occaſioning great damage, and deſtroying many lives. Collot d'Herbois, and his aſſociates, did not heſitate to adduce theſe events in proof of their allegations, and reaſoned on the ſubject with their accuſtomed virulence. Freron, however, ſucceeded in proving the fallacy of the charge; and the terroriſts had the further mortification, on the renewal of the committee of public ſafety (which took place according to law on the 15th day of every month in the French calendar), to find Collot, Billaud, and Barrere excluded, and Dumas, Merlin of Douai, and Fourcroy, ſeated in their ſtead.

Aug. 20.

Sept. 1.

At the jacobin club every meaſure of the convention tending toward mercy, or the abrogation of the ſyſtem of terror, was cenſured with the utmoſt virulence, and they gratified their ſpleen againſt the Thermidorians by expelling Lecointre, Tallien, and Freron. This propoſition was adopted at the inſtigation of Carrier, Fouché, and other of the moſt ſanguinary members, and the determination to overawe the convention by means of this ſociety became ſtill more evident on the following day, when committees of correſpondence and preſentation were elected, and in the liſt were placed the moſt conſpicuous of thoſe who had lately been diſmiſſed, or who had retired from the committees of government, and thoſe who had ſhewn in the convention the greateſt diſpoſition to violence,

Sept. 14.

violence, or who had been the moſt active ſupporters of the ſyſtem of terror; among theſe were Louchet, Billaud Varennes, Fouché, Lavicomterie, Duhem, and Collot d'Herbois. They publiſhed, in laconic ſentences, a political profeſſion of faith, in which, as eſſential articles, appeared ſeverity, the ſuppreſſion of moderantiſm, the reimpriſonment of liberated ariſtocrats, and ſeveral other principles equally tending to renew the reign of terror. But whatever Sept. 10. advantages this party might hope to gain by their activity and audacity, were fruſtrated either by the deſperate vindictiveneſs of ſome of their adherents, or by a fiction formed in the true ſpirit of jacobiniſm. In the courſe of one of their ſittings, the convention received intelligence, that an aſſaſſin had attempted the life of Tallien, by way-laying him near his own door, at midnight, and firing at him a piſtol, with which he had been ſlightly wounded in the ſhoulder. The convention ſhewed the utmoſt ſympathy with the wounded deputy, and ordered the report of the ſurgeons who dreſſed his arm, to be inſerted in their bulletin; and the public, conſidering him a martyr to his efforts in the cauſe of humanity, conſoled him with increaſed demonſtrations of regard, and ſhewed additional indignation againſt the jacobins.

Another event, which, at this period contributed much to the return of an humane adminiſtration was, the appointment of Legendre to be a member of the committee of general ſecurity. This man, whoſe brutal ferocity and ignorant malignity, had ſo often ſhocked the humane, and diſgraced the convention, was now thoroughly reformed. Whether he had always aſſumed an appearance of greater violence than really belonged to his nature; or whether the fall of Danton, to whom he was cordially attached, had weaned him from thoſe political aſſociations in which pre-eminence is only to be gained by cruelty, he was at this time, perhaps, more ſincerely attached to the cauſe of humanity. As ſoon, therefore, as he was inveſted with authority, he began a ſcrutiny into the ſtate of the priſons, and patiently inveſtigating the cauſes of their arreſt, diſcharged vaſt numbers who were confined on futile or inſufficient charges. Animated by his example, Bourdon de l'Oiſe, Rovere, Freron, Merlin of Thionville, André Dumont, and ſome others, proſecuted ſimilar enquiries, and almoſt emptied the priſons. The Oct. 19. convention alſo decreed, that their committees ſhould form a beneficial ſyſtem of internal regulations, calculated to ſecure to the perſons detained thoſe benefits and enjoyments of which they had been ſo long and ſo inhumanly deprived.

The jacobins did not obſerve theſe proceedings without emotion, or ſubmit to them without vehement oppoſition. Addreſſes from their own body, from their affiliated ſocieties in the departments, and from the ſections in Paris, continually admoniſhed the convention of the danger of encouraging royaliſm, ariſtocracy, and moderantiſm, and exhorted them to ſecure the republic, by renewing the ſyſtem of terror. They complained that patriots languiſhed in dungeons, while ariſtocrats were diſcharged

charged and rewarded; and in the jacobin club, violent declamations were made againſt the unlimited liberty of the preſs, as an engine to be employed to the injury of patriots and deſtruction of the republic. As a great triumph for the jacobin party, they obtained from the convention a decree for conveying to the Pantheon, the remains of their idol, Marat. Although many members of the legiſlature muſt, undoubtedly, have felt indignant at this act of national humiliation, none ventured to oppoſe it; for it had been ſuggeſted that the ceremony would have ſooner taken place but for the jealouſy felt by Robeſpierre, and in the preſent times, no appellative was reckoned more ignominious than that of continuator of Robeſpierre. The ceremony was languidly performed, and attended only by a few deſperate terroriſts, and thoſe public officers who were compelled to be preſent. Some raw recruits, intended for the armies, were alſo preſſed into the ſervice; but, upon the whole, the proceſſion ſeemed gloomy and devoid of cordiality; the attendants marched with a hurried ſtep; the municipal officers appeared aſhamed of their ſituations; and the mob did not re-echo the ſongs and ſhouts which were vociferated by a few admirers of Marat. Sept. 21.

The young men, who had received their impulſe from Freron's publications, in a paper called *l'Orateur du Peuple*, reminding them of the murder of their parents and friends by means of Marat and his emiſſaries, were peculiarly indignant; they frequently after the ceremony, inſulted the partizans of the wretched demagogue, hiſſed his buſt, when produced at the theatres, and broke and trampled on it in the ſtreets. The majority of the people were ſoon brought to concur in their ſentiments, and the name of Marat was covered with merited deteſtation. The conduct of theſe young men was frequently the ſubject of complaint in the convention, and at the jacobin club they were ſtigmatized as muſcadins and counter-revolutioniſts; but they were not reprehended by the legiſlature, and were popular in the city.

The terroriſts were ſoon obliged to defend themſelves againſt another ſort of attack. Among the numerous tenants of the priſons in Paris who now claimed their liberty, were ninety-four inhabitants of Nantes, who had been tranſmitted by Carrier to Fouquier Tinville, charged in the uſual vague manner, with favouring the progreſs of federaliſm. At their own requeſt theſe men were brought to trial before the new-modelled revolutionary tribunal, and their caſe not only excited general compaſſion, but formed a ſtrong ground of accuſation againſt thoſe who had been their perſecutors. In December, 132 were put into priſon at Nantes; and ſoon afterward, by order of the revolutionary committee there, ordered to be bound two and two by the hands, and removed under two eſcorts of ſoldiery to be immediately ſhot. For what reaſon this determination was changed, does not appear, but they were carried to a ſmall cloſe priſon, in a moſt unwholeſome ſituation, in Angers, where they were confined nineteen Sept. 8.

days, and then removed to other prisons, and at last to the Conciergerie in Paris. In the course of this time twenty-eight of them had died through ill treatment. The trial of the survivors lasted seven days, and as there was not the least appearance of criminality made out against them, they were all acquitted.

The general indignation excited by the treatment of these persons emboldened some members of the convention to attack the infamous Carrier, who had been the chief promoter of all the atrocities committed in La Vendée.

Sept. 30. After describing some acts of singular ferocity in the generals employed there, a member stated a few of the crimes of Carrier. "It is fit," he said, "the "legislature should be informed, "that this man, after promising an "amnesty to the inhabitants of "part of the country, if they would "lay down their arms, caused them "all to be shot after they had "complied with his proposal. A "woman was brought before him, "whom he ordered to be shot: it "was afterward found that she had "two children, one three years, "the other twenty months old, "and he was consulted how they "should be disposed of. If they "are allowed to live, he answered, "they will remember the fate of "their mother, and be serpents in "the bosom of the republic; let "them be put to death." To these and some other facts equally horrible, Carrier opposed explanations or denials: nothing was at that time moved against him, but the convention, with general indignation, ordered the arrest of two generals serving in that quarter.

Oct. 14. In consequence of the inquiry thus begun, the public accuser received instructions to prosecute the members of the revolutionary committee of Nantes, for enormities committed in that department. The act of accusation charged in its outset, that every thing which was barbarous in cruelty, treacherous in guilt, arbitrary in power, frightful in conflict, and disgusting in immorality, was combined in the facts laid to the charge of these men. In a style equally bombastic the specific crimes of the individuals were recited, and they were sufficient, both in number and magnitude, to have inspired general horror, without the absurd decorations with which it was thought proper to load the statement of them. The trial proceeded during several days, and the witnesses examined proved the facts alleged in the most distinct and satisfactory manner; but all the depositions, and all the answers of the parties accused to the interrogatories of the judges, shewed that justice could not be effectually obtained unless Carrier, the director of all their enormities, were also brought to trial. When the court had been occupied on the business several days, Goulin, one of the culprits, addressed them, observing that for a long time, he and his fellow prisoners had been the objects of unbounded hatred and suspicion, authorised indeed by some facts; but the man who had electrified their understandings, directed their motions, tyrannized over their opinions, and governed their proceedings, was a tranquil spectator of their alarm and their despair: he, the author of all their sufferings, was still at liberty. "Call

"all

"all the people of Nantes," Goulin proceeded, "they will teſtify "Carrier alone preached, excited, "recommended all the revolutionary meaſures. Carrier forced the "preſident of the tribunal to guillotine 40 Vendeans, taken in arms, "without trial; Carrier forced the "military commiſſion legally to "ſhoot 3000 brigands who poiſoned the city; Carrier delegated "the power of life and death to "Lamberty and Fouquet, who "abuſed it even to ſuch a degree "as to ſacrifice children and "pregnant women; Carrier, at the "time of an inſurrection at Bouſſay, and a threatened invaſion "of the Catholic army, propoſed "to the adminiſtrative bodies "aſſembled to deſtroy the priſoners "*en maſſe*; Carrier commanded the "drowning of 144 individuals, "thinking that meaſure important "to the tranquillity of the priſons "and the city; Carrier alone, in "ſhort, gave that terrible impulſe "which drove, beyond the bounds "of reaſon, the ardent but deluded "patriots. Citizens of the jury, "you whoſe calm deportment pro-"miſes impartiality, you will not "pronounce the fate of ſo many "miſled victims, without hearing "the author of all our woes, of all "our faults. Let Carrier appear; "let him come forward, and juſtify "his unfortunate agents, or let "him have the greatneſs to avow "that he alone is guilty." This requiſition being reduced to writing, was forwarded to the committee of general ſafety. The trial continued during two following days, but was then interrupted until ſomething ſhould be decided by the legiſlature on the ſubject.

Oct. 27. Raffron introduced the matter to the notice of the convention, moving, that the committees ſhould in that ſitting preſent a report on the forms to be uſed in proceedings againſt deputies, and ſuch a report as would place Carrier under the neceſſity of chooſing an alternative, either to avow or to deny the atrocities with which he was charged. The tribunal might then reſume its operations, and terminate this horrible inveſtigation. He truſted the ſame meaſure would be extended to Joſeph Le Bon. A report was accordingly made, by which it was ſettled, that every denunciation againſt a repreſentative be referred to the committees of public ſafety, general ſecurity, and legiſlation, who ſhould report to the convention if they found cauſe to proceed. The committees ſpeedily pronounced that there was reaſon to inveſtigate the conduct of Carrier, and a committee of twenty-one members was appointed to ſuperintend the proceeding. Carrier was brought before them in cuſtody to be examined, a circumſtance which was noticed in the convention as a proof that perſonal rancour and party ſpirit, rather than a love of juſtice, occaſioned the meaſures which were adopted againſt him. In fact, this and other circumſtances gave a lively alarm to the jacobins, and occaſioned proceedings which it will be neceſſary to notice before the event of the trial is related.

During the ſtruggle with Robeſpierre, Legendre went alone to the jacobin club, and by reſolution and threats, diſperſed the meeting, locked the door, and brought the key to the preſident of the convention. In a week after the fall of the tyrant, the legiſlature re-

eſtabliſhed the club, truſting they would purify their body by ejecting thoſe who did not conform to whatever ſyſtem the government might adopt; but it was ſoon found that the men of blood, whenever they were defeated in the legiſlature, ſought to recover their ground by means of this centre of ſedition, and generally ſucceeded in creating popular clamours, paſſing violent reſolutions, and procuring obnoxious addreſſes. Legendre was their declared enemy, frequently denouncing their proceedings to the convention; tracing the miſchiefs they had occaſioned at different periods of the revolution, and diſplaying their efforts ſtill to excite ſedition. At firſt, he was not heard with favour; the influence of the ſociety was too ſtrong to be reſiſted, and even Freron was obliged to pronounce an eulogy on Marat, in order to obtain a hearing.

A few days afterward the attack
Oct. 3. on the jacobins was renewed by the production of ſome incendiary reſolutions of the ſection which was called after William Tell. Laporte, Freron, and Bentabolle, expoſed the violence of the communes to juſt cenſure, and Legendre made a ſpeech of conſiderable energy againſt the accomplices of Robeſpierre, deſignating by that title, Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud-Varennes; ſhewing the craft and indeciſion of their conduct during the great ſtruggle, their previous knowledge of the plots and tyrannical intentions of Robeſpierre, whom they had nevertheleſs forborne to denounce, and their endeavours, by means of their preſent influence among the jacobins, to ſecure to themſelves the authority from which they had ſucceeded in removing him. Each of the parties inculpated made a defence, and a moſt tumultuous ſcene enſued, in the courſe of which a decree is ſaid to have paſſed for referring to a committee of twelve to decide on the charges againſt theſe three individuals; but as the motion from the chair was not diſtinctly heard, the decree was conſidered as not having paſſed.

In reſiſting theſe attacks, the jacobins had recourſe to two expedients; they attempted humanity, but they relied principally on recrimination, abuſe, and violence. As an experiment in the
Oct. 4. firſt, Fouché made a ſpeech on the ſtate of Lyons, moving, 1ſt. That all perſons poſſeſſing public money, and not having made up their accounts, ſhould be arreſted and proſecuted by an extraordinary commiſſion; and 2d. that Lyons ſhould be declared to be no longer in a ſtate of rebellion. This motion was acceded to, after a deſultory diſcuſſion of two days, with ſome additions, particularly one, which reſtored to the city its ancient name. This effort on the part of Fouché was the more remarkable, as a letter written by him, late in the preceding December, had been publiſhed by Lecointre of Verſailles, wherein he declared that Lyons ſhould be no more; that corrupt city, and all the conſpirators, ſhould diſappear from the ſoil of the republic. In the debate on this point, none of the men of blood appeared either to vindicate the proceedings againſt Lyons, or to oppoſe the motion in favour of the inhabitants; but the conduct of the jacobins was again vehemently cenſured by Pelet, who moved as a law, that no member

of

of the convention ſhould belong to any popular ſociety. This motion, although well received, did not paſs immediately; but Dubois Crancé preſſed very ſtrongly, that the jacobin club ſhould be purified by the convention or its committees, and a motion to that effect, ſeconded by Bourdon de l'Oiſe was adopted. In the ſame ſitting, Treilhard read a report from the committees, on ſome letters which had been tranſmitted, charging Barras and Freron with great irregularities in their conduct at Toulon and Marſeilles. Whatever truth might be in the allegations, theſe deputies were too powerful to be attacked, and the report concluded by declaring there was no ground of accuſation againſt them, and the legiſlature agreed in the declaration. The terroriſt members frequently returned to the ſubject, and added charges againſt Tallien, accompanied with reflections on his lady, and charging him with deſigning, by means of her father, to alter all the financial regulations in France.

While the committees, in purſuance of the motion of Dubois Crancé, were preparing their report on the regulation of popular ſocieties, daily petitions and addreſſes were preſented in the moſt violent language. The report was at length brought up, and the decree founded on it was ſufficiently ſtrong to deſtroy all the power uſurped by the clubs. It declared, that all affiliations, aggregations, federations, and correſpondencies in a collective name, between ſocieties, however denominated, ſhould be diſcontinued, as ſubverſive of government, and hoſtile to the unity of the republic. No petitions or addreſſes were to be preſented in a collective name, but to be ſigned as the act of individuals; nor was any conſtituted authority to notice any petition or addreſs in which this form was not obſerved. Every ſociety was immediately to prepare a liſt of all its members, adding to each his age, place of birth, profeſſion and reſidence before and ſince the 14th of July, 1789, and the date of his admiſſion into the ſociety; theſe liſts were to be ſent to proper public officers, and renewed every three months; and every perſon acting contrary to the decree in any particular, was to be arreſted and impriſoned as ſuſpected. This decree did not paſs without ſome oppoſition. "We ſhould not be "ungrateful," ſaid Le Jeune, "we "muſt not forget the immortal "ſervices rendered by theſe calum-"niated ſocieties. We muſt not "forget that the coaleſced tyrants "would have come and devoured "our country, but for the aſſiſt-"ance we derived from theſe "ſocieties. Have not all the pro-"jects of the enemies of the people, "and of the combined tyrants, for "the laſt five years, tended to the "deſtruction of theſe popular ſo-"cieties? No one who has ob-"ſerved the progreſs of the revo-"lution can miſtake the fact." He moved that the decree ſhould be printed, and the diſcuſſion adjourned for three days. The merits of the ſocieties were not denied, but the adjournment was refuſed, and the propoſed law adopted, amid general applauſes.

Oct. 16.

This decree was extremely diſpleaſing to the jacobins; but another meaſure which began to be agitated in the convention, raiſed

their indignation to its higheſt pitch. The ſeventy-three deputies who had been impriſoned for ſigning a proteſt reſpecting the tranſactions of the 31ſt of May, preſented a petition to the convention, complaining of the hardſhips they endured, and the indignity with which they were treated, and requeſting that the long promiſed report on their caſe might ſpeedily be made. The reading of this paper was followed by a decree, that the united committees ſhould report in eight days, and, that in the mean time, the declaration, on which their arreſt was founded, ſhould be printed and publiſhed. On the day appointed, the report not being yet prepared. Peniéres moved, that the impriſoned deputies ſhould be ſet at liberty; a motion equally reſiſted by the violent jacobins and the Thermidorians, who both inſiſted, that the revolution of the 31ſt of May would be calumniated by ſuch a proceeding, inſtead of being, as it ought, held in the higheſt honour. The debate was conducted with great acrimony between theſe two parties, the individuals abuſing each other in the groſſeſt terms; but it was evident to both that the Briſſotines were gaining ground, their adherents becoming daily more courageous and more popular. Duhem complained violently at the jacobin club of the proceedings in the convention, treating it as a high crime againſt the people that the revolution of the 31ſt of May ſhould be called in queſtion, abuſing the impriſoned members as federaliſts, and parties to all the conſpiracies againſt the people, and railing in violent terms againſt Tallien and Freron. Another member ſupported theſe remarks by ſtating, that in order to aid the favoured cauſe, the galleries were filled with well-dreſſed people, inſtead of honeſt ſans-culottes from the ſuburb of St. Antoine. This attempt to raiſe a popular outcry did not prevent the members of the convention, in the intereſt of the confined deputies, from making further efforts in their favour on the following day, and they ſucceeded ſo far as to obtain the releaſe of one, who was in ill health. They preſſed with great clamour the argument that it was ſhameful to confine their colleagues in dungeons, while Carrier was left at liberty. The leaders of the jacobins, ſenſible that their exiſtence was endangered, ſtrove to excite the club to ſtrong declarations and violent reſolutions; but, for the firſt time ſince the beginning of the revolution, they found it difficult to diſpoſe the minds of their hearers to ſuch views. Violent declamations were heard with little emotion; the orators reproached the people with indifference, without moving it, and they were even reduced to the neceſſity of complaining that the tribune was often left vacant for want of ſpeakers.

The violent expreſſions uſed by the orators on theſe occaſions were not unnoticed in the convention. Bentabolle complained of them as tending to excite murder and civil war, and read ſome extracts from public papers in ſupport of his opinions. The jacobins had prepared for this ſitting; they were in full ſtrength in the aſſembly, and had many of their partizans in the galleries.

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They resorted to their accustomed expedients, interrupting those who spoke against them with furious clamours, in which they were supported by the people whom they had introduced for the purpose; but even in this manœuvre they were defeated, and soon found themselves in a minority both in the hall and in the galleries. Their conduct was exposed in animated speeches by Tallien and Legendre, and they had reason to apprehend that their influence in the affairs of France was now reduced to the mere power of making speeches at their own club. Still, however, for several successive days, they continued to make the convention a scene of furious contest, and in their hall they continued to utter threats of the vengeance they would execute on their adversaries, and more than intimated a renewal of the system of terror; a secret committee of their most violent members, headed by one Babœuf, who had assumed the name of Gracchus, issued from a cellar, whither they had conveyed a printing press, daily libellous invectives. Lequinio in vain attempted to obtain from the legislature a decree forbidding its members to belong to any political club; and their partizans hoped still to hold the legislature in check, if not finally to effect the overthrow of all who opposed their system, when a sudden effort of lawless violence

Nov. 9. terminated their existence as a body. During one of their sittings, a large body of *la jeunesse de Freron*, assembled for the purpose at the coffee-houses in the Palais-Royal, rushed suddenly towards their hall, crying, "Down with the jacobins! no "more jacobins! The convention "is sufficient to save the republic!" With these exclamations they forced the doors, demolished the windows, overturned the seats and tables, cudgelled the men, and whipped the women, and finally dispersed the society. The jacobin members of the legislature made clamorous complaints, calling the transaction an assassination, a massacre equal to those in la Vendée; but the majority of the convention answered their lamentations with scoffs and derision. Rewbell completed their overthrow, by reciting, at length, the circumstances of the riot, and exposed the crimes of the club in an indignant and just apostrophe: "Where," he exclaimed, "was "tyranny organized?—at the jaco- "bins. Where were its support- "ers and satellites collected?—at "the jacobins. Who covered "France with mourning?—the "jacobins. Who reduced whole "families to despair, thronged "the republic with bastilles, and "rendered the republican system "so odious, that a slave loaded "with chains would not have ex- "changed his condition with a "Frenchman?—the jacobins. Who "are they who long to restore the "detestable system under which we "have lived?—the jacobins. If you "have not sufficient courage at this "moment to assume a decisive "resolution, you will have no "republic, because you will still "have the jacobins." The report of the committees being immediately brought up, the convention, on their recommendation, decreed the provisional shutting of the club; and thus this mother of crimes, this nurse of monsters, this

this fociety, famous for its antipathy to, and zealous efforts in deſtroying, or corrupting, all ſociety, terminated its formal exiſtence, perſecuted at laſt by thoſe who had received their political birth, education, and name, from it alone; deſtroyed by the exertions of Freron, Tallien, Legendre, and Rewbell. The triumph of the convention was ſpeedily hailed in congratulatory addreſſes from all quarters.

The dread of this ferocious club being removed, the conſideration of the charges againſt Carrier was reſumed, and an order for that purpoſe being obtained, he was brought to the bar of the convention to make ſuch remarks as he might think fit on the papers which had been preſented, containing the proofs againſt him. His inveſtigation of them laſted two days, and he contended that the facts they cited were falſe, contradictory, and informal. He avowed the charge of ordering all the priſoners to be ſhot in caſe of the approach of the royaliſt army, and fought to juſtify himſelf by ſhewing that Lequinio had given a ſimilar order, and that their conduct had been fully approved by the convention. As the papers preſented were only copies, a ſpecial courier was diſpatched to Nantes to procure the originals; but the culprit and ſome of his friends inſiſted that even this was not ſufficient, for material proofs ought to be adduced. Legendre, who was preſident, indignantly quitted the chair to combat this propoſition. He declared his firm perſuaſion, that thoſe who at the jacobin club had offered to make a rampart of their bodies for Carrier, were in that hall endeavouring to reſcue him from juſtice. "They aſk," he exclaimed, "for "material proofs; well, let the "current of the Loire be turned, "and bring that river to Paris; "bring the boats with valves; "bring before us the carcaſes of "his wretched victims; but what "do I ſay; they would form a "pile ſufficient to conceal their "ſurvivors." Carrier had requeſted a ſuſpenſion of proceedings on account of illneſs, but Legendre expoſed this alſo, as a mere fraud, and, on his motion, the inveſtigation was immediately continued. Carrier then reſumed his examination of the documents, and when he had gone through it, he intreated the convention not to be miſled by accuſations which did not originate among the people he was accuſed of having oppreſſed, but were firſt circulated in the lying journal of the infamous Freron, who was enraged becauſe Carrier had moved his expulſion from the jacobin club. "It is evident," he ſaid, "that Nantes had directed "no complaint againſt me, I am "nothing in the republic but an "inſignificant individual, a paſſion-"ate lover of liberty, a man incor-"ruptible. The convention would "be more advantageouſly employ-"ed than in the inveſtigation of my "conduct, if it would call to ac-"count thoſe who, in the early "periods of the war in La Vendée, "delivered our armies, our artil-"lery to the rebels, and cauſed the "maſſacre of 200,000 republicans. "Let it be known to the mothers, "the widows, the relations, the or-"phans of theſe 200,000 republi-"cans, that while the brigands were "torturing and murdering their re-"latives,

Nov. 21.

" latives, Tallien who was on miſ-
" ſion, was at Tours, thirty leagues
" from the ſcene of theſe enormi-
" ties, and was there joined by gene-
" ral Santerre. This proſecution,"
he continued, " is that of royaliſm,
" againſt patriotiſm; of fanaticiſm
" againſt philoſophy." He then compared himſelf to Calas, whom the ſame ſpirit of fanaticiſm had purſued to the ſcaffold. The Roman orator had put to death, in priſons, all the accomplices of Catiline, without form of proceſs; when accuſed, he appeared in the ſenate, and comprized his defence in theſe words: " I have ſaved Rome and
" the republic. One of the Ho-
" ratii killed his own ſiſter for la-
" menting the death of her lover;
" yet Rome did not paſs ſentence of
" death on Horatius or on Cicero."
He then juſtified the acts of which he was accuſed, as perfectly conſiſtent with his miſſion, but denied that he was reſponſible for any thing but general orders; all details were incompatible with his ſituation. " The barbarous conduct of
" the brigands," he ſaid, " render-
" ed meaſures of ſeverity indiſ-
" penſable. There was not a
" patriot family which had not
" to deplore a father, a ſon, a
" huſband, a wife, a brother, a
" ſiſter, a relation, or a friend.
" The maſſacres of Machecoul and
" Saumur were recent; we ſtill
" heard the ſcreams of women
" who had been ſuſpended by the
" feet over burning braſiers, and
" the groans of men whoſe eyes
" the brigands had plucked out,
" and whoſe ears they had cut off.
" The air ſeemed ſtill to reſound
" with the civic ſongs of the 20,000
" martyrs of liberty, who repeated
" the cry of *vive la Republique*, in
" the midſt of their tortures. Sur-
" rounded by ſuch ſtorms, how
" could the feeble voice of huma-
" nity, ſtifled in ſuch a criſis, hope
" to be heard? Was it poſſible that
" meaſures ſhould be exactly cal-
" culated according to the rules of
" cool reaſon? And they who ac-
" cuſe me, what would they have
" done in my ſituation? Was it in
" the power of man to arreſt the
" torrent of the revolution? Was
" it even in the power of the con-
" vention to prevent the exceſſes
" which were committed at Lyons,
" Marſeilles, at Toulon, in Avey-
" ron, and La Lozere, ſhaken as
" they were by the fury of political
" tempeſt? Yet I have terminated
" a terrible civil war, which, with
" gigantic feet, threatened to
" trample down the whole repub-
" lic. I had ſworn, with my hand
" ſpread on the altar of my coun-
" try, to ſave my country; I have
" kept my oath. I have preſerved
" Nantes to the republic; I calmly
" face the furnace of Scævola, the
" hemlock of Socrates, the death
" of Cicero, the ſword of Cato,
" the ſcaffold of Sydney; I will
" endure their pains, if the good
" of the people requires it: I have
" lived only for my country, and
" for her I am ready to die." This defence, however boldly uttered, was ſo well known by the whole convention to be unfounded in truth, that it produced little effect; the queſtion for an act of accuſation was put to the vote by appeal nominal, and out of 500 deputies who attended, 498 voted for the queſtion; the other two, Leſage Senault, and Boyaval, voted againſt it on account of objections to the tribunal before which he was to be tried, and of defects in the written evidence,

evidence. The convention immediately ordered that he ſhould be committed to the Conciergerie, and deprived of all means of ſelf-deſtruction.

Oct. 25. The act of accuſation framed againſt Carrier in purſuance of this deciſion, charged him with having put numerous perſons to death without trial or proceſs, ſtating them to be rebels taken in arms, although many of them were women and children; with authorizing military commiſſions to burn the houſes and ſhoot the people throughout large tracts of country, although they were not in rebellion, but quietly cultivating their lands; with having cauſed to be drowned or ſhot a vaſt number of rebels who had come to Nantes on the faith of a promiſed amneſty; with putting to death upward of fourſcore horſemen, who came in for the purpoſe of offering to ſurrender up the whole royaliſt army on condition of pardon; with making numerous noyades, fuſillades, and republican marriages; with having, contrary to the truth, written to one of the generals employed by the convention, that the will of the legiſlature was, to exterminate all the inhabitants of La Vendée, and to burn all the habitations; and with

Oct. 27. ſeveral other atrocious acts. When Carrier was brought before the revolutionary tribunal on theſe charges, he objected, in the firſt place to the juriſdiction, proteſting againſt the preſident, the public accuſer, and whole liſt of jurors; the court took time to conſider, and the next day aſſerted their own competency, and overruled ſome further objections; after which the trial before commenced againſt the accomplices of Carrier, proceeded; he being conſidered as if included in the proceſs from the firſt. The facts recited in the act of accuſation were proved in copious and horrible details. The noyades took place not only by direction, but under the inſpection of Carrier, who went on board a pleaſure-boat to enjoy the inhuman delight of ſeeing ſometimes eight hundred victims at once plunged in the river, and if any by ſwimming gained the ſhore, they were cut down with ſabres or ſhot by ſoldiers of the revolutionary army. One witneſs depoſed, that he ſaw four ſcore women ſhot in one day; they were then ſtripped naked, and left unburied the three following days. Another ſaw a ſinking boat full of women who had been drowned, in number about one hundred; they were all naked, and tied to the planks of the veſſel; he ſaw men untie and bury them all in one pit. Another ſaw three hundred men, naked, with their hands tied behind them, diſembarked from a ſhip; a number of women were taken from a Dutch veſſel, and all were led to a noyade; as they were proceeding a young man, in mere wantonneſs, and ſinging *la carmagnole* all the while, ſtruck off the heads of two of the party with his ſabre; they were dragged by the feet to the river, and thrown in with the reſt. The ſuperintendance of a noyade of fourſcore prieſts was deemed ſo great an honour, that Richard and Lamberty, two of Carrier's favourites, quarrelled for it, and their ſuperior decided the diſpute in favour of Lamberty. At one time, the greater portion of the inhabitants of

of ſeveral villages were called together, and told that they muſt go with a party of ſoldiers to the chateau d'O, which was in the neighbourhood, to obtain certificates of civiſm; hearing the intelligence, ſeveral peaſants from neighbouring hamlets joined them for the ſame purpoſe, but when they arrived, they were all condemned to be ſhot, and executed immediately. Some witneſſes proved, that women going to be drowned with children in their arms contrived to throw them, without being obſerved, to their female friends, who caught and took care of them; others, that the ſoldiers of the revolutionary army, in barbarous ſport, toſſed theſe innocent victims from one to another, catching them on the points of ſwords, or on bayonets. Theſe atrocious and diſguſting facts are but a few ſelected from an enormous maſs detailed by the witneſſes, who alſo bore teſtimony to the peculiar iraſcibility and ferocity of Carrier, to the ſavageneſs of his edicts, and the diſguſting coarſeneſs of his language, on all occaſions. To ſhew the ſavage deſpotiſm which was exerciſed, ſeveral papers were cited, which were poſted, or otherwiſe publiſhed, in Nantes. One was a ſort of teſt, called the oath of Marat, by which the party was to renounce all principles of friendſhip, kin, paternal or filial tenderneſs, or any other feeling whatever, which ſhould prevent his informing againſt ſuſpected perſons. Another placard commanded all thoſe who, on their petitions, had obtained permiſſion to rear the children of perſons who had been executed, to deliver up the infants immediately on pain of being themſelves treated as ſuſpected. A third, complaining that the revolutionary committee was inveſted, diſtracted by ſolicitations which impeded their labours, and neutralized their operations, declared that thenceforth they would be deaf to all petitions in favour of priſoners; that relations or friends preſenting them ſhould themſelves be treated as ſuſpected; and that no orders for deliverance ſhould be valid, unleſs ſigned by at leaſt eight of their body.

In their defence, the members of the revolutionary committee inſiſted that, acting merely under the authority of Carrier, they were not anſwerable for the acts they had committed; what the convention was to Paris, Carrier was to Nantes; his orders had, among them, the force of decrees. Men who merely obeyed, could not be deemed accomplices with him who iſſued commands. He who moved the machine was alone guilty, and not they who only yielded to the impulſe. Carrier, on the other hand, maintained, that he was not reſponſible for any acts in which he had not exceeded the authority entruſted to him, but had been ſanctioned by the convention. Being a lawyer, he made many ſhrewd objections on the evidence adduced, ſome of which he ſhewed to be contradictory, ſome mere hearſay, and ſome inapplicable to the charge. The jury retired at five o'clock in the morning, and on their return brought in a verdict of guilty againſt Carrier and two of his principal agents, Grandmaiſon and Pinet; the reſt of the priſoners, thirty in number, were acquitted. Carrier heard his ſentence without emotion; he declared himſelf an innocent

Dec. 16.

innocent victim, and that his laſt wiſhes ſhould be for the good of the republic, and the welfare of his fellow-citizens.

While the three who had been convicted were led to the ſcaffold, the thirty who were acquitted repaired to the Palais Royal, expecting to be received with general congratulations; but they met only with expreſſions of horror and deteſtation. The public was generally diſſatisfied with the deciſion, and Dec. 18. Lecointre of Verſailles mentioned the matter to the convention with great indignation. On his motion, followed by others from ſeveral members, it was decreed, that the deciſion of the revolutionary tribunal ſhould be reviſed by the committees of legiſlation and general ſecurity, who ſhould report on it in three days; the parties who had been diſcharged were to be again taken into cuſtody, and the revolutionary tribunal to be broke, and the committees to preſent a report on the beſt means of renewing it; the proceedings which had been begun in the mean time, were ſuſpended.

The acquittals were the more offenſive to the convention, as they ſhewed the influence which was ſtill retained by the jacobins. During the trial, theſe men had met daily in the hall of the *quinze-vingts*, hoping to excite an inſurrection in the ſuburb of St. Antoine, but the vigilance of government prevented their exertion. In the convention their party was Dec. 5. ſtill purſued with great severity; a decree of accuſation was obtained againſt Maignet, who had been, while on miſſion in the department of Vaucluſe, the rival of Carrier in atrocity; and on the report of Merlin of Douai, made Dec. 27. in the name of three committees, it was reſolved that there was no ground of accuſation againſt Amar, Voulland, and David; but that there was ground againſt Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrere, and Vadier. They were heard from the tribune, and it was granted, on their requeſt, that the printer employed by the legiſlature ſhould print and publiſh whatever they might write in their own defence.

This was undoubtedly a great victory over this diviſion of the jacobins; but in order to obtain it, the Thermidorians had been obliged to accede to a meaſure which muſt eventually ſink them into inſignificance, and perhaps occaſion their ruin alſo: it was the recal into the convention of the ſeventy-three impriſoned deputies, which took place in Dec. 8. conſequence of a report from the united committees in their favour. While their caſe was under diſcuſſion, petitions were preſented from ſome of the fugitives of the 31ſt of May, who had been put out of the law, requeſting the revocation of their ſentence, and a reſtoration of their Dec. 17. rights. Merlin of Douai preſented alſo a report on their caſe, in conſequence of which they were reſtored to all their privileges, except that of ſitting in the convention; but as it was evident that this could not long be withheld, it was clearly foreſeen, that the liberated deputies, reinforcing the old remnant of the Girondiſts, and aided by the ability of ſome of the fugitives, as Iſnard and Lanjuinais, muſt form an union too

powerful

powerful for any other party to surmount, and that thus, the fall of Robespierre would lead to consequences which most of those who promoted it would have resisted, at every risque which they could have incurred from his continued domination.

CHAP. XVI.

Military operations. Improved state of the French armies. Weakness of the allies. Outlines of a plan of the campaign drawn up at Vienna. Council of war held at Ath. Dissatisfaction of the Duke of York on being made subordinate to General Clairfait. It is at last agreed that the Emperor shall command in person. Plan of the campaign. Design of penetrating into the interior of France. The republicans resolve to act offensively Pichegru placed at the head of the army of the North. Republican plans. The emperor received at Brussels with great rejoicings. He joins the army. Opening of the campaign. The French driven from all their posts in the neighbourhood of Landrecy. The siege of Landrecy commenced. Inauguration of the emperor as duke of Brabant. French defeated in several actions, particularly at Villars en Cauchie, where four squadrons of cavalry put to the rout ten thousand of the enemy. The republicans attack the armies of the duke of York and the emperor. They are completely defeated. Invasion of West Flanders by the enemy. They defeat the Austrians, and take possession of Courtray. General Clairfait attacks the republicans, but is defeated. Menin evacuated. Gallant conduct of general Hammerstein. Surrender of Landrecy. Pichegru persists in his projects. Duke of York takes a position near Tournay with his army. The French attack him, and are repulsed. General Clairfait defeated in an attempt upon Courtray. The allies resolve to make a general attack on the republicans in West Flanders. Desperate battle, which terminates to their disadvantage. Pichegru attacks the allies, in order to invest Tournay. He is defeated. Infamous decree of the convention, ordering no quarter to be given to the British and Hanoverians. General order of the duke of York in consequence of the decree. The emperor requires aid from the states of the Low Countries. Siege of Ypres. Clairfait failed in two attempts to relieve the town. Surrender of Ypres. General Clairfait retires to Ghent. Advance of the enemy. General Pichegru's plan of operations. It is rendered abortive by the Committee of Public Safety. Operations on the Sambre. French obtain some advantage. Army of the Moselle defeated. Army of the Ardennes defeated. French defeated in the duchy of Bouillon Army of the Ardennes twice defeated. Jourdan joins the army of the Ardennes with the army of the Moselle, and the two armies take the name of the army of the Sambre and Meuse. Passage of the Sambre for the fourth time by the French. Siege of Charleroy. Jourdan routed. Fifth passage of the Sambre. Fall of Charleroy. Prince of Saxe Cobourg marches to the relief of Charleroy. Battle of Fleurus. The allies retire from the French frontier. Evacuation of the Netherlands by the allies. Actions at Waterloo and Malines. The Austrians retire beyond the Meuse, and the British and Hanoverians towards Breda. Scandulous conduct of the

the French in the Netherlands. The republicans make themſelves maſters of Landrecy, Queſnoy, Valenciennes, and Condé. Skys compelled to ſurrender after a gallant defence. Poſition of the hoſtile armies. Plan of Pichegru. Not carried into execution. He advances againſt the duke of York, who retires behind the Dommel. Succeſsful attack of the republicans upon Boxtel. The duke retreats over the Maeſe. The army of the Sambre and Meuſe defeats the right wing of the Auſtrian army, and compels general Clairfait to abandon his poſition on the Meuſe. French defeated in an attack upon his rear guard. He takes poſt behind the Roer, but is vanquiſhed, and compelled to retire over the Rhine. Stephenſward, Venlo, and Maeſtricht reduced by the army of the Sambre and Meuſe. Operations of the army of the North. Crevecœur reduced. Cowardly ſurrender of Bois le Duc. Pichegru attacks the duke of York, and obliges him to retreat to the other ſide of the Waal. Siege and evacuation of Nimeguen. The hoſtile armies go into cantonments for a ſhort time. Concluſion of the chapter.

DISTRACTED, torn, and diſgraced as the new republic was by contending and ſanguinary factions, its rulers, nevertheleſs, diſplayed in their military projects and operations an unſlumbering vigilance and energy, which has ſeldom been equalled, and never exceeded. The very tyranny and barbarity, indeed, which, for a time, blotted France from the liſt of civilized nations, rendered her in the field doubly formidable to the ſurrounding ſtates. While their foreign enemies were obliged to wait the ſlow reſult of common meaſures operating upon limited means, the French jacobins, unſhackled by moral conſiderations, could at once force into convulſive action all the numerous reſources of the country which they governed. By a ſingle decree of half a dozen lines, they could ſeize the produce and the poſſeſſors of the ſoil, replenish their treaſury and their arſenals, recruit their ſhattered armies, and call new armies into exiſtence. Such was the terror inſpired by their ſanguinary proceedings, that thouſands of individuals, not called upon to ſerve by the law of the requiſition, flocked to join their countrymen in the field; preferring rather to ſuffer the dangers and hazards of war, than to encounter at home the tortures of a lingering impriſonment, and the chance of the guillotine. At the commencement of the year 1794, revolutionary France had nearly nine hundred thouſand men in arms, of which immenſe force more than one-third was deſtined to act on the northern frontier. Every thing indicated that ſhe was reſolved, and qualified, to purſue the war with no common vigour.

Not ſuch was the ſituation of the allied powers. Notwithſtanding their preparations to reſume offenſive warfare, they betrayed evident ſigns of laſſitude and diminiſhed ſtrength. Their armies, on the long line from Luxemburgh to the German ocean, did not exceed, if they even reached, one hundred and ſixty thouſand men; their ſick and wounded were not leſs than twenty-five thouſand; their reinforcements, inadequate to the exigency of the occaſion, arrived tardily; and there was little proſpect that thoſe reinforcements would, for the future, be increaſed in numbers,

numbers, or forwarded with greater speed. Auſtria, fighting at a great diſtance from the heart of her territory, was exhauſted even by her victories; Pruſſia, hopeleſs of ſpoil, and jealous of Auſtria, was meditating a deſertion from the confederacy; while England and Holland were, for obvious reaſons, incapable of throwing into the balance a ſufficient weight to ſecure its preponderance.

The principal outlines of the campaign were ſketched at Vienna by the Auſtrian cabinet, which was aſſiſted, on this occaſion, by the advice of colonel Mack, an officer of tried courage, of conſiderable knowledge in the theory of war, and who had the farther recommendation of having been highly prized by marſhals Lacy and Laudohn. So much reliance was placed upon the talents of colonel Mack, that, to have conſtantly the benefit of his counſel, it was reſolved to employ him in the Low Countries, and he was accordingly appointed quarter-maſter general of the imperial army. As, however, his ſervices in this capacity would not for ſome time be neceſſary, he was directed by the court of Vienna to proceed to London and the Hague, for the purpoſe of conferring with the Britiſh and Dutch miniſters on the meaſures to be purſued. This commiſſion he executed in the beginning of February, towards the latter end of which month he arrived in the Netherlands, where he began an immediate inſpection of the frontier fortreſſes and military poſts.

About the latter end of March, a council of war was held at Ath, before which the arrangements made at Vienna were laid by general Haddick. By a part of theſe arrangements the duke of York was placed in a ſtation ſubordinate to general Clairfait; and this circumſtance is ſaid to have excited ſuch diſpleaſure in his royal highneſs, that he not only refuſed his conſent, but alſo declared that, until he had conſulted his court, he would not ſuffer his troops to take any ſhare whatever in the intended operations. After long and ſevere altercation, the diſpute is ſtated to have been put an end to by an agreement that the emperor himſelf ſhould aſſume the command of the army; the prince of Saxe Cobourg acting as his ſecond. On the breaking up of the council, the archduke Charles ſet off for Vienna, to make known this determination to his imperial majeſty. If it be true that the duke of York acted in the manner which has been attributed to him, he muſt have conſulted his pride and not his reaſon. It would aſſuredly have been no diſgrace to him, unknown as he was in arms, to have ſerved under a general, whoſe military talents were ſo indiſputable, that, even when he failed of ſucceſs, his enemies were compelled to pay to his conduct and ſkill the tribute of their applauſe.

The plan of the campaign was, at length, definitively ſettled. On the Moſelle, if Pruſſia could be induced to lend effectual aid, the allies deſigned to collect, in the neighbourhood of Treves, an army of fifty thouſand men, which was to menace the French fortified towns in that quarter; and, ſhould an opportunity offer, to form the ſiege of Longwy. From the Moſelle to the Sambre, it was their intention to confine themſelves to defenſive

measures. In this part general Beaulieu, aided by the fortreſs of Luxemburgh, was to cover, with fifteen thouſand men, the territory between the Meuſe and the Moſelle, while general count Kaunitz, with an equal number, ſupported by Namur and Charleroy, was to protect the country from the Sambre to the Meuſe. In maritime Flanders alſo, the allies reſolved to follow a defenſive ſyſtem. The ſpace extending from the German ocean to the Scheld, was committed to the care of general Clairfait, to whom was given a force of ſcarcely thirty thouſand Hanoverians and Auſtrians. Ypres, Menin, and Nieuport, were directed to be put in a tenable ſtate, and, in caſe of neceſſity, it was projected to ſhorten the line of defence by the means of inundations. From Tournay, where a part of general Clairfait's army was ordered to be poſted, a communication was kept up with the grand army and the conquered towns through the medium of two corps, the one, of three thouſand men, placed near St. Amand, the other, of ſix thouſand five hundred men, near Denain, under the command of lieutenant general Wurmb. The grand army itſelf, conſiſting of eighty-five thouſand men, was intended to act on the offenſive, between the Sambre and the Scheld. Its firſt object was the ſiege of Landrecy. If that fortreſs could be ſpeedily reduced, it was hoped that the allies might be able to penetrate to Paris through Picardy, as in an open country, like that which would in this caſe be the ſcene of action, their great ſuperiority in cavalry would give them over their enemies a manifeſt, and perhaps, deciſive advantage.

The republicans, confident in their ſtrength, were alſo at the ſame moment forming ſchemes of conqueſt. Jourdan not being thought ſufficiently active, Pichegru was placed at the head of the army of the North, for the purpoſe, as Barrere declared, of enabling it to perform its part in "the de-"ſtruction of the tyrants and their "barbarous hordes."

Alarmed at the proximity of the combined forces to the capital, the committee of public ſafety directed the general to open the campaign by the ſiege of Queſnoy. From this plan, however, we ſhall ſee that Pichegru, if even, which is doubtful, he really began by following it, ſoon deviated. It did not eſcape his penetration, that to attack the allies on the frontier between the Scheld and the Sambre, was to attack them in the leaſt vulnerable quarter, and he took in conſequence the reſolution of holding them at bay on this central point, while, by Maritime Flanders and the county of Namur, he turned both flanks of their poſition, and thus, in an inſtant, compelled them to abandon all they had won by the toil of a year.

The period when the hoſtile armies were to put their ſtrength to a trial, was now at hand. The emperor quitted Vienna, with the archdukes Charles and Joſeph, on the ſecond of April, and on the ninth he arrived at Bruſſels, where he was received with every demonſtration of joy. The Louvain gate, through which he entered, and at which he received the keys from the magiſtrates, was inſcribed with a prediction of his future triumphs. To the emigrants, who crouded to congratulate him, he is ſaid to have

have expreſſed his hopes that he ſhould, ere long, have the pleaſure of reſtoring them to their homes. After a ſtay of five days at Bruſſels, he reached Valenciennes on the evening of the fourteenth, and on the ſixteenth reviewed the whole of the combined forces on the heights of Cateau.

To form the ſiege of Landrecy, it was neceſſary to drive the French from their cantonments between Landrecy and Guiſe. As early as the firſt of April, the diſpoſitions for an attack to accompliſh this purpoſe were delivered out to the generals, and the eighth was the day fixed upon to carry them into effect. Heavy falls of rain having, however, rendered the roads impracticable, the execution of the project was for a ſhort time poſtponed.

Early on the morning of the ſeventeenth, the combined army moved forward in eight columns to the attack. The firſt column, formed of Auſtrians and Dutch, commanded by prince Chriſtian of Heſſe Darmſtadt, drove the enemy from the village of Catillon, and croſſing the Sambre, took a poſition at Favril, between the Sambre and the little Helpe. The ſecond column, compoſed entirely of Auſtrians, and led by lieutenant general Alvinzy, forced the republican entrenchments at Maſſicour and Oiſy, and puſhing forward took poſſeſſion of the wood of Nouvion. The emperor and the prince of Saxe Cobourg directed the third column, which conſiſted of the main body of the Auſtrian army. This column, having carried ſword in hand the fortified villages of Ribouville and Waſſigny, diſpatched its advanced guard to ſeize upon the heights of Grand and Petit Blocus. The fourth and fifth columns, partly Britiſh, partly Auſtrian troops, were under the orders of the duke of York, who headed the fourth himſelf, leaving the care of the fifth to ſir William Erſkine. While his royal highneſs ſtormed the ſtar redoubt above the village of Vaux, and expelled the enemy from Bohain, ſir W. Erſkine made himſelf maſter by aſſault of Premont, and ſecured his communication with the duke. The ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth columns, jointly Dutch and Auſtrian, conducted by major general count Haddick, the hereditary prince of Orange, and major general Geyſau, were deſtined to obſerve the enemy on the ſide of Cambray. They advanced as far as Crevecœur, Beauvais, and St. Hilaire, but met with no reſiſtance whatever. At the cloſe of the day, all the poſts againſt which the allies had bent their efforts were completely in their power. The republicans ſuſtained a loſs of thirty pieces of cannon, ſeveral hundred men killed and wounded, and an equal number made priſoners. The loſs of the victors was inconſiderable.

The ſiege of Landrecy was committed to the hereditary prince of Orange, who accordingly moved with the greater part of his forces from Beauvais, and took up a poſition to complete the inveſtiture of the place. On the twentieth, a ſucceſsful aſſault having been made upon an entrenched camp, and ſome redoubts which the republicans ſtill occupied in front of the town, the firſt parallel was begun. The governor was ſummoned to ſurrender, but without effect.

Having ſeen the trenches opened,

the emperor set off for Brussels, to be solemnly inaugurated as duke of Brabant. The ceremony of inauguration was performed in the church of St. Gudule, with all possible magnificence, amidst the acclamations of the crowd, amongst whom several thousands of gold and silver medals, commemorative of the event, were scattered. Neither the prince nor his people at this moment, perhaps, foresaw that the tie which bound them together was on the point of being broken for ever. As soon as the ceremony was over, the emperor and the archdukes departed to join the army.

April 23.

The republicans were now preparing to make a formidable onset. In the mean time they harassed the troops of the allies by daily assaults. A large body of them attacked general Wurmb near Denain, and, at first, gained some advantage, but they were finally repulsed. Other attempts which they made on the Austrian advanced corps in the neighbourhood of Landrecy were attended with no better fortune.

Being informed that they had assembled a large force at the camp of Cæsar, nigh Cambray, and likewise driven in the imperial outposts upon the river Selle, the duke of York dispatched a detachment of cavalry to reconnoitre. General Otto accompanied the detachment, and finding that the conventionalists, who had taken post at Villars en Cauchie, were not less than ten thousand strong, he halted for the night, and sent off a messenger to require reinforcements. On the arrival of the succours, he directed two squadrons of Austrian hussars, under colonel Sentkereisky, and two of the fifteenth British light dragoons, under major Aylett, the whole consisting of only two hundred and seventy-two men, to charge the enemy. The brigade of heavy cavalry, under major general Mansell, was designed to support this attack. Though, from some unfortunate mistake on the part of the Austrian general in giving orders, the heavy brigade was not brought up in time, the four squadrons, without hesitation, rushed furiously upon the republican cavalry, which they broke at the first onset, and drove behind the line of infantry. They next charged the infantry, which also they completely routed. The fugitives were pursued by the victors almost under the cannon of Bouchain, and nearly twelve hundred of them were killed and wounded. Three pieces of artillery were taken by the allies. General Clairfait was equally successful in dislodging the enemy from all the positions which they had taken in the vicinity of the Selle.

April 24.

By the gallantry displayed in the affair of Villars en Cauchie, the emperor was rescued from imminent danger. He was at this moment on the road from Valenciennes to Catillon; and as the conventional vanguard had pushed on so far as to cut off the communication between the two places, it is highly probable that he would have been made prisoner had not the republicans been thus timely defeated. As a testimony of his gratitude, he caused medals to be struck, and distributed among those British officers who headed the troops on this memorable day.

These various actions were but the prelude to one of greater importance, which, on the same day,

was

was general along the whole of the northern frontier. On the central point of this extenſive line, the main object which the republicans had in view was to raiſe the ſiege of Landrecy. But, if even they failed in the attainment of this object, their efforts they knew would not be wholly fruitleſs, as the attention of the allies would be diverted from other and more vulnerable quarters.

At day break on the twenty-
April 26. ſixth, the duke of York was attacked in his camp of Inchy by thirty thouſand men from Cambray, with ſeventy-nine pieces of cannon. The aſſailants at firſt ſucceeded in driving the light troops out of the villages in front. They then advanced againſt the village of Troiſville, and even obtained a momentary poſſeſſion of it, but were ſpeedily expelled by a well-directed fire of grape ſhot from two ſix-pounders under the command of lieutenant colonel Congreve. Perceiving that their left was unprotected, the duke of York detached lieutenant general Otto with the cavalry of the right wing to turn their flank, while he kept them occupied in the centre by a ſevere cannonade. This movement was executed with the deſired effect. Charged in flank and rear, the republicans were defeated with terrible ſlaughter. Their general, Chapuis, with three hundred and fifty men, and twenty-two pieces of cannon, remained in the hands of the conquerors. The loſs of the Britiſh did not exceed one hundred and fifty men. Among the ſlain was major general Manſel, who, ſtung, it is ſaid, by ſome unjuſt inſinuations as to his conduct on the twenty-fourth, expoſed himſelf during the engagement in every place where danger was to be found.

A column, which at the ſame time made an attempt againſt the poſts of Maretz and Premont, on the left of the duke, was no leſs unfortunate than the main body. It was completely routed, with the loſs of ten pieces of cannon, and twelve hundred men.

While the duke of York was thus combating, three columns of the enemy from Guiſe attacked the army of his imperial majeſty. They were, however, repulſed with great carnage, and purſued as far as La Capelle, leaving behind them twenty-two pieces of artillery.

After theſe flattering gleams of ſucceſs, the proſpect ſoon began to darken. At the moment when the allies were fully occupied in the centre, Pichegru was carrying into execution his projects againſt the right of their poſition. Two armies, the firſt, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, under the orders of general Souham, the ſecond, of twenty thouſand, commanded by general Moreau, were deſtined for the invaſion of Maritime Flanders. They were put in motion on the twenty-ſixth of April. The firſt was divided into two corps, with the one of which Pichegru in perſon marched againſt Courtray, while Souham, with the other, attacked a ſmall camp of the allies at Moeſcroen. Both attacks ſucceeded. General Walmoden, whoſe force was wholly incompetent to repel the enemy, was obliged to abandon Courtray, and retire to Haerlebecke; and the troops ſtationed at Moeſcroen were alſo defeated, and driven back to Tournay. The column of general Moreau was de-

ſigned to proceed at the ſame time along both banks of the Lys, for the purpoſe of inveſting Menin, and this ſervice it performed without having experienced any ſerious oppoſition.

When this formidable irruption of the French into Weſt Flanders took place, general Clairfait was abſent at Denain. No ſooner did he hear of it than he haſtened back to recover the ground which had been loſt. On the twenty-eighth he drove in the enemy's out-poſts, defeated his right wing, and took poſſeſſion of Moeſcroen and the heights of Caſteert, cutting off by this means the communication between Liſle and Courtray. As he expected every hour to receive from the emperor's army a reinforcement of eight battalions of Auſtrian infantry, he reſolved not to make his meditated onſet before it arrived. Pichegru, however, did not think it prudent to wait for his enemy. He accordingly advanced with all the forces he could muſter againſt Moeſcroen and the heights of Caſteert. The action commenced at eight in the morning, and was maintained with great obſtinacy till four in the afternoon, when Clairfait, overpowered by numbers, was obliged to order a retreat, which, from the intricacy of the country, ſoon degenerated into a flight. Nearly thirty pieces of cannon, and a thouſand priſoners, were captured by the victorious republicans. The loſs in killed and wounded was on both ſides conſiderable. The routed Auſtrians retired to the neighbourhood of Tournay.

April 29.

The loſs of this battle was deciſive as to the fate of Menin. When the enemy appeared before that place on the twenty-ſixth, it was in ſuch an unprepared ſtate as to be incapable of making a vigorous defence. A great part of the projected works were barely raiſed above the ground, thoſe which were thrown up were neither fraiſed nor palliſaded; there was little artillery, and that little of a ſmall calibre, ſcarcely any ammunition, except what belonged to the troops, and a ſcanty ſupply of proviſions. The garriſon was compoſed of four battalions of Hanoverians, and four companies of loyal emigrants; the whole under the command of major general Hammerſtein.

A furious cannonade and bombardment was on the twenty-ſeventh commenced againſt the place, which was ſoon on fire in various quarters. By the night of the twenty-ninth more than one half of the town was conſumed, not more than half a day's ammunition remained, no hope appeared of ſuccour, and the enemy was making preparations for an aſſault. In this ſituation the governor might have capitulated; but to obtain a capitulation he muſt have conſented to ſurrender the emigrants, and his noble ſpirit ſhrunk from the cruelty and baſeneſs of giving up to the executioner thoſe brave men who had fought by his ſide, and been conſidered as his friends. He took, therefore, the gallant reſolution of endeavouring to cut his way through the republican army, and retire to Bruges. The loyal emigrants offered, and were permitted, to lead the van in this perilous enterprize.

At half paſt one in the morning, the van guard ſallied forth, advanced up to the muzzles of the enemy's guns, and, April 30.

and, amidſt cries of "Victory, victory!" which was the rallying word, carried the ſuburb of Bruges at the point of the bayonet. As ſoon as he was aſſured of the ſucceſs of this attack, general Hammerſtein followed with the remainder of the troops. The conventionaliſts were by this time on their guard, and it was not till the third charge that he ſucceeded in opening a paſſage through them, and joining the diviſion of loyal emigrants. On his march, the republicans made repeated attempts to haraſs him, and were as repeatedly driven back with fixed bayonets. About eleven in the morning, he arrived in good order at the advanced poſts of the allies near Rouſſelaer; bringing with him not only the whole of his baggage and artillery, but alſo ſome priſoners, and three pieces of cannon, which he had taken from the enemy.

For the defeat of Clairfait, and the loſs of Menin, the allies thought themſelves compenſated by the ſpeedy ſurrender of Landrecy. That fortreſs opened its gates on the morning of the evacuation of Menin. The garriſon, conſiſting of nearly eight thouſand men, remained priſoners of war. The prompt reduction of Landrecy was effected by a continual bombardment of five days, which killed above twelve hundred of the troops and inhabitants, and laid in ruins the greateſt part of the town.

The capture of Landrecy produced not the ſlighteſt change in the meaſures of Pichegru, who well knew that, if he could ſucceed in the plan which he had formed, all the advantages gained by the allies in the quarter which they had choſen for the principal ſeat of their operations, would be rendered wholly unavailing. Abandoning, therefore, the central point of the frontier to its own ſtrength, he directed the routed army of general Chapuis, which conſiſted of between twenty and thirty thouſand men, to quit the neighbourhood of Cambray, and encamp at Sanghien near Liſle, that it might be at hand to aſſiſt in his attacks upon Maritime Flanders. The armies acting on the ſide of the Sambre were, at the ſame time, reinforced with all the troops that could be ſpared.

Alarmed at the progreſs made by the French, the emperor, as ſoon as the capitulation of Landrecy was ſettled, requeſted the duke of York to proceed with the army under his command to the vicinity of Tournay, in order to afford ſupport to the army of general Clairfait. His royal highneſs put his forces in motion the ſame evening, and, on the third of May, after a march which was rendered inſufferably fatiguing by torrents of rain, they reached their intended camp at Marquain, a ſmall diſtance to the weſt of Tournay, on the road to Liſle.

The poſition which the duke of York had taken being a conſiderable reſtraint upon the movements of the republicans, they reſolved to diſlodge him from it. In purſuance of this reſolution, he was attacked at day-break on the tenth, by ſeveral columns; the whole amounting to thirty thouſand men. The aſſailants firſt attempted to turn his left, but, being repulſed in this quarter, they bent their efforts againſt his centre. Here, however, they were received with equal gallantry, and, having left an open-

ing on their right flank, they were gallantly charged by general Harcourt, at the head of fixteen fquadrons of Britifh cavalry and two of Auftrian huffars, were broken after a fhort conteft, and compelled to retire with great flaughter. The Hanoverians, who, on the right of the line, were likewife engaged, fucceeded alfo, in driving back the enemy, but not without a fevere ftruggle. Thirteen pieces of cannon and four hundred prifoners were taken from the enemy.

General Clairfait was, during this time, combating with not lefs vigour, though with lefs good fortune. Advancing towards Courtray, he fell upon the French diviſion poſted in the neighbourhood of that place, routed it, and compelled it to feek refuge in the town, againft which he immediately caufed feveral batteries to be raifed on the left bank of the Lys. His intention was to make an aſſault the next day, and, it appears by the confeſſion of the republicans themfelves, that it would have been crowned with entire fucceſs, had not the conventional commander haſtily called to his aſſiſtance the corps under general Souham, which had been foiled in the attempt upon the Hanoverian poſition. This corps reached Courtray early in the morning, and gave May 14. fuch a preponderance of numbers to the beſieged, that they, in their turn, were encouraged to become the aſſailants. They accordingly fallied forth, and, at the end of an obſtinate conflict of feveral hours duration, fortune declared in their favour. General Clairfait retired firſt behind the Heule, and then behind the Mandel, where he endeavoured to maintain his ground; but, being hotly preſſed by his antagoniſts, he was ultimately under the neceſſity of falling back to Thielt, in order to cover Bruges, Ghent, and Oſtend. The loſs which he ſuffered is not known; it was, however, acknowledged to be of conſiderable magnitude. General Staray, an officer of great merit, was ſeverely wounded.

It was now obvious, that nothing ſhort of a very ſtrenuous effort would ſuffice to expel the enemy from Flanders, and it was as obvious, alſo, that no time ought to be loſt in accompliſhing their expulſion. To effect this deſirable purpoſe, his imperial majeſty came to a determination to make a general attack upon the republican army. The plan which it was deſigned to follow was conceived with much judgment. On the left, two columns under general Kinſky and the archduke Charles, were to force the paſſage of the Marque, and, by vigorouſly aſſailing the conventional poſts on that river, hold the enemy in check on the ſide of Liſle, and thus cover the operations of the remaining columns: on the right of the line, general Buſſelie, with another column, was to carry the poſt of Moeſeroen, while, in the centre, two columns, led by the duke of York and general Otto, were to poſſeſs themſelves of Lannoy, Roubaix, and other villages, and then puſh forward to join the army of general Clairfait, which was to advance at the ſame time, and force its way acroſs the Lys. By the ſucceſsful execution of this plan, the communication between Liſle and Courtray would be broken, and that part of the republican army which had penetrated into

Weſt Flanders, be completely ſurrounded.

The troops were put in motion on the night of the ſixMay 17. teenth. On the enſuing day the conteſt began. The commencement was not auſpicious. On the left, the columns forced the paſſage of the Marque at ſo late an hour, and were ſo much fatigued by the length of their march, that they were unable to accompliſh the remainderof the taſk aſſigned them; on the right, the column under general Buſche found the enemy ſo numerous and ſo well poſted at Moeſcroen, that it was under the neceſſity of falling back to its old poſition at Warcoing.

The columns of the centre were more fortunate. That which was conducted by general Otto moved by Leers to Waterloo, diſlodged the French from the latter place, and puſhed forward to Turcoing. The column of the duke of York conſiſting of fourteen battalions of infantry, ſeven of them Britiſh, and ten ſquadrons of cavalry, proceeded meanwhile from Templeuve to Lannoy, which the enemy was compelled to evacuate after a ſhort cannonade, by which major Wright, a deſerving officer, was ſlain. Leaving here two Heſſian battalions, his royal highneſs continued his march to Roubaix, where the republicans made a ſtand for a while, and then retreated towards Moeſcroen. Not being able to procure any information as to the movements of the other columns, his royal highneſs determined to leave his advanced guard at Roubaix, and take on the heights behind Lannoy a poſition with the reſt of his corps. This determination was, however, ſet aſide by his imperial majeſty, who, feeling of what conſequence it was to effect a junction with general Clairfait, directed the duke to make himſelf maſter of Mouveaux. The four battalions of guards, and the ſeventh and fifteenth light dragoons, the whole under lieutenant general Abercromby, were employed upon this ſervice. Mouveaux, advantageouſly ſituated on an eminence, was likewiſe ſtrongly entrenched. In ſpite, however, of its natural and artificial ſtrength, it was ſtormed by the flank and firſt battalions, ſupported by the dragoons, at the head of whom was lieutenant colonel Churchill. The republicans, who were purſued by the cavalry as far as Bouderes, abandoned three pieces of artillery. Night at length put an end to the engagement.

General Clairfait, in the meantime, did not remain inactive. Early in the morning of the ſeventeenth, he ſet forward from Thielt with his army, and reached the Lys; all the French poſts on which he ſurpriſed, and put to the ſword. He then croſſed the river at Werwick and Comines, and took a poſition in the vicinity of Blaton and Lincelles, beyond the latter of which places he puſhed his patroles, to obtain ſome information reſpecting the progreſs of the columns with which he was directed to form a junction.

Though the two corps were now not more than five miles apart, they were wholly ignorant of their proximity to each other. By this unfortunate ignorance, the communication remained open between Liſle and Courtray. The republican generals ably ſeized upon this circumſtance to extricate themſelves

ſelves from their preſent ſituation, and place their antagoniſts in one which was ſtill more perplexing. In the courſe of the night, they diſpatched to the troops which had fallen back upon Liſle, peremptory orders to move forward directly, and attack, by the following dawn, all the poſts of the allies.

At day-break, the enemy fell ſo furiouſly upon the detachment in Turcoing, that colonel Devay, who commanded there, entreated the duke of York to afford him aſſiſtance. His royal highneſs, in conſequence, diſpatched two Auſtrian battalions to make a diverſion, with orders to fall back to him ſhould they find themſelves preſſed. Inſtead, however, of obeying theſe orders, they joined colonel Devay, and thus left an opening on the right of the duke. A column of fifteen thouſand men now appeared advancing from Liſle, while, at the ſame inſtant, a ſtrong corps which, moving from Moeſcroen, had driven general Otto out of Waterloo, made an aſſault on the rear. Hemmed in, and aſſailed on every ſide, the ſcanty force of the duke was quickly thrown into confuſion by the overpowering numbers of the enemy. All endeavours to rally the troops proving fruitleſs, his royal highneſs attempted to reach the brigade under lieutenant general Abercromby, which was poſted in Mouveaux. Failing in this attempt he haſtened to Roubaix, but finding that place in the poſſeſſion of the French, he, with great difficulty, forced his way to general Otto's diviſion, with which he acted for the reſt of the day.

General Abercromby, who had previouſly been ordered by the duke to retire from Mouveaux to the heights above Roubaix, was, during this time, in a ſtate of the utmoſt peril. When he at length arrived at the ſpot which had been pointed out to him, he found himſelf entirely enveloped; and ſo numerous were the enemy, and ſo inceſſant their attacks, that it ſeemed hardly poſſible to avoid deſtruction. He continued, nevertheleſs, his courſe to Lannoy, which he had the mortification to diſcover was occupied by the republicans. Nothing was left to him but to march round the town, which he effected, under a heavy fire, and ſoon after reached Templeuve, where he halted for a while to collect and form his haraſſed and ſcattered troops.

General Fox, who had been ſtationed with his brigade on the great road from Liſle to Roubaix, was, meanwhile, in ſcarcely leſs danger than general Abercromby. He had to cope with the principal part of the Liſle column, which aſſailed him in the moſt vigorous manner. Notwithſtanding every diſadvantage, however, he ſucceeded in repulſing the foe, and ſecuring his retreat to the village of Leers, where he joined the column of lieutenant general Otto.

In this diſaſtrous combat, the loſs ſuffered by the routed diviſions was truly ſerious. That of the Britiſh alone, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, fell little ſhort of a thouſand men. Nearly the whole of their artillery was abandoned by the allies. The republicans boaſted, and perhaps with no great exaggeration, that ſixty pieces of cannon, and more than two thouſand priſoners, were the trophies

of their victory. The vanquiſhed had, nevertheleſs, the conſolation of reflecting, that their honour was ſtill unſullied. They had done all that brave men could do, and even their enemies confeſſed that the reſiſtance was obſtinate, and the reſult of the conteſt for a long while doubtful.

General Clairfait who, during this time, was alſo hotly engaged, was more fortunate than the duke of York. At half paſt eight in the morning, the army of general Moreau commenced an attack upon his poſition; but this attack was received with ſo much gallantry, that the aſſailants were thrown into great diſorder, and compelled to fall back; the waggons and artillery ſtationed at Hallwin, even took flight, and filed off towards Liſle. The defeat of the Britiſh commander enabling, however, the republicans to bring up large reinforcements, they formed a plan for ſurrounding the Auſtrian general, ſhould he perſiſt in maintaining his preſent ground. Their ſcheme was rendered abortive by Clairfait, who, having in the interim been apprized of the duke of York's defeat, ſecretly recroſſed the Lys in the courſe of the night, and accompliſhed his retreat in ſuch a maſterly manner, that he arrived at Thielt without ſuſtaining the ſlighteſt loſs.

Deprived of the greateſt part of their field artillery, and diſcouraged by their late diſcomfiture, the allies, Pichegru imagined, would be unable to make head againſt a powerful effort of the republican armies. His object was to open a paſſage over the Scheld, inveſt Tournay, and beſiege that town on the oppoſite bank of the river, where the works were incapable of defence. Tournay ſupported the right of the poſition occupied in Hainault by the allies, and the reduction of it, therefore, though not abſolutely neceſſary, would, nevertheleſs, materially forward the completion of his deſigns.

To effect this purpoſe, he concentrated, between Liſle and Courtray, a force eſtimated at not leſs than one hundred thouſand men, with which, on the morning of the twenty-ſecond, he advanced, in ſeveral columns towards the Scheld, and attacked all the poſts on the right and centre of the combined army. It was, however, againſt the right that the ſtrength of the republicans was principally directed. At the firſt onſet general Buſche was driven from Eſpierres, and compelled to retire with his diviſion upon the main body, which was almoſt immediately called into action. For ſeveral hours the immoveable firmneſs of the allies held the battle in ſuſpenſe; but at length the aſſailants, having by dint of numbers made themſelves maſters of Templeuve and Pont à Chin, and the troops of the right wing being nearly exhauſted by the fatigue which they had undergone, the balance began to incline in favour of the enemy. Seven Auſtrian battalions, and the ſecond Britiſh brigade, conſiſting of the fourteenth, thirty-ſeventh, and fifty-third regiments, with ſome artillery, under the command of major general Fox, were now diſpatched by the duke to reinforce their companions on the right. This opportune reinforcement gave a turn to the fortune of the day. As it was of the utmoſt conſequence to recover Pont à Chin, the Britiſh brigade was ordered to attack; and this ſervice it performed with an intrepidity

intrepidity worthy of the higheſt praiſe. The village was carried by the bayonet, and a terrible ſlaughter was made of thoſe by whom it was defended. Pichegru immediately began his retreat, which was conducted ſlowly, and in good order; and before the next ſun-riſe, he had withdrawn the whole of his poſts, and fallen back upon Liſle.

This obſtinate and murderous combat, the hardeſt fought of the campaign, laſted from five in the morning till nine at night. The carnage was immenſe. On the ſide of the republicans, it has been variouſly ſtated by the enemy, at from nine to twelve thouſand men; on the ſide of the allies it was not leſs than three thouſand. The emperor who, throughout the battle, was ſeen animating his troops amidſt the hotteſt of the fire, publiſhed, on the following day, an addreſs to his army, in which praiſes of its valour, and grateful acknowledgments of its affection for him, were blended with expreſſions of deep regret that it had ſuffered ſo ſeverely in obtaining its triumph.

Thoſe rivers of blood, the flowing of which inſpired the emperor even in the moment of victory, with melancholy thoughts, were not ſufficient to ſatiate the ſavage thirſt of the rulers of France. To gratify their ſanguinary propenſities, they framed a law, ſuch as had never before diſgraced the code of any civilized nation. Seizing, as a pretext, upon the pretended deſign of Cecile Regnault* to aſſaſſinate Roberſpierre, the committee of public ſafety drew up a decree, by which it was enacted, that no quarter ſhould in future be given to any Britiſh or Hanoverian ſoldier. Barrere, as the ſpokeſman of the committee, preſented this diſgraceful decree to the convention, to which he previouſly read a report†, of a tedious length, filled with the moſt infamous and ridiculous calumnies againſt England, which country was conſidered as the cauſe of all the miſeries endured, for a long ſeries of years, not only by France, but by every quarter of the globe. Not a ſingle member of the convention had the virtue to raiſe his voice againſt the propoſition of the committee. It was unanimouſly ſanctioned by the trembling ſlaves of the jacobins, and, along with it, a furious proclamation to the armies, exhorting them to carry the law into effect in the fulleſt manner. May 26.

As ſoon as the decree was known on the frontier, the duke of York iſſued to his troops a temperate and judicious general order,‡ to moderate their reſentment, and direct their future conduct. Upon this order, which contained a pointed mention of Roberſpierre, that demagogue thought proper to comment at the jacobin club, in a ſpeech remarkable for nothing but its ſillineſs, aſperity, and contempt of truth.

At the moment when the con-

* See page 281.

† See an extract from the report in the State Papers, p. 389 to p. 392. There is, in the extract, an error as to the dates. The report, decree, and proclamation, were all brought forward at once on the twenty-ſixth, and not ſeparately on the twenty-ſixth and thirtieth, as is there ſtated.

‡ State Papers, pp. 392-4.

vention

vention was giving a wider scope to the ravage of the sword, the emperor was labouring to recruit his exhausted legions. The states of the Flemish provinces had several times offered to raise a native army in aid of the allies, but this offer had not been accepted. The non-acceptance of it had most probably its rise in some principle of mistaken policy, though the ostensible reason was, that too much time would be wasted in organizing and training the levies as a separate body. The May 26. emperor now addressed to the states a declaration,* in which he explicitly avowed the diminution of his forces, and the imminent danger to which the Netherlands were in consequence exposed, and called for an immediate and extensive enrolment of men to fill up the chasm which had been made in the ranks of the imperialists, by the numerous and terrible combats of the present campaign. The states acceded to the demand of their sovereign; but this tardy succour was unfortunately too late to answer its intended purpose.

Weakened by their preceding struggles, the hostile armies remained for some days inactive. Pichegru was the first to resume offensive operations. Convinced by experience that it was worse than useless to make any attempt on the side of Tournay, where the openness of the country allowed the cavalry of the allies to act with advantage, and knowing that Clairfait was at too great a distance to be easily or safely attacked, he determined to make a feint of besieging Ypres, in order to induce the Austrian general to march to its succour; a movement which might probably afford a favourable opportunity of giving him battle.

In pursuance of this determination, a French division pushed forward, on the first of June, and established some mortar and howitzer batteries on the side of Elverdinghen, from which a bombardment was commenced on the following day. Finding, however, that the wary Austrian was not to be moved from his post by this stratagem, Pichegru gave orders to begin the siege in earnest. The place was accordingly blockaded on the fifth; the conduct of the siege was committed to general Moreau; and an army of observation was encamped between Paeschendael and Langemark.

Alarmed by these measures, general Clairfait advanced from Thielt to Rousselaer and Hoogleden, where he halted to wait for reinforcements, which he hourly expected. The republican general, being informed of this circumstance, deemed it advisable to attack his enemy without delay. A battle was consequently fought, on the tenth, the event of which was, that the imperialists, though not routed, were under the necessity of retiring to their former position at Thielt, leaving the French in possession of Hoogleden and Rousselaer.

The preservation of Ypres was of such importance that, as soon as he received his reinforcements, general Clairfait again moved forward with the resolution of hazard-

* State Papers, p. 388.

ing

ing another battle to relieve the town. The republicans were not unprepared for his reception. So impetuous, however, was the onset of the Auſtrians, that they broke the right wing of the French, and made themſelves maſters of Rouſſelaer. The enemy's center, on the heights of Hoogleden, aſſailed in front and flank, was for a while in great peril. It would have ſhared the fate of the right wing, and Ypres would have been liberated, had not generals Souham and Macdonald exerted themſelves in the moſt ſtrenuous manner to encourage their men. After a long protracted conflict, and very ſevere loſs, general Clairfait, finding that all further efforts muſt be unavailing, and might prove fatal, drew off his army, and once more meaſured back his ſteps to his old ſtation in the vicinity of Thielt.

June 13.

Abandoned to its fate, Ypres, nevertheleſs, held out four days longer. At length, after a ſiege of twelve days, the place being rendered untenable, the governor, general Salis, was compelled to capitulate. The garriſon, conſiſting of between five and ſix thouſand men, was allowed the honours of war, and ſome other marks of reſpect, but was ſent captive into the interior of France. Its vanquiſhers had the candour to own, that it had defended its charge with the moſt ſignal bravery.

June 17.

Ypres being loſt, general Clairfait judged it prudent to quit his poſition at Thielt, and retire to another in the neighbourhood of Deynſe. He was, however, ſo hard preſſed by the enemy, that, after a ſmart ſkirmiſh which took place on the twenty-third, he retreated to Ghent. The republicans followed him to that city, to obtain poſſeſſion of which they made a deſperate but ineffectual attempt. General Walmoden, who was poſted with a ſmall corps at Bruges, finding himſelf too weak to keep his ground, now abandoned the town, and fell back to join at Landmarch the right flank of the Auſtrian army.

The plan of operations upon which general Pichegru deſigned to act, was conceived with great boldneſs and ſkill. Croſſing the Scheld below Oudenarde, he purpoſed to inſulate, and cut off from all ſuccour or retreat, the army of general Clairfait, which, left ſingly to cope with the army of the North, would probably be overpowered. This being accompliſhed, it was his intention to fall on the rear of the line occupied by the grand army of the allies, penetrate to the banks of the Sambre, and act in concert with the army of the Sambre and Meuſe.

In execution of this plan, general Pichegru paſſed the Lys, and encamped on the twenty-ſeventh between Worteghem and Huyſſe. The paſſage of the Scheld was fixed for one of the two ſucceeding days, but in the interim the whole ſcheme was overturned by an abſurd order from the committee of public ſafety, ſtrictly enjoining the general to form the ſieges of Oſtend and Nieuport, and to detach to Dunkirk ſixteen thouſand men, who were to be embarked there for the purpoſe of ſeizing upon the iſland of Walcheren. Pichegru, well convinced that remonſtrances would be unavailing, reluctantly obeyed, drew back his army behind the Lys,

Lys, and began to make arrangements for carrying into effect the project of the committee. His head-quarters were eſtabliſhed at Deynſe. Here, for the preſent, we ſhall leave him, and turn our view to the banks of the Sambre, where the conteſt between the two parties was, during this period, ſtill more furious and ſanguinary than that which they maintained on the banks of the Scheld and the Lys.

The ſame weight of numbers, unabating perſeverance, and propitious fortune, which, ſeconded by the errors of their antagoniſts, enabled, as we have ſeen, the republicans to turn in Weſt Flanders the right of the poſition choſen by the allies, enabled them alſo, after many ſtruggles and reverſes, to obtain an equal triumph on the left of that poſition, and thus to carry into complete execution the gigantic plan which their general had combined.

The taſk of opening the campaign on the Sambre was committed to the army of the Ardennes, under the command of general Charbonnier. This army was deſigned to form an immediate junction with a ſtrong diviſion from the army of the North, and ſubſequently to be united with the army of the Moſelle, to which orders were given to put itſelf in motion for that purpoſe. The firſt movements of the army of the Ardennes were intended to hold the allies in check on the ſide of Charleroy, while Pichegru made his attack on the ſide of maritime Flanders.

General Charbonnier accordingly commenced his march from the neighbourhood of Philippeville, and on the twenty-ſecond of April drove the Auſtrians from their poſt at d'Auſſoit, after an action of twelve hours. The diſcomfited troops fell back to Boſſu les Walcouft, to which place they were purſued by the victors, and again defeated, but not without April 26. having oppoſed to their enemies an obſtinate reſiſtance. They now retired towards the Sambre, and Charbonnier effected, at Beaumont, his junction with the diviſion which had been ordered to reinforce him from the army of the North.

The army of the Moſelle, commanded by Jourdan, was, in the mean time, not inactive. It advanced, on the eighteenth of April, towards Arlon, and compelled general Beaulieu, who was poſted there with a ſmall corps, to abandon the town, and retire upon the fortreſs of Luxemburgh. The republicans immediately ſpread themſelves over the ſurrounding country, where they committed the vileſt enormities. Beaulieu, however, was not ſlow in taking his revenge. Having received reinforcements, he fell upon the enemy, who had entrenched themſelves in the neighbourhood of Arlon, and, though he was inferior in numbers, completely routed them. They retreated to Longwy, with the loſs of a thouſand men, five pieces of cannon, and three howitzers.

After a pauſe of a fortnight, the army of the Ardennes again moved forwards. It drove the Auſtrians from Thuin, paſſed the Sambre, and entered Fontaine l'Eveque. General count Kaunitz withdrew to a poſition near Binch, in order to cover Mons. May 14. Here he was attacked by the republicans; but the determined valour of his troops gave him a complete triumph over the aſſailants,

assailants, who were routed, and compelled to fly to the opposite side of the Sambre, with a loss of five thousand men, and three pieces of cannon.

The province of Luxemburgh being much harassed by a large French force which was collected in the duchy of Bouillon, general Beaulieu marched from Arlon, fell upon the republicans, and defeated them, killing twelve hundred, and taking two hundred prisoners, with six pieces of cannon, and several caissons. May 18.

In spite of its late discomfiture, the army of the Ardennes, on the twentieth of May, again passed the Sambre, took post between Rouveroy and Fontaine l'Eveque, and partially invested Charleroy. Count Kaunitz did not give it time to push its conquests. On the twenty-fourth he attacked it, threw it into utter confusion, and drove it across the river, killing two thousand men, and making himself master of fifty pieces of cannon and three thousand prisoners. His own loss in this battle was inconsiderable, the republicans having been taken by surprise.

Severe as this check was, not more than two days elapsed before the dread of the guillotine, with which the troops were every hour filled by the threats of the conventional commissioners St. Just and Lebas, prompted the army of the Ardennes once more to attempt the passage of the Sambre. It was not till the thirtieth of May that it succeeded, and posting itself at Fontaine l'Eveque, began the bombardment of Charleroy. In this third attempt it was not more fortunate than it had been in the two preceding ones. The hereditary prince of Orange having brought a considerable reinforcement from the grand army, and assumed the command, assailed the invaders on the third of June, and, aided by a vigorous sally of the garrison, compelled them to retire to their old position on the right bank of the Sambre.

Taught by experience that the army of the Ardennes was not sufficiently strong to make a permanent impression upon the allies in this quarter, the French rulers had already given instructions to Jourdan to hasten forward and join it with the army of the Moselle. Accordingly that general, while Beaulieu was occupied in the duchy of Bouillon, traversed the province of Luxemburgh at the head of forty thousand men, and after defeating on his route several weak Austrian corps at Neufchateau, St. Hubert, and Dinant, formed a junction near Charleroy with the force of Charbonnier. June 1. The united armies assumed the name of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, of which Jourdan took the command, subordinate, nevertheless, to the orders of general Pichegru. Beaulieu, too weak to hazard offensive operations, fell back upon Marche, for the purpose of covering Namur.

Well convinced that to remain inactive would endanger his head, Jourdan led his army over the Sambre on the twelfth, and invested Charleroy. The trenches were immediately opened, a bombardment was commenced, and an advanced redoubt was carried by assault. The fortress, however, was not to fall without a further effusion of blood in the field. On the fifteenth, the

the hereditary prince of Orange attacked the beſieging army, and, though not without an obſtinate conteſt, compelled it to recroſs the Sambre in confuſion, with the loſs of ſeven thouſand men, thirty-five ammunition waggons, and twenty-two pieces of cannon.

Victory, ſo long propitious, now deſerted the Auſtrian ſtandards. Undiſmayed by his recent defeat, and having filled up the gap which it had made in his army, Jourdan once more appeared before Charleroy, and recommenced the ſiege. He carried it on with ſo much vigour that, on the twenty-fifth, the place being reduced almoſt to a heap of ruins, the governor was under the neceſſity of ſurrendering at diſcretion. During the ſiege, generals Beaulieu, Alvinzi, and Latour were repulſed in ſome attempts upon the French poſts of Herlaymont and Genappe. June 18.

The prince of Saxe Cobourg, who, when the Emperor ſet out on the thirteenth for Vienna, aſſumed the command in chief, was no ſooner informed of the laſt paſſage of the Sambre, and the ſiege of Charleroy by the republicans, than he determined to make one great effort to free himſelf, for a conſiderable time at leaſt, from all diſquietude as to the ſafety of Brabant. Leaving, therefore, in the centre, only the number of troops abſolutely neceſſary, he marched with the greateſt part of his army to join the Auſtrian diviſions on the Sambre, and give battle to the enemy. He arrived near Charleroy on the day of its ſurrender; but, ſtrange as it may appear, he obtained no intelligence of that unfortunate event. After the departure of the prince, and the retreat of Clairfait to Ghent, the duke of York quitted his camp in front of Tournay, which was become untenable, and retired to Renaix, in order to ſupport Oudenarde, and move with more rapidity to the ſuccour of any point which might be menaced on the Scheld.

The republican army, under Jourdan, conſiſting of more than a hundred thouſand men, occupied a ſemi-elliptical poſition, of which Charleroy was the centre, and the Sambre the boundary on the left and right. It extended from Lambuſart on the right by the villages of Fleurus, Wangenies, Heppignies, Goſſelies, Courcelles, Trazegnies, and Forchies, to Fontaine l'Eveque and Lermes on the left. This ground is highly favourable to defenſive operations, it being broken and interſected by woods, ravines, and eminences. The heights, particularly thoſe in the neighbourhood of Fleurus, were covered by numerous and formidable batteries. One hundred and four years had paſſed away ſince, in a battle between the prince of Waldeck and the duke of Luxemburgh, this ſpot had been moiſtened with the blood of fifteen thouſand ſlain.

By break of day the Auſtrian army was in motion. It marched in five columns to attack along the whole extent of the enemy's line. June 26.

The firſt column, under the prince of Orange, who had under him the prince of Waldeck, was deſtined to penetrate to Marchiennes au Pont, and cut off the retreat of that part of the republican left which was poſted at Trazegnies and Courcelles. After a ſanguinary ſtruggle, this column

ſucceeded in driving back the French left wing from Trazegnies, Forchies, and the wood of Moucaux, to the heights near Charleroy; but it was unable to obtain poſſeſſion of Marchiennes au Pont. About five in the evening, not finding itſelf ſeconded by the column on its left, it made a pauſe, and took poſt between Fourchies and Courcelles.

At the other extremity of the republican poſition the attack was intruſted to general Beaulieu, whoſe column was to be aided by a corps from Namur, which was intended to paſs the Sambre, and act on the enemy's flank or rear. Beaulieu, at the outſet, expelled the conventional advanced poſts from Wanſerſee, Velaines, and the wood of Copiau, and, purſuing his ſucceſs, drove Jourdan's right wing from the village of Lambuſart into the wood of the ſame name. A part of his cavalry even puſhed ſo far, that it was fired upon by the cannon of Charleroy. The corps from Namur was, however, not ſtrong enough to force its way through a defile in the wood of Lambuſart, and effect a junction with him. This circumſtance, together with the arrival of reinforcements to the enemy's right, compelled him to quit Lambuſart, and retire to a ſmall diſtance from that place. There he halted, in readineſs to renew the combat, if the reſult of the Auſtrian movements in the centre ſhould prove favourable.

The columns of the centre, meanwhile, were hotly engaged. A column, led by field marſhal Quaſdanowich, repulſed the advanced diviſions of the French from Fraſne and its vicinity, and, following up its blow, defeated them at Mellet, Brunehaut, and Thimeon, where they attempted to make a ſtand. It then eſtabliſhed, on the heights of Thimeon, batteries againſt the conventional poſt at Goſſelies, and drew up in order of battle to wait the moment when it could act in concert with the columns on its left flank. By thoſe columns the principal effort was to be made. The firſt, conducted by count Kaunitz, having, by a vehement cannonade and a charge of cavalry, thrown the republicans into diſorder, turned their intrenchments, and forced them to abandon Heppignies. The ſecond column, at the head of which was the archduke Charles, routed the vanguard of the foe on the heights in front of Fleurus, paſſed the village of Fleurus, and attacked the main body, which was intrenched to the teeth on the heights behind the village. General Beaulieu, who, as we have ſeen, had carried Lambuſart, aſſailed at the ſame time the right flank of the French line. The conteſt was perſeveringly maintained; but the numbers and advantageous poſition of their antagoniſts prevented the imperial forces from making any further progreſs in this quarter.

Such was the ſituation of affairs at ſix in the afternoon, when the prince of Saxe Cobourg received certain information of the ſurrender of Charleroy. The news of this ſiniſter event determined him to give up all thoughts of continuing the engagement. He accordingly retired in good order to Marbaix, whence, on the next morning, he continued his retrograde march to Nivelles.

The loſs of neither party is known with any degree of accuracy. It muſt, however, have been immenſe on both ſides, as the battle raged without intermiſſion for fifteen hours, and the victory, as Jourdan himſelf confeſſed, remained undecided till the laſt moment.

This battle was deciſive as to the fate of the Netherlands. Turned on the right and left, and hopeleſs of ſtanding their ground againſt the daily-increaſing multitude of their enemies, the allies reſolved to commence their retreat. The troops were immediately withdrawn from St. Amand, Denain, Marchiennes, and other poſts on the Scarpe and Scheld, as were likewiſe thoſe by which Maubeuge had for a long time been held in a ſtate of blockade. Oſtend and Mons were evacuated on the firſt of July, Ghent on the third, Tournay and Oudenarde on the following day.

The duke of York's army marched from Renaix on the third, and, after ſhort halts at Grammont, Aſſche, and Semps, its head-quarters were fixed on the ninth at Contyck, behind the river Neethe. Malines was occupied, and a chain of poſts eſtabliſhed between the Senne and the Dyle. Here the duke was joined by the earl of Moira's diviſion, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand men, which his lordſhip, with admirable prudence and ſkill, had ſafely led from Oſtend, through a country in the power of an enemy ſix times his ſuperior in point of numbers.

The prince of Saxe Cobourg retired from Nivelle, and took poſt at the entrance of the foreſt of Soignies. Jourdan followed ſo cloſe, that, on the ſixth of July, a ſevere combat was fought at Waterloo, which ended in the diſcomfiture of the Auſtrians. Bruſſels was taken poſſeſſion of by the victors, and a junction was formed between the army of the north and the army of the Sambre and Meuſe. The prince of Saxe Cobourg, together with general Clairfait, who had by this time joined him, encamped in a poſition between Judoigne and Louvain, his right communicating with the army of the duke of York, in the vicinity of Malines.

The allies did not long maintain their poſition. The Britiſh line and the right of July 15. the Auſtrian were attacked at Malines and Louvain, by Pichegru and Jourdan, and, at the cloſe of a hard ſtruggle, were compelled to give way, and leave thoſe towns to the triumphant republicans. The duke of York, after a halt of a week behind the Neethe, continued his retreat to Roſendael near Bergen-op-zoom, whence he ſubſequently moved to Ooſterhout, in the neighbourhood of Breda. The prince of Saxe Cobourg, on his ſide, paſſed for a while at Tirlemont and Liege, and then, finding all reſiſtance to be worſe than uſeleſs, croſſed the Meuſe with his army, and eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Foron le Comte. Namur and Antwerp were abandoned; the magazines in the latter place could not be removed, and were, therefore, deſtroyed by fire. Nieuport, the garriſon of which, from ſome ſtrange neglect, had not been withdrawn, was beſieged by general Moreau, and at length, having gallantly defended itſelf for eighteen days, was compelled to ſurrender. By the end of July, the

French were in full poſſeſſion of the Belgic provinces.

The conduct of the conquerors to the inhabitants of this ill-fated country was of the moſt infamous kind. All that the Flemings had experienced from the tyranny of the jacobins during the period of Dumouſier's invaſion, ſhrunk into inſignificance when compared with the miſeries which were now inflicted upon them. The picture of their wretched ſituation has been drawn in ſtrong, yet inadequate language, by a republican eye-witneſs. A very ſhort extract will ſuffice to give an idea of the whole: "After "ſuffering," ſays he, "all the ra-"vages which an obſtinate war "uſually occaſions, after having "ſeen their habitations reduced "to aſhes, all the hopes of an "abundant harveſt deſtroyed, and "even the little grain they had "preſerved carried off in ſheaves "to cover huts for our ſoldiers, "ſtill the ſum of their evils was "incomplete. Theſe unfortunate "people were doomed to endure "the utmoſt extremes of oppreſ-"ſion and devaſtation. The towns "were inundated by a cohort of "proconſuls more inhuman than "Phalaris, who omitted nothing "that could exaſperate the people. "Committees and revolutionary "tribunals were organized. The "women were inſulted, the men "impriſoned, and their property "confiſcated. Our revolutionary "code was thought too mild for "this peaceable people. It was "reviſed by theſe ſavages, and "enlarged with a multitude of "clauſes, which diſpenſed ſo freely "the puniſhment of death, that "for a word or a geſture a father "was ſent to the ſcaffold, and his "family left in poverty and mi-"ſery."

The fate of thoſe fortreſſes which in the preceding and preſent campaign had been conquered by the combined powers at ſuch an expence of treaſure and blood, now calls us, for the laſt time, to the northern frontier of France. No ſooner had the ſucceſſes of Pichegru and Jourdan compelled the allies to retire towards Bruſſels, than vigorous preparations were made for the recovery of the four ſubjugated cities.

To carry on the ſiege of theſe places an army was ſpeedily formed from the neighbouring garriſons, and from thoſe diviſions which remained unemployed in Picardy, French Flanders, and Artois. The command was intruſted to general Scherer. Military meaſures were, however, not the only ones employed. Governed by terror, and governing France by the ſame powerful influence, the convention flattered itſelf that by the means of terror it might vanquiſh its foreign enemies. On the fourth of July a decree, well worthy of its ſanguinary authors, was accordingly paſſed. By this decree it was ordered that, if the garriſons of Valenciennes, Condé, Landrecy, and Queſnoy refuſed to ſurrender at diſcretion within twenty-four hours after being ſummoned, they ſhould be put to the ſword. With this juſt and merciful decree in his hands, and a formidable force at his diſpoſal to ſecond it, Scherer directly commenced his operations.

Landrecy, celebrated for its long and effectual reſiſtance to the arms of Charles the Fifth, was the firſt object of attack. It was inveſted

on the third of July, and the trenches were opened on the tenth, at only three hundred paces from its walls. The garrison, which consisted of no more than fifteen hundred men, and was, therefore, obviously incapable of a protracted defence, submitted within the time prescribed, and the town thus fell into the hands of the besiegers before a single shot had been fired from their batteries.

Quesnoy was not so easy a prey. It contained three thousand men, at the head of whom was a commander fully disposed to perform his duty. The name of this commander, which well deserves to be remembered with honour, has, unfortunately, not been preserved. On his being informed of the law which the convention had enacted, the governor declared his resolution to defend himself to the last, and added, that one nation could not possibly have a right to decree the dishonour of another. The trenches were in consequence opened on the night of the twenty-fourth of July, and the siege was pushed on with the utmost vigour. After a resistance of twenty-one days, a resistance longer by one-third than Quesnoy had ever before made, the governor was compelled to yield. On delivering up the town, he and his officers intreated that they might be the only victims to the conventional decree, as they had withheld from the troops and inhabitants the knowledge of its existence. It does not, however, appear that this savage law was carried into execution.

Masters of Landrecy and Quesnoy, the republican rulers were, nevertheless, not without serious alarm as to the safety of the northern frontier. The two strongest of the fortresses which had been wrested from them remained yet unsubdued. Valenciennes was in such a state of defence that it was capable of sustaining an eight months' siege. The imperialists, from the moment of its falling into their hands, were indefatigably employed in strengthening the fortifications, and they expended for this purpose more than three millions of livres. New works were raised by them to cover those parts which they had found from their own experience to be the most vulnerable, and the magazines were profusely stored with provisions and ammunition. Winter also was now approaching, a powerful auxiliary, by the rigour of which a stop must inevitably have been put to the labours of a siege.

Notwithstanding these advantages, Valenciennes, to the great surprise of every person, fell into the hands of the enemy, without a single struggle being made to preserve it. At the very first summons, which was sent in on the twenty-seventh of August, the gates were thrown open. The garrison, consisting of nearly five thousand men, was allowed to return home, on condition of not serving till it had been regularly exchanged. Two hundred and twenty-seven pieces of artillery, with stores to an immense amount, became the prize of the conquerors. The disgraceful surrender of Valenciennes has been attributed, on the one hand, to treachery in the governor, and on the other to his having been deceived by the production of a forged order from the emperor, directing him to give up the town if he could obtain rea-

fonable terms. By this capitulation more than eleven hundred emigrants were abandoned to the mercileſs rage of their implacable perſecutors.

The example of Valenciennes was three days after followed by Condé, though the natural and artificial ſtrength of the place rendered it capable of holding out for many months. Sixteen hundred and ſix men, compoſing the garriſon, were made priſoners of war. One hundred and ſixty-one pieces of artillery, ſix thouſand muſkets, and magazines of all kinds for ſix months, together with a great part of the heavy baggage of the Britiſh army, were found in the town. In the canals, under the cannon of the fortreſs, the republicans likewiſe gained poſſeſſion of a hundred and eighty-eight trading veſſels of various kinds, twenty of which were laden with military ſtores.

During the greater part of the month of Auguſt the hoſtile armies remained in a ſtate of comparative inaction. The allies were too feeble to attack with any proſpect of ſucceſs; and the republicans were induced to remain quiet, as well by the dread of hazarding a defeat while Valenciennes and Condé were unſubdued, as by the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing magazines, and making other indiſpenſable arrangements for future conqueſts.

The only event of importance which took place in this interval was the ſiege of Sluys, which was undertaken by general Moreau, ſhortly after the reduction of Nieuport. To cut off from the garriſon all hope of ſuccour, or of effecting a retreat, it was neceſſary for the republicans to make themſelves maſters of the iſland of Cadſand, by means of which a communication was kept up with the iſland of Zealand by the defenders of the town. Though the ſhore was covered with redoubts, which were manned by a ſufficient number of troops for their protection, the iſle of Cadſand was, on the twenty-ſeventh of July, carried by the aſſailants, who croſſed with little oppoſition, ſome by ſwimming, and ſome in ſmall boats, the ſtrait which ſeparates it from the main land. Seventy pieces of cannon and two hundred men were captured by the victors.

A vigorous cannonade and bombardment was inceſſantly directed againſt the town of Sluys; but the ſtubborn reſolution of the governor, general Vanderduin, was not eaſily to be ſhaken. He defended his charge with the utmoſt bravery, and made the beſiegers pay dearly for every inch of ground which they compelled him to relinquiſh. By one of his ſtratagems they ſuſtained a loſs ſaid to amount to nearly two thouſand men. Having ordered immenſe fires to be kindled in various parts of the town, he lowered the draw-bridges, and threw open the gates, upon which the republicans, conceiving that the ravages occaſioned by their artillery had been the cauſe of this meaſure, ruſhed forward to take poſſeſſion of the place, and were received by ſuch a diſcharge of round and grape-ſhot that the field was ſpeedily covered with the dead bodies. In ſpite, however, of his gallantry, the ſickly ſtate of his men at length obliged him to ſubmit. The capitulation, by which, in conſideration of his brave defence, all the honours of war were allowed him, was ſigned on the twenty-

twenty-fifth of Auguſt, and the next day the garriſon marched out as priſoners of war. Moreau entered the town at the moment when, in France, his aged father, after a long confinement, was terminating his exiſtence beneath the axe of the guillotine.

In achieving this conqueſt more than half of the beſieging army fell a ſacrifice either to ſickneſs or the ſword. Upon the fall of Sluys, Sas van Ghent, Hulſt, and other places in Dutch Flanders were evacuated by the troops of the States.

The various ſieges being thus ſucceſsfully terminated, the diviſions which had been employed in them were diſpatched to reinforce the grand armies. The troops under Scherer formed a junction with the army of the Sambre and Meuſe; thoſe under Moreau returned to the army of the north. Strengthened in this manner, and having nothing more to alarm them in their rear, generals Pichegru and Jourdan determined to reſume their ſyſtem of attack.

At this moment the republican armies occupied a poſition extending, by Liers, Dieſt, and Tongres, from Antwerp to Liege. The imperial forces were diſtributed along the line of the Embleuve, Ourte, and Meuſe, from Spremont on the Embleuve to a little diſtance below Ruremonde. The heights of the Chartreuſe, which command the city of Liege and the paſſage of the Meuſe, were ſtrongly intrenched, and Maeſtricht was covered by an advanced corps. The Britiſh and Hanoverian army was encamped at Ooſterhout, near Breda, to protect the latter place till its fortifications were put in a tenable ſtate, and the inundations around it completed.

The advantageous ſituation of the Britiſh army, in the midſt of rivers and fortified places, rendering an attack upon it a matter of great difficulty, Pichegru determined to direct his whole ſtrength againſt the Auſtrians, drive them acroſs the Rhine, and act in concert with the republican army of the Rhine and Moſelle. His plan was, to leave a ſufficient number of troops to hold the Britiſh in check, and, with the remainder of the army of the north, to turn the right of the Auſtrians between Ruremonde and Venlo, while the army of the Sambre and Meuſe croſſed the Ourte, and, turning the left of the enemy's poſition, puſhed onward by Verviers and Herve. In purſuance of this ſcheme Pichegru made a forward movement to Weſtmale, but, after two days march, receiving advice that Jourdan was not yet ready to force the line of the Ourte, he abandoned his intention, and reſolved to begin by driving acroſs the Maeſe the Britiſh and Hanoverian army. With this view he advanced, on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, and took poſt at Hoogſtraten, about five leagues from Breda.

As ſoon as he reached Hoogſtraten, Pichegru ordered an attack to be made on all the outpoſts on the left of the Britiſh. Theſe after a ſhort combat were driven in. It being apparently the deſign of the enemy to cut off the retreat of the army, the Duke of York haſtily decamped, and, paſſing through Bois le Duc, poſted himſelf behind the Dommel. The army of the States, now much reduced by detachments

to complete the frontier garrifons, was left at Raamfdonck near Gertruydenberg.

The duke was not fuffered to remain long quiet in his new pofition. On the fourteenth of September a fudden attack was made in great force by the republicans upon all the pofts of the right. That of Boxtel was carried, with great lofs to the Heffe Darmftadt troops by whom it was defended. The lofs fuftained was eight pieces of cannon, and more than fifteen hundred men. As while Boxtel remained in the hands of the enemy, the line of the Dommel was untenable, his royal highnefs the next morning difpatched lieutenant-general Abercrombie with the referve, to attempt its recapture. The lieutenant-general, however, found the enemy in fuch numbers, that he did not think it prudent to hazard an action, and he accordingly retired, after a fharp fkirmifh, in which a hundred of his men were either killed, wounded, or made prifoners.

Finding it impoffible, with an army of fcarcely thirty thoufand men, to keep his ground againft an army nearly thrice as ftrong as his own, the duke determined to retire behind the Maefe. This plan was put in execution two days after the affair of Boxtel. The army croffed the Maefe at Grave, and encamped between that place and Nimeguen, eftablifhing at the fame time a chain of pofts along the banks of the river from Appelthern to Venlo. Bois le Duc was thus left to its fate.

While the army of the north was in this manner pufhing forward its conqueffs, the army of the Sambre and Meufe was preparing to act with equal vigour on the fide of Liege and Limburg. The Auftrian forces, poffed for the protection of this country, were at the prefent moment no longer under the orders of the prince of Saxe Cobourg. That general refigned the command at the clofe of Auguft, on the plea of ill health, and was fucceeded by general Clairfait, whofe talents had once before been fplendidly difplayed in the defence of the territory between the Meufe and the Rhine.

To drive the imperial commander from his pofition, general Jourdan now formed a plan of attack upon the whole extent of it. The attacks, however, on its right and centre, where the line was rendered almoft impregnable by the Meufe, Maeftricht, and the intrenchments on the heights of the Chartreufe, were deffigned only to keep the Auftrians in check, while a powerful corps turned its left on the Ourte and Embleuve, and, by this movement, took in the rear, and confequently made untenable, the remainder of the pofition.

In purfuance of this plan, forty-two battalions and twenty fquadrons, led by generals Scherer, Marceau, and Bonnet, paffed the Meufe in four columns at Namur and Huy, and, advancing towards the Ourte, forced, after feveral fmart actions, their way over that river at Durbuy and Comblaine au Pont, and drove the imperial outpofts to the right bank of the Embleuve.

At break of day the republicans attempted to crofs the Embleuve and the lower part of the Ourte in four places, between Sep. 18.

between Aywaille and Effeneux. In ſpite of their ſuperior numbers, they were twice repulſed by general Latour, who headed the troops in this quarter. At the third attack, however, they ſucceeded in driving the Auſtrians from their poſts, and obtaining a complete victory. Latour, whoſe whole force at the commencement of the action did not amount to ten thouſand men, was compelled to make a haſty retreat, with the loſs of twenty-ſix pieces of cannon, forty ammunition waggons, fifteen hundred men killed, and ſeven hundred made priſoners. He would, perhaps, have found it difficult to ſave the ſhattered remains of his army, had not, towards the evening, general Clairfait diſpatched thirteen battalions from the centre to protect the retreat. The loſs of the French, who carried their point chiefly by their being regardleſs of the price which they paid for their ſucceſs, was ſtill greater than that which their antagoniſts ſuffered. In this action, as in the battle of Fleurus, they made uſe of a balloon to reconnoitre the movements of the Auſtrians, who conſidered them as not a little indebted for their triumph to the knowledge which they thus obtained.

The reſult of the engagement on the centre and right had, in the mean time, been favourable to the imperialiſts; but the left of their line being broken, it was no longer poſſible for them to maintain themſelves on the Meuſe. In the night of the eighteenth, therefore, after throwing a ſtrong garriſon into Maeſtricht, general Clairfait abandoned the heights of the Chartreuſe, and all his poſts on the Meuſe, and began his retreat to the Roer. The republicans followed with all poſſible expedition, and, on the twentieth, the diviſions of Championnet and Hatry came up with his rear guard, which had halted on advantageous ground at Clermont near Henri-Chapelle. An obſtinate conteſt took place, which laſted from ſeven in the morning till night, and terminated in the diſcomfiture of the conventional troops, who had two thouſand men killed and wounded. The French, notwithſtanding this check, followed ſo cloſe on the heels of the Auſtrians, that, between Rolduc and Gangelt, another action was fought, in which the republicans were again worſted, with ſcarcely leſs ſlaughter than on the former occaſion. General Clairfait continued his retrograde movement till he reached the Roer, behind which he ſtationed the main body of his troops, leaving on the left bank a diviſion in an intrenched camp between Aldenhoven and Juliers, and weaker detachments in Linnich and other places. By his right he kept up a communication with Ruremonde, Venlo, and the Lower Meuſe. To ſecure his poſition, field works were rapidly thrown up in various places, the bridges were broken down, and the fords rendered impaſſable.

At this period general Clairfait, it is ſaid, deſigned to form a junction with the duke of York, for the purpoſe of making a conjoint attack upon the army of the north. Whatever were his deſigns, he had not ſufficient time to carry them into effect. Well knowing that, while the Auſtrians maintained their preſent poſition, his conqueſts were by no means ſecure, Jourdan determined to expel them from it, and

and if poſſible drive them beyond the Rhine, in order that his army might be ſent into winter quarters without danger.

To enſure the ſucceſs of this operation, he called in all his detachments, and even drew to his aſſiſtance the greateſt part of the army which had been left under Kleber to commence the ſiege of Maeſtricht. By this means he collected a force of more than ninety thouſand men, with which, on the third of October, he fell upon the whole chain of the Auſtrian poſts, from above Dueren to below Linnich. The battle was long and bloody; the aſſailants were repeatedly driven back; but, at length, the imperialiſts were compelled to yield to the ſuperior ſtrength of their adverſaries, and to abandon entirely the banks of the Roer. Juliers the next morning opened its gates to the republicans, who found in it ſixty pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of military ſtores. The victors eſtimated the loſs of their antagoniſts at ſix thouſand men in killed, wounded, and priſoners; their own, which from the length and obſtinacy of the action was probably ſtill greater, they carefully concealed.

Finding that the weakneſs of his force made hopeleſs all further attempts to keep his ground on the left of the Rhine, general Clairfait prudently withdrew to the right bank of the river, leaving the republicans complete maſters of the duchy of Juliers, and the electorate of Cologne. The city of Cologne was taken poſſeſſion of by the enemy on the ſixth of October, and that of Bonn on the following day.

About a fortnight ſubſequently to his repaſſing the Rhine, Clairfait diſpatched general Werneck, with a corps of twenty-five thouſand men, to take a poſition between Weſel and Emmerick, and keep up a communication by his right with the Britiſh and Hanoverian army. Jourdan, on his ſide alſo, detached under general Marceau, a conſiderable body of men to reduce Coblentz, a ſervice which it performed with entire ſucceſs.

The army of the Sambre and Meuſe had nothing left to conquer but the fortreſſes of Stephenſward, Venlo, and Maeſtricht. The firſt of theſe ſurrendered towards the middle of the month, without making any reſiſtance. Venlo, the poſſeſſion of which was neceſſary to give ſafety to the navigation of the Meuſe, and facilitate to the army of the North the ſiege of Grave, was inveſted on the thirteenth of October, by general Laurent. The garriſon defended the place with great gallantry, and at the opening of the ſiege was ſo fortunate as to deſtroy by a ſally the works of the beſiegers. At length, however, his force being reduced to nine hundred and fifty men, and no hope of ſuccour remaining, the governor, on the twenty-ſeventh, conſented to deliver up the town. By the capitulation he obtained all the honours of war, ten pieces of cannon, and permiſſion for the troops to ſerve unexchanged in the army of the United Provinces.

The undivided attention of the republicans was now turned towards Maeſtricht. That city was inveſted as early as the ſecond of September. Between that period and the tenth of October the garriſon made ſeveral ſallies, which for the moſt part were attended

with

with ſucceſs. The retreat of the Auſtrians acroſs the Rhine having, however, enabled general Jourdan to ſwell, to the amount of fifty thouſand men, the covering army under Kleber, the ſiege was puſhed forward in the moſt vigorous manner. Formidable batteries were raiſed on the mountain of St. Peter, and on the other heights in the neighbourhood of the place. By the twenty-third, the firſt parallel was completed, and the ſecond was begun. The batteries of the beſiegers being ready, a final ſummons was, on the thirtieth, ſent into the town. The governor, prince Frederic of Heſſe Caſſel, having returned a refuſal to ſurrender, a tremendous fire of ſhot and ſhells was inſtantly opened upon the place by the beſiegers, and this fire was kept up with ſuch fury and effect, that in the courſe of four days no leſs than twelve thouſand bombs and ſhot were thrown into the town, by which two thouſand houſes were either laid in ruins, or greatly damaged. The republicans were preparing for an aſſault, when the governor yielded to the prayers of the inhabitants, and beat a parley. The garriſon, which conſiſted of ſomewhat more than ſix thouſand men, was allowed to return home, on condition of not ſerving again till it was regularly exchanged. Three hundred and fifty-two pieces of cannon, the greater number of them braſs, and fourteen thouſand muſkets, formed a part of the booty which fell into the hands of the conquerors. The ſiege of Maeſtricht cloſed, for the preſent, the labours of general Jourdan's army.

Nov. 4.

The army of the North, meanwhile, was purſuing its career with ſcarcely leſs rapidity. The firſt operation undertaken by general Pichegru, ſubſequently to the retreat of the duke of York, was the reduction of Bois le Duc. That place, ſituated at the ſpot where the Dommel and the great and little Aa unite their waters, is itſelf ſtrongly fortified; the avenues are defended by ſeveral advanced forts, and it poſſeſſes likewiſe the power of inundating the country round to a conſiderable diſtance. By the fort of Crevecœur, which ſtands at the junction of the Dommel and the Meuſe, it maintains a communication with the latter river.

The republicans began their operations againſt Bois le Duc by the ſiege of Crevecœur. This place, though it was in a well provided ſtate, and though it was only fired on from a few field-pieces and howitzers, ſurrendered in eight days. The garriſon was allowed to retire into Holland, on condition of not ſerving again till the expiration of twelve months. For this cowardly capitulation, the governor, colonel Thiboelt, was put under arreſt, and ordered to be tried, on his return home. By the capture of Crevecœur the execution of the projects which the French had formed againſt the iſle of Bommel was greatly facilitated.

Diſgraceful as the conduct of colonel Thiboelt undoubtedly was, that of the prince of Heſſe Philipſtahl, who commanded in Bois le Duc, was beyond compariſon more ſo. Notwithſtanding he was amply furniſhed with every requiſite to enable him to ſignalize himſelf by a gallant defence, he haſtened to lay at the feet of the enemy his honour and the important charge which

which had been intrusted to him by the States General. At the moment when the inundations, already extensive, were hourly increasing by the rains; when the trenches opened before the place had become useless from their being flooded; when the works were untouched, and not more than five houses had been destroyed by a feeble bombardment; when, in short, the besiegers began to despair of success; at that moment the governor resolved to devote himself to infamy by a shameful capitulation. He opened his gates on the seventh of October. The troops in garrison were allowed the honours of war, and suffered to depart on their parole. Four hundred and eight unfortunate emigrants were given up to the sword: it is even said that the prince of Hesse Philipstahl drew them up separately on the parade, and pointed them out by name to the vengeance of the republican generals.

A part of the British army had Oct. 6. already retired over the Waal, and taken post between Bommel and Thiel. The surrender of Bois le Duc leaving general Pichegru at liberty to push forward without danger, he determined to expel the remainder from the district between the Waal and the Maese. This operation was indeed indispensably necessary to complete the investment of Grave, which was by this time commenced. The divisions of Souham and Bonneau, consisting of twenty thousand men, were accordingly ordered to cross the Maese, and attack the whole line of posts from Appelthern on the Waal to Druyten on the Maese.

No resistance was made to the passage of the Maese, which was effected near Tessel. The day being far advanced, the republicans halted till the next morning, when, as soon as it was Oct. 19. light, they fell furiously upon the British position. They were received with great gallantry, and for many hours were unable to make the slightest impression. At length, however, their superior numbers triumphed over every obstacle. Appelthern was forced, and the prince of Rohan's battalion of emigrants was nearly destroyed. The post on the left of Druyten being also carried by the enemy, major Hope, who was stationed at Druyten with the thirty-seventh regiment, was under the necessity of beginning his retreat along the narrow dyke bordering the Waal. He continued it for some time with little molestation, and would most probably have reached Nimeguen in safety, had not a strong body of the enemy's hussars been unfortunately mistaken for the loyal corps of Rohan, and consequently suffered to approach close to the regiment, upon which it made a sudden and impetuous charge. Wholly unprepared for this circumstance, and rendered incapable of defence by their confined situation, the troops were almost instantly broken, and driven off the dyke. The loss of the thirty-seventh on this occasion was very severe. It was not less than five hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

With the news of this defeat, the duke of York also received information that a considerable body of the enemy, which had crossed the Meuse between Ruremonde and Venlo, was advancing upon his left flank, and had already taken pos-

session

ſeſſion of Cleves. Deſpairing of his power to reſiſt the force directed againſt his right and left, he reſolved to paſs the Waal, and take up the cantonments which had been marked out for the defence of that river. This reſolution was carried into effect without delay. General Walmoden was left with a corps in front of Nimeguen to cover the town, which, at this moment, was in a good ſtate of defence. Its fortifications had been repaired; it was further ſtrengthened by an intrenched camp, well provided with artillery; and the communication was open with the Britiſh army.

The ſiege of Nimeguen was conſidered by the republicans as an operation of ſo much difficulty, that general Souham, who was ordered to undertake it, conſidered the taſk as impoſed upon him by the conventional deputies, in revenge for the little reſpect with which he had always treated them. He had, however, nothing left him but to obey. The Britiſh out-poſts were in conſequence attacked on the twenty-ſeventh of October, and driven in. Trenches were opened on the firſt of November.

The republicans having begun to conſtruct their batteries, count Walmoden directed a ſally to be made for the purpoſe of deſtroying them. This ſervice was committed to the eighth, twenty-ſeventh, twenty-eighth, fifty-fifth, ſixty-third, and ſeventy-eighth regiments of Britiſh infantry; the ſeventh and fifteenth light dragoons; two battalions of Dutch, four ſquadrons of Hanoverian horſe, and the legion de Damas, in the ſervice of the States, the whole conſiſting of about two thouſand five hundred men, and commanded by major general De Burgh. The troops marched up to the intrenchments under a ſevere fire, jumped into them without returning a ſhot, and drove the enemy before them at the point of the bayonet. They were ſeconded by the cavalry in the moſt effectual manner. Before they retired, they ruined that part of the works and batteries which had been erected on the road to Cleves. Nov. 4.

In this ſpirited affair twenty of the aſſailants were killed, and one hundred and ninety-five wounded; the loſs of the French, eſtimated in the firſt official accounts at five hundred men, was afterwards found to be nearly twice that number.

Notwithſtanding this check the beſiegers, on the ſecond day after they had experienced it, opened two batteries againſt the bridge of boats, and a third againſt the town. The fire from the former having ſunk one of the boats, the duke of York conceived it prudent to withdraw from Nimeguen every thing which was not ſtrictly neceſſary for its defence. The Britiſh, Hanoverian, and Heſſian battalions, were accordingly marched out, leaving in the town piquets, under the command of major-general De Burgh, to the amount of twenty-five hundred Britiſh and four hundred Dutch.

So perſuaded at this period were the republican generals that nothing was to be hoped from a continuance of regular approaches, that they meditated a deſperate aſſault as their only reſource. The abundant prudence of the duke of York prevented them, however, from reſorting to this perilous and doubtful

doubtful meaſure. On the night of the ſeventh of November the Britiſh troops evacuated Nimeguen, and reached the other ſide of the Waal without ſuſtaining any injury. The Dutch were not ſo fortunate. The maſt to which the hawſer of the flying bridge was attached, being broken by a chance ſhot, while they were in the middle of the river, the bridge ſwung round to the bank which they had quitted, and the whole of them, to the number of four hundred men, were made priſoners by the republicans, who had entered the deſerted fortreſs.

Diſeaſe, fatigue, and the want of ſubſiſtence and clothing, now compelled the French army to ſheathe for a ſhort time the ſword. After the reduction of Nimeguen, it was ſent into quarters between the Maeſe and the Waal, with the exception of one diviſion, which was put into cantonments in the neighbourhood of Breda. The Britiſh army alſo indulged in a reſpite from toil. It was cantoned between the Rhine and the Waal, from Emmerick to Thiel, in the vicinity of which latter place commenced the line occupied by the army of the States.

With this campaign expired all hope of overthrowing by arms the revolutionary order of things eſtabliſhed in France. The diſaſtrous tenor of it, though apparently unforeſeen by the allies, was the natural conſequence of the faults committed by them, as well during the preceding as the preſent year. The commencement of their errors may be dated from the moment of their arrival on the northern frontier. If, when they reached that frontier, they flattered themſelves that their enemies might be overcome by a ſort of coup de main, their operations were too ſlow and methodical; if, on the contrary, they meant to follow a more regular mode of warfare, the meaſures which they purſued were ill conceived, raſh, and incompetent. In the former caſe, it was flagrantly unwiſe to waſte their treaſure and the blood of their beſt troops before the ramparts of Valenciennes and Queſnoy, and, by a war of ſieges and ſkirmiſhes, give the republicans time to recover from their panic, receive their reinforcements, and gain that ſelf-confidence which is acquired by a continual expoſure to the perils of the field. If, on the other hand, they felt the prudence of ſecuring a point of ſupport to their movements, and of covering their own territories from incurſion, the means which they adopted were inadequate to the end, ſince while Liſle, and its neighbour fortreſſes, remained unſubdued, Maritime Flanders was open to attack, and their right flank and rear were expoſed, in advancing, to very ſerious danger. It was not upon ſuch principles that Marlborough and Eugene acted in their invaſion of France. So ſtrongly did thoſe great generals feel of what importance it was to be maſters of Liſle, that they commenced the ſiege of that place under many diſadvantageous circumſtances. Nor, even when Liſle had fallen, did they ſit down before the ſtrong holds on the centre of the iron frontier, till on the left of that frontier they had reduced Aire, St. Venant, Bethune, and Douay.

The ſyſtem followed by the allies in the preſent campaign, was no leſs incomprehenſible than that which

which they had followed in the preceding. Changed as the face of affairs was, ſince the commencement of the conteſt in this quarter, they perſiſted in their ſcheme of penetrating to Paris through the narrow opening which they had made in the province of Hainault. At the ſame time, as if to ſhew their contempt of prudence, though they had reaſon to believe that the enemy would make a deſperate effort to turn their flanks, they neglected to take thoſe precautions which were indiſpenſably neceſſary to avert the danger. The reparation of the fortreſſes in Flanders was delayed till it became impoſſible to accompliſh it; no ſteps were taken to form the projected inundations; and the defence of the province was committed to an army, which was obviouſly too weak to repel the enemy. On the ſide of Brabant there was nothing oppoſed to the republicans but the fortreſs of Charleroy, which was incapable of holding out more than a week, and a feeble corps, which could ſcarcely with any propriety be called an army.

From the peculiar ſhape of the iron frontier, which is that of a creſcent, with the horns projecting into the Netherlands, the conventional generals could advance on the flanks of the allies with the greateſt facility. In caſe of a reverſe, they loſt only the ground upon which they fought, as on the right their retreat was ſecured behind Givet, Philippeville and Marienbourg, and on the left behind Liſle and the multitude of ſtrong holds in French Flanders and Artois. The allies, on the contrary, had nothing behind them but an open country, where they could have little hope of making a ſtand againſt an adverſary flushed with ſucceſs*. A victory gained them but barren honour, or at beſt, a momentary reſpite from the peril which threatened them; while a deciſive defeat inevitably cruſhed all their ſchemes, and became the fruitful parent of a long ſeries of diſaſtrous events.

The policy of the allies, on which we have before† had occaſion to animadvert, was not leſs blameworthy than their military conduct. Their ſhameleſs deſign of aggrandizing themſelves at the expence of that monarchy of which they profeſſed to be the friends, and their cruel and cowardly abandonment of the emigrants to the rage of the Jacobin uſurpers, were productive of the worſt effects to their cauſe, and, in a moral point of view, are deſerving of the moſt indignant cenſure. No ſorrow for the misfortunes of the coaleſced powers could, for a moment, have been felt by any virtuous mind, had not thoſe misfortunes been of neceſſity fatal to the welfare and tranquillity of the firſt and faireſt portion of the civilized world.

* The merit of the plan followed by Pichegru, does not belong to him or to any other Frenchman, but to an Engliſhman. The plan itſelf is to be found in the Political and Military Memoirs of general Lloyd, and is recommended by the general as almoſt certain of ſucceſs. With the works of general Lloyd the French are not unacquainted, and his talents are held by them in high eſtimation.

† See Ann. Reg. 1793, Hiſtorical part, p. 225.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Campaign on the Rhine. Measures taken by the committee of public safety to recover Alsace. Commissioners dispatched. State of Alsace. Tyrannical proceedings of the commissioners. Terror of the Alsacians. Armies strongly reinforced. Pichegru appointed to command the army of the Rhine; and Hoche that of the Moselle. Pichegru's plan of operations. Attempt of the Prussians upon Bitche. It fails. Hoche moves forward, and expels the Prussians from the duchy of Deux Ponts. Terrible combat at Kayserslautern, in which he is defeated. He resolves to join the army of the Rhine. Movements of Pichegru. Wurmser falls back towards Haguenau. Attack upon Bercheim. Gallantry of the emigrants. Wurmser retires behind the Motter. Junction of Hoche with Pichegru. Austrians defeated at Werdt and Reishoffen. General Wurmser retreats to the Lauter. Pichegru superseded by Hoche. Austrians driven from the Lauter after an obstinate conflict. Disagreement between General Wurmser and the Duke of Brunswick. The blockade of Landau raised. Fort Louis abandoned. Armies go into winter quarters. Change in the commanders. Conduct of the king of Prussia. His demands upon the empire. Treaty of subsidy concluded with England and Holland. Opening of the campaign on the Rhine. French defeated at Kayserslautern. The army of the Rhine retires behind the Quiech. It receives reinforcements and resumes offensive operations. Prussians defeated. Austrians compelled to recross the Rhine. Capture of Treves by the republicans. The republicans conquer all the left bank of the Rhine. End of the campaign on the Rhine. Campaign in Italy. Preparations of the French and the king of Sardinia. French defeated in an attempt upon Mount Cenis. They take possession of Oneglia. Further successes in the same quarter. Successful attack of the republicans upon the Sardinian posts on the mount Valoisin, the little St. Bernard, and the great Mount Cenis. They are equally successful in the county of Nice. The Austro-Sardinians retire towards Coni. Conspiracy against the king of Sardinia discovered. King of Sardinia orders a levy in mass. Trifling actions in various quarters. Austrians defeated at Carcare and Cairo. Close of the campaign in Italy. Military operations on the side of the Pyrenées. Campaign in the Western Pyrenées. Spanish commander defeated in an attempt upon the French position. Successful incursion of the Spaniards. French commence the offensive. Posts which cover the valley of Baztan carried by them. Don Ventura Caro resigns the command of the Spanish army. Conquest of the valley of Baztan by the republicans. The Spaniards compelled to abandon all their positions on the Bidassoa. Surrender of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian to the French. Tyranny of the conventional deputies. Abortive attempt of the French to cut off a Spanish division in the valley of Roncevaux. Sharp action in which the French suffer severely. Capture of Bergara, Aspeytia, and Ascoytia, by the French. End of the campaign. Campaign in the Eastern Pyrenées. Dugommier assumes the command of the French, and the count de la Union of the

Spanish

Spaniſh army. Poſition of the Spaniſh army. Republican plan of attack. Spaniſh army driven acroſs the Pyrenées. Siege and ſurrender of Collioure. Diſpute reſpecting the capitulation. Obſtinate defence of Bellegarde. Attempts of the count de la Union to ſuccour Bellegarde. He is foiled. Bellegarde at length forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. Dugommier's plan of attack upon the Spaniſh lines. Spaniards defeated. Dugommier killed. Spaniards utterly routed. Death of the count de la Union. Shameful ſurrender of Figueras. Cloſe of the campaign on the Spaniſh frontier.

TO whatever part of the French frontier we turn our attention we ſhall find, as in Flanders, diſcomfiture and diſgrace attending upon the arms of the combined powers. In the preceding volume* we cloſed our narrative of the campaign upon the Rhine at the period when, having driven the enemy almoſt under the cannon of Straſburgh, and compelled fort Louis to ſurrender, the Auſtrians remained in poſſeſſion of two-thirds of Lower Alſace. We muſt now reſume, under leſs auſpicious circumſtances, the detail of military operations in that quarter.

The news of the reverſes in Alſace rouſed all the fury of the committee of public ſafety. Treaſon alone, the committee declared, had been the cauſe of the republican diſaſters, and ample vengeance muſt be taken upon the traitors. To execute this vengeance two perſons were choſen admirably fitted for the purpoſe; theſe were Saint Juſt and Lebas, both of them of tyrannical natures, both ſanguinary, both inexorable. The natives of Alſace were at this moment groaning beneath the rod of ſeveral commiſſioners from the convention, who had ſpread carnage and terror through the province; the new commiſſioners reſolved that the deeds of their predeceſſors ſhould appear mild and merciful when compared with theirs.

The two miniſters of deſtruction departed from Paris on the nineteenth of October; and on the twenty-third the devoted city of Straſburgh received them within its walls. On their arrival they had no reaſon to feel diſſatisfied with what was already done. They found the priſons overflowing, a tribunal of blood eſtabliſhed, and a body of ſixty men juſt formed, under the title of "revolutionary "propagandiſts," whoſe buſineſs it was to attend a travelling guillotine, and maſſacre the inhabitants of the towns and villages.

Saint Juſt and Lebas were not diſpoſed to allow, even for a day, their powers to remain dormant. Almoſt as ſoon as they entered Straſburgh they iſſued an edict, conſiſting of ſeveral articles, which decreed that every ſoldier diſcovered hidden in the city ſhould be put to death on the ſpot; that the municipality ſhould furniſh a certain quantity of ſhoes for the army, towards which quantity if any perſon was backward in ſending his quota, he ſhould be deemed a bad citizen, and fined accordingly; and, laſtly, that a forced loan of two millions of livres

* See Ann. Reg. 1793, p. 389.

ſhould be raiſed upon the rich for the repair of the fortifications and the ſuccour of the poor, or, in more correct language, for the maintenance and reward of the idle and profligate ſupporters of jacobin uſurpation. This meaſure was merely the herald of others ſtill more ſevere. In a few days another loan was demanded, to the amount of nine millions of livres. Even this mode of plunder was ſoon thought too tardy in its operation, and the more effective plan was adopted of arreſting the wealthy, and confiſcating their property. Numbers of ſhopkeepers and traders were alſo ſeized, on the pretence of their being monopolizers, and were not only condemned to pay penalties of from fifty to a hundred thouſand livres, but likewiſe to be impriſoned and kept in irons during ſeveral years. Thoſe who eſcaped with life had, however, reaſon to congratulate themſelves. The guillotine was permanent in one of the ſquares of Straſburgh, and crowds of victims were daily ſacrificed. The whole of the municipality and more than fifty individuals of the city, were all at one time conducted to execution. This butchery was not confined to Straſburgh; there was ſcarcely a town, a village, or a hamlet in Alſace, which eſcaped from the fury of the infamous band of "revolutionary "propagandiſts." Such was the conſternation felt by the Alſacians, that between forty and fifty thouſand of them, of both ſexes and of all profeſſions, precipitately quitted their native homes, and, with ſcarcely the means of ſubſiſtence, ſought, in the German provinces on the Upper Rhine, an aſylum from their relentleſs and blood-ſtained perſecutors.

Much as the committee of public ſafety delighted in exaction and cruelty, it was not unwiſe enough to rely upon them alone for the recovery of Alſace. Having rooted out from the armies of the Rhine every perſon whoſe conduct had, even in the ſlighteſt degree, given cauſe for ſuſpicion, it diſpatched to thoſe armies very conſiderable reinforcements. The army of the Rhine was ſpeedily increaſed to more than ninety thouſand men. The choice of generals did honour to the diſcernment of the committee. The command of the army of the Rhine was given to Pichegru, who had ſerved with that army in an inferior rank, and whoſe talents had already been manifeſted on various occaſions. Hoche, a brave and enterpriſing officer, was placed at the head of the army of the Moſelle. To conquer or to die, was the ſignificant order which they received along with their new dignity.

In the beginning of November Pichegru arrived at his army, which he found in a ſhattered and diſorganized ſtate. His firſt care was to re-eſtabliſh diſcipline. This taſk, arduous as it was, he accompliſhed with great rapidity.

With the national character of his countrymen Pichegru was well acquainted. The French, he knew, were bold and impetuous, while kept in action, but their courage was apt to cool in a lingering and eventleſs conteſt. He was aware too that his troops, however brave they might be, were utterly unable to cope in a war of manœuvres, with the veteran infantry of the

enemy, which was accuſtomed, by long practice, to the utmoſt preciſion of movement, and was likewiſe ſeconded by a formidable body of equally well trained cavalry. To avail himſelf fully of his numerical ſuperiority over his antagoniſts, and to render of no conſequence the tactical deficiencies of his ſoldiers, he reſolved, therefore, to bring into the field an abundance of light artillery, to employ a large portion of his force as light troops and ſharp-ſhooters, and to wear down the patience and the phyſical ſtrength of the Auſtrians by inceſſant attacks upon the poſitions which they occupied.

The armies of the Rhine and Moſelle received orders to commence at the ſame moment their reſpective operations. While the former endeavoured to expel the Imperialiſts from Alſace, the latter was deſtined to raiſe the blockade of Landau, by a vigorous attack upon the Pruſſian army, which, under the duke of Brunſwick, was poſted in the defiles leading from the duchy of Deux Ponts, through the mountains of the Voſges, to Alſace and the Palatinate.

A ſpirited enterprize was now undertaken by the Pruſſians, which, had it proved ſucceſsful, would have materially thwarted the plans of Pichegru and his colleague. On the frontier of Lorraine, and commanding ſeveral paſſes in the Voſges, ſtands the fortreſs of Bitche. The poſſeſſion of this fortreſs by the allies would, the duke of Brunſwick knew, afford ſupport not only to his own left, but alſo to general Wurmſer's right. As to undertake a regular ſiege was, from various circumſtances, impracticable, the Pruſſian general determined to try what could be done by an unexpected nocturnal aſſault.

About midnight, on the night of the ſixteenth of November, a body of ſix thouſand Pruſſians appeared ſo ſuddenly before Bitche, that it ſeemed, to uſe the language of the French official report, as if they had dropped from the clouds. They formed two attacks; the one againſt the town, the other againſt the fort, which is ſeated on elevated ground, overlooking the town. The town itſelf they forced with great facility; but in their attempt upon the fort they were not ſo fortunate. They had, at the firſt onſet, carried the covered way and ſome outworks, and were on the point of breaking open the principal gate when the garriſon took the alarm, and ruſhing to arms, commenced ſuch a deſtructive fire that it was not poſſible to make any further progreſs. After a combat, which laſted till daylight, and in which they ſuffered a loſs of four or five hundred men, the aſſailants retired to their camp, carrying with them ſeveral of the principal inhabitants, as hoſtages for the payment of a contribution which they had impoſed upon the town.

Hoche, who had been ordered by St. Juſt not to let a ſingle Pruſſian eſcape, and who was eager to ſignalize himſelf, had by this time put in motion the army of the Moſelle. It moved in five columns from Bouquenom, Sarre Guemine, Sarrebruck, and Sarre Louis. As it advanced, the Pruſſians, after ſome ſmart ſkirmiſhes, abandoned all the poſts which they held in the duchy of Deux Ponts, and fell back to the Voſges. The duke of Brunſwick

encamped at Kayſerſlautern, in a poſition naturally ſtrong, and rendered ſtill ſtronger by art. Here Hoche determined to attack, and, as he hoped, to overwhelm him. His deſign was to aſſail Kayſerſlautern in front, and on both flanks, while a diviſion penetrated in the rear to Otterberg, and thus prevented the retreat of the routed enemy.

The battle began at dawn with the greateſt fury, and was continued with the ſame fury through the whole of the day. Several times the republicans, who had been fired by large quantities of brandy, aſſaulted the Pruſſian batteries, and were as often repulſed by ſhowers of grape ſhot. A terrible havoc was alſo made among them by the cavalry of their opponents. A conſiderable diviſion was ſurrounded, and not more than a few hundred men eſcaped from the ſlaughter. Night, at length, ſuſpended the conteſt. Nov. 29.

The next morning Hoche again led his troops to the charge. In a ſhort time the combat became even more obſtinate and ſanguinary than that of the preceding day. Three Saxon battalions were, at the commencement of the engagement, almoſt entirely deſtroyed, after having for a long time held at bay a force infinitely ſuperior to their own. The victory, however, was towards evening decided in favour of the Pruſſians, by a vigorous attack which they made with the bayonet upon the enemy's line. Completely defeated in every quarter, Hoche effected, during the night, a haſty retreat, and took poſt with his ſhattered army at Limbach, Deux Ponts, and Hornbach.

The loſs of the French was immenſe. By ſome accounts it was eſtimated, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, at twenty thouſand men, and by none at a ſmaller number than ten or twelve thouſand. On the ſide of the Pruſſians the loſs, though not equal to that of their antagoniſts, was of too ſerious a magnitude to be contemplated without a conviction that many ſuch victories as the preſent would prove to the victors ſcarcely leſs fatal than defeat itſelf.

Convinced of its impracticability Hoche now relinquiſhed the plan of forcing his way into the Palatinate, and adopted the reſolution of opening a paſſage through thoſe valleys of the Voſges which lead from Lorraine and the duchy of Deux Ponts into Lower Alſace. His ſucceſs on this ſide would enable him to menace the right flank and rear of general Wurmſer's army, which was already contending on its front with the army of the Rhine. To fill up the chaſm which the late battle had made in his ranks Hoche was reinforced by ten thouſand men from the army of the Ardennes.

Pichegru, meanwhile, was gaining ground, though ſlowly, and by dint of uninterrmitting exertion. At day-break on the eighteenth of November the republicans attacked every part of the Auſtrian line, from the Rhine to the mountains. The conflict laſted till five in the evening, and terminated by their remaining maſters of Wantzenau on the Imperial left, and of ſome trifling poſts on the right. Nov. 18, 1793.

Finding that the Pruſſians had retired from the duchy of Deux Ponts, general Wurmſer was, on the nineteenth, compelled to draw back his right behind the Zinzel, in order to preſerve his communication with the duke of Brunſwick. In conſequence of repeated deſperate attacks from the French, the centre alſo was, on the twenty-third, ordered to change its poſition and to take poſts on the heights before Kurtzenhauſen. Redoubts were thrown up along the whole of the line. The head-quarters were transferred from Brumpt to Hagenau.

During the remainder of the month ſcarcely a day paſſed without ſome attempt being made by the conventionaliſts upon one or other of the Auſtrian poſts. The aſſailants were almoſt uniformly repulſed, but, as long as they haraſſed and weakened their antagoniſts, their principal object was attained. In theſe attempts the greateſt efforts were directed againſt the poſition of general Hotze, at Reiſhoffen, Gunterſhoffen, and Mitteſheim.

December opened with an attack upon both flanks of the Imperialiſts, and likewiſe upon the emigrants, who occupied the village of Bercheim. The republicans were defeated on every point. The next morning they returned to the charge in great force, and obtained poſſeſſion of Bercheim. They did not, however, long retain it. The prince of Condé and the duke of Bourbon put themſelves at the head of the noble infantry and cavalry, and, after a bloody conflict, routed their foes, and recovered the poſt. Nothing could exceed the gallantry diſplayed on this occaſion by the royaliſts, whoſe loſs was unfortunately not leſs than a thouſand men. The duke of Bourbon was wounded, general d'Anouville and ſeveral other officers were among the ſlain.

Dec. 2.

The Auſtrian centre and left kept their ground till the ninth, when, wearied by inceſſant aſſaults from the enemy, they quitted all the poſts between the Soor and the Motter, and retired behind the latter river.

Already overmatched by the force of Pichegru, general Wurmſer had now a ſecond adverſary to contend with. Leaving a part of his army to make head againſt the duke of Brunſwick, Hoche marched with the remainder of it to join the army of the Rhine. He carried the poſts of Dahnbach and Matſtal in the valleys of the Voſges, and the next day effected his junction with the left of Pichegru's army. To cover this movement a vigorous attack was made upon the Pruſſian corps, under the prince of Hohenlohe, in the valley of Anweiller.

Dec. 16.

The republicans after this made a pauſe of a week, but it was only to prepare for a more formidable exertion. Their object was to break and drive back the right wing of the Auſtrians, and thus compel the center and left to retire from the line of the Motter. On the twenty-ſecond of December, Hoche made a furious aſſault upon the redoubts in front of Freiſchweiller, Reiſhoffen, and Werdt. The combat laſted the whole of the day, but at length Hoche made himſelf maſter of the conteſted works, together with ſixteen pieces of cannon, and five hundred priſoners. The next morning

he renewed th attack, and, though at firſt his troops were thrown into diſorder, he ultimately ſucceeded in driving the Auſtrians from ſeveral of their moſt important poſts.

The center and left of the Auſtrian poſition being no longer tenable, general Wurmſer commenced his retreat. On the Lauter he yet hoped to arreſt the progreſs of the French, till Landau, which was reduced to great extremity, ſhould be compelled to ſurrender.

The French army followed cloſe on the footſteps of the retiring Auſtrians. It was commanded in chief by Hoche, who had ſucceeded in prevailing upon Lacoſte and Baudot, the conventional deputies, to elevate him to the ſuperiority over his more modeſt and meritorious colleague. Pichegru ſubmitted with a good grace to this unjuſt meaſure, which, though it robbed him of his rank, could not rob him of the glory reſulting from the wiſdom and ſpirit of his plans, and the ſucceſs of their execution.

Reſolved not to allow the enemy a moment's reſpite, Hoche iſſued orders for attacking them in their preſent poſition. Thirty-five thouſand men were deſtined to force the poſts in front of Weiſſembourg, the chief of which was the Gieſberg, a lofty mountain ſtrongly intrenched. Two diviſions of the army of the Rhine were to make an aſſault upon Lauterbourg; and three diviſions of the army of the Moſelle were to hold the Pruſſians in check on the ſide of Kayſerſlautern, and in the defiles of Dahn and Anweiller.

General Wurmſer himſelf was at this moment planning an attack. He was, however, anticipated by his active antagoniſt. In the morning of the twenty-ſixth the French troops advanced againſt the Auſtrians. The Gieſberg was defended with the utmoſt obſtinacy, but, at length, the aſſailants, by a horrible ſacrifice of men, ſucceeded in carrying the poſt. The Imperialiſts retired behind Weiſſembourg, which was entered the next morning by the republicans, who, at the ſame time, took Lauterbourg by ſtorm, and puſhed on to Haguenbach. Dec. 26.

The deliverance of Landau was nearer at hand than Hoche, even now, dared to hope. He was perſuaded that the allies would hazard another battle to prevent him from relieving the place, which could not poſſibly hold out for any conſiderable time longer. In this idea he had the pleaſure to find himſelf deceived. The duke of Brunſwick wiſhed the combined armies to maintain their ground, but general Wurmſer, either diſguſted by the paſt conduct of the Pruſſians, or convinced of the impracticability of repelling the enemy, determined to continue his retreat. A violent altercation on this ſubject is ſaid to have taken place at Bergzabern between the two generals, who parted with mutual expreſſions of diſſatisfaction and diſlike.

Landau was entered on the twenty-eighth by the triumphant republicans. On the following day the Auſtrians croſſed the Rhine, and took a poſition between Manheim and Philipſburgh. The head-quarters were eſtabliſhed at Schweitzingen. The Pruſſian army fell back to Oppenheim in order to cover Mentz. In a few days all that part of the Palatinate between Landau and Worms was in the hands

hands of the French, as was likewise the long-contested post of Kayserslautern. Fort Louis remained in the possession of the Austrians till the seventeenth of January, when they abandoned it, having first burnt the bridges and magazines, removed all the cannon, and destroyed, by the explosion of twelve mines, the greatest part of the works.

About the middle of January the armies of the Rhine and Moselle were again separated. Hoche retained for a while the command of the latter army; the command of the army of the Rhine was given to Michaud, Pichegru having been called to the northern frontier to put himself at the head of the forces which had lately been conducted by Jourdan.

Repose being absolutely necessary for the army of the Rhine, it evacuated, at the close of the month, that part which it had overrun of the Palatinate, and went into winter quarters between Spire and Landau. The army of the Moselle kept the field a little later, and even began its march to undertake the reduction of Treves; but it was stopped, at the commencement of February, by an order from the committee of public safety, and all hostile operations were for the present suspended upon the Moselle as well as upon the Rhine.

A change of commanders at this time took place in the Austrian and Prussian armies. General Wurmser being called to Vienna, to give an account of his late campaign, was provisionally succeeded by general Brown, who was shortly after replaced by duke Albert of Saxe Teschen. Convinced that while the war was carried on according to the present system nothing but disgrace was to be gained, the duke of Brunswick also resigned the command. In a melancholy and complaining letter, which upon this occasion he wrote to the king of Prussia, he declared, that a want of connection, a distrust, a selfishness, a spirit of cabal had for the two last campaigns, disconcerted, and still continued to disconcert, the measures of the combined armies; and he predicted that the worst misfortunes were to be feared, if confidence, harmony, and an uniformity of sentiment, principle, and action were not speedily displayed by the confederated powers. His resignation was accepted, and field-marshal Mollendorf, the friend and disciple of the great Frederic, was appointed his successor.

The fidelity of the king of Prussia to the common cause had long been doubtful. It now became every day more apparent that he was tired of a contest in which he had no prospect of pecuniary or territorial aggrandizement. From France he could make no conquests, and to carry on a war for the sake of religion and order alone appeared to him a waste of time and of treasure. Poland was close at his door, and there, he flattered himself, he might find at once an easy and a valuable prey.

Towards the middle of February a circumstance occurred which excited suspicions by no means favourable to the character of his Prussian majesty. Three republican commissioners made their entrance into Frankfort in a style of splendour, not very conformant with their professed principles, and which gave great offence to the friends of royalty. The ostensible purpose of

their embaſſy was to negotiate an exchange of priſoners; but the frequency and the ſecrecy of their interviews with general Kalkreuth, who was much in his maſter's confidence, afforded ample room to conjecture, that they had been intruſted with a negotiation of a far more important kind.

The conduct of Frederic William was ſuch as to juſtify all the fears of the allies. He had already demanded that the empire ſhould charge itſelf with the furniſhing of proviſions for his army; and that, as the ſanction of the diet to this meaſure could not be immediately obtained, the ſix frontier circles ſhould, in the meanwhile, provide him with the requiſite ſupplies. This demand he now repeated *, with the additional demand, that his troops ſhould, from the firſt of February, be taken into the pay of the Germanic body. In caſe of refuſal, he threatened to recal his army, leaving for the defence of the empire only the contingent which, as elector of Brandenburgh, he was bound to keep on foot. At the ſame time that he thus menaced his co-eſtates with the danger of being ſuddenly laid open unprepared to the incurſions of the enemy, he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed † the propoſition which had been brought forward by the emperor, and adopted by the diet, for a general arming of the inhabitants of the territory bordering upon the Rhine. While ſuch was the ſyſtem which he purſued, it is not to be wondered at that ſiniſter intentions were ſo generally and loudly attributed to him, that he at length found it neceſſary to make, to the ſtates of the Germanic circles, a formal declaration ‡, that he had never had the deſign of ſecularizing biſhoprics and chapters, and appropriating to himſelf certain cities of the empire, as an indemnification for the ſums which he had expended in the courſe of the war.

Neither his requiſitions nor his threats having induced the circles to comply with his wiſhes, the king of Pruſſia reſolved to put his threats in execution. Orders were iſſued to the army to quit the Palatinate, and move in ſeveral diviſions, at ſhort intervals of time, towards Cologne. As ſoon as theſe orders were received, ſome of the diviſions began their march. In juſtification of this meaſure, his majeſty addreſſed to the Germanic body a declaration §, deſcanting largely upon his own merits and ſacrifices, and upon the danger which impended over the German ſtates from the gigantic power of France, and concluding by a pious and doubtleſs ſincere prayer, that the "exertions of his imperial majeſty, "and of the empire, might eventu- "ally enſure to both a full indem- "nity, and an honourable peace."

The departure of the army produced the effect which his Pruſſian majeſty deſired. Alarmed at the proſpect of being invaded by the republicans, ſeveral of the States entreated, in the moſt earneſt manner, that the Pruſſian troops might not be withdrawn. A haughty aſſent to their requeſt was at laſt ‖ given by Frederic William, on condition that they ſhould immediately aſſemble to deliberate upon the

* See State Papers, p. *373, *374.
† Ibid. p. *378.
‡ Ibid.
§ See State Papers, p. *379.
‖ Ibid. *383.

readieſt

readieſt means of providing for the pay and ſubſiſtence of the forces. To his former claims he now added another, of one million eight hundred thouſand rix-dollars, for the expences incurred in the ſiege of Mentz. It ſeemed as if in him excels of appetite really grew from what it fed on.

The thirſty treaſury of Frederic William was ſoon repleniſhed from a different quarter. For a conſiderable time, negotiations for the ſubſidizing of a Pruſſian army had been carried on by the maritime powers. A treaty * was at length ſigned at the Hague, between his Britannic majeſty, the States General, and the king of Pruſſia, in which the latter agreed, in conſideration of an immenſe ſubſidy, to ſend into the field, on or before the twenty-fourth of May, an army of ſixty-two thouſand men, the conqueſts made by which ſhould remain at the diſpoſal of England and the ſtates general of the united provinces. This army was intended to act againſt France on the ſide of her northern frontier.

At the moment when he ſigned the treaty of ſubſidy, it is more than probable that Frederic William had determined to execute no part of it but that which related to his receiving the ſtipulated ſum. A ſtrong preſumptive proof of his treachery was furniſhed by the republican rulers. On the twentieth of April, Billaud Varennes made, in the name of the committee of public ſafety, a report to the convention on the ſtate of affairs, and the policy to be henceforth purſued. In this report, England, Auſtria, and Spain, were attacked with great virulence, and threatened with total ruin, but, with regard to Pruſſia, a ſtudied ſilence was obſerved by the reporter. It is difficult, however, to believe that Pruſſia was not alluded to in the following paſſage: "We will not," ſaid Billaud Varennes, "ſpeak to "you of thoſe powers whoſe very "exiſtence, dependant upon your "own, compels them to remain "neuter; *nor of thoſe who only wait* "*for a laſt daring effort on our part* "*to detach themſelves entirely from* "*the royal confederacy, or, perhaps,* "*to declare againſt it.*"

The diſputes, jealouſies, and negotiations of the allies, prevented them from opening the campaign on the Rhine till a late period of the ſeaſon. The French armies were inactive from a different cauſe. By the transfer of nearly the whole of the army of the Moſelle to another quarter, they had been too much weakened to undertake offenſive operations. The army of the Rhine, therefore, remained quiet in its poſition between Spire and Neuſtadt, having on its left, in the defiles of the Voſges, and the poſt of Kayſerſlautern, a diviſion of twelve thouſand men, belonging to the army of the Moſelle.

The aim of the allies was to diſlodge the republicans from their preſent ſtation, and drive them back to Landau. To accompliſh this, it was deſigned to attack at once the army of the Rhine, and the diviſion which was intrenched at Kayſerſlautern.

The Auſtrian army, under the duke of Saxe Teſchen, croſſed the Rhine near Manheim, on the twenty-firſt and twenty-ſecond of May, and advanced againſt the conventional army of the Rhine. On the twenty-third, the whole of the French poſts were vigorouſly aſ-

* See State Papers, 1784.

failed

failed by the imperial forces. The combat lafted till night, without the aſſailants being able to make any conſiderable impreſſion on their enemies. The Pruſſian army was on the ſame day more ſucceſsful againſt the diviſion of general Am-
May 23. bert, which was intrenched to the teeth behind the defiles of Otterbach, Hagelſbach, and the Lauter, and had broken down all the bridges, and provided three ſtrong poſitions to retire to in caſe of defeat. So well combined were the Pruſſian operations, that the enemy was ſucceſſively turned in all his poſitions, and compelled to fly, with the loſs of a thouſand men killed, two thouſand priſoners, eighteen pieces of cannon, and two howitzers. The victors having taken the precaution to occupy Wiedenthall and Frankenſtein, the routed republicans were prevented from joining the army of the Rhine, and were conſequently forced to retire to Pirmaſens by the route of Tripſtadt. The defeat of general Ambert's diviſion leaving uncovered the left flank of general Michaud, the latter general found it neceſſary to abandon his poſition on the Spirebach, and retire to the Quiech. The allies were, in conſequence, once more maſters of the palatinate and the duchy of Deux Ponts.

This exertion ſeemed to have exhauſted the ſtrength of the allies. They reſted on their arms during the remainder of May and the whole of June. The republicans were the firſt to diſturb this unmilitary repoſe. Having been ſtrongly reinforced, they determined to give a convincing proof that their inaction had been a matter of neceſſity and not of choice.

On the ſecond of July, the French attacked the line of the allies from the Rhine to Kayſerſlautern. They were completely foiled in every quarter. Not diſcouraged by this rebuff, they returned, in a few days, to the charge with encreaſed numbers and fury. Their principal effort was directed againſt the poſts of the Pruſſians. July 13.
On the right of the republicans, a column, led by general Deſaix, attacked the villages of Fiſchbach and Fremerſheim, which it carried after a long conteſt. In the centre, another column, conducted by generals Siſce and Deſgranges, aſſaulted, on the following day, the intrenchments of the Platzberg Mountain. Eight times the aſſailants were repulſed; but at length the Pruſſians abandoned the poſition, and fell back to Tripſtadt. From this place they were compelled to retire, by the march of a third column upon the right flank. Finding himſelf turned, and haraſſed on every ſide, Mollendorf reſolved entirely to evacuate the duchy of Deux Ponts, and draw nearer to Mentz; and this reſolution he executed with all poſſible diſpatch. By the retrograde movement of the marſhal, the duke of Saxe Teſchen, who had for three days kept the republicans at bay, was under the neceſſity of quitting his poſt, and recroſſing the Rhine. A conſiderable diviſion was, however, diſpatched by his highneſs, to ſtrengthen the right of the poſition occupied by the Pruſſian general.

Treves was the next conqueſt which was made by the republicans. It was taken poſſeſſion of by three ſtrong diviſions, after ſeveral ſmart engagements with the feeble Auſtrian

trian corps which had been intrusted with its defence. General Aug. 8. Kalkreuth, who, on hearing of the march of the French, had hastened to its relief, did not arrive in the neighbourhood till the enemy were masters of the city.

From this time one disaster followed close on the heels of another. In the latter end of September a plan was formed by the allies for the recovery of Treves and the duchy of Deux Ponts; but they were soon compelled to relinquish it by the retreat of general Clairfait, and the rapid progress of the conventional armies on the Lower Rhine. Towards the middle of October the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle formed a junction at Lautreck, and so actively did they push forward, that, before the end of the month, the Prussians and Austrians were forced to retire across the Rhine, leaving all the provinces upon the left bank of that river in the power of the enemy. Dec. 25. The capture of the Rhine fort of Manheim, and the blockade of Mentz, closed, with the close of the year, the victorious toils of the republicans on the confines of the German empire.

On the side of Italy the events of the campaign were of a less dazzling kind than those which occurred in other quarters; but the result of the whole was decidedly favourable to the republican cause.

During the winter of 1793, both parties were sedulously engaged in providing the means of reciprocal destruction. From the provinces of the emperor in Italy considerable succours were sent at the opening of 1794 to the king of Sardinia, who, on his side, exerted himself with great activity to provide the means of supporting the contest. A loan was opened; the farmers throughout Piedmont were enjoined to deliver an exact account of the grain in their possession; the French mode was adopted to procure a supply of saltpetre; and all useless bells were ordered to be given up, that they might either be coined into money, or cast into artillery. To encourage his troops, the king issued an edict by which pensions, and several valuable privileges, were secured to the wives and children of those soldiers and non-commissioned officers who fell in defence of their country. It was also decreed, that the names of all those who died in battle should be inscribed on a tablet, to be placed in the hall of the public administration.

The republicans were equally strenuous in their exertions. A part of the army which had regained Toulon, was dispatched to join the armies in the county of Nice and duchy of Savoy, and other reinforcements were likewise daily poured in, to render those armies sufficiently strong to penetrate into Italy. The command in chief was intrusted to general Dumerbion.

The first attempt of the French was made on the side of Savoy, and was not favourable in its result. Six thousand of them at- April 6. tacked all the posts on the great and little Mount Cenis, and, at first, carried some of the least important, but were ultimately repulsed, with the loss of several hundred men.

In the opposite quarter of the Sardinian dominions, their arms were more fortunate. Oneglia, which served as an entrance for succours

ſuccours into Piedmont, and a refuge for privateers to haraſs the trade of the French coaſt, was the object of the republican operations. To reach that town, it was neceſſary to paſs through the Genoeſe territory, but this was no obſtacle to the invaders, whoſe contempt of neutral rights had long been known. To divert the attention of the Piedmonteſe, the French generals attacked and carried the camp of Fougaſſe, and other poſts in the vicinity of Breglio, while a powerful diviſion marched by Ventimiglia and St. Remo towards

April 8. Oneglia, which it entered, after a ſhort combat on the heights of St. Agatha. The victors found the town entirely deſerted by its inhabitants, who had not forgotten the barbarities exerciſed upon them on a former occaſion *. To lure back the fugitives, the ſoldiers were inſtructed by their officers to behave with an affectation of mildneſs, humanity, and decorum, which muſt have appeared both ludicrous and diſguſting in thoſe who, even ſince the opening of this campaign, had cruelly maſſacred ſeveral women at Breglio, for daring to lament the havoc which had been made in the town by the conventional garriſon.

Taking advantage of the comparatively unprepared ſtate of the Piedmonteſe on this ſide, the republicans puſhed forward, defeated a diviſion of Auſtrians at Ponte de Nave on the Tanaro, and took poſſeſſion of Ormea and Gareſſio, in

April 16-17. which places they found a valuable booty. The arrival of reinforcements to the intrenched camp of Ceva prevented them, however, from making any further progreſs in this direction.

On the ſide of Savoy the French were equally ſucceſsful. In the latter end of April and the beginning of May, all the poſts on the little St. Bernard, the Mount Valaiſin, and the great Mount Cenis, were ſubdued by diviſions of the army of the Alps. From the little St. Bernard the Sardinian troops fell back to the camp of Quarto, near the city of Aoſta; from Mount Cenis they retired to Suſa. The republicans plundered without mercy the unfortunate inhabitants of the valleys, and carried away by force great numbers of young men to recruit their armies.

In the county of Nice alſo, the French exerted themſelves with great activity to purſue their advantages. In a firſt attack upon the poſts of Col Ardente, Tanarello, Felz, and Sacarda, they were repulſed with great ſlaughter; in a ſecond they accompliſhed their deſign. The Auſtro-Sardinians, wearied by May 29. four days of continual combat, and turned by a column under general Maſſena, were compelled to abandon not only theſe poſts, but likewiſe thoſe of Belvedere, Rocabigliere, Lentoſca, Rauſs, and Authion. The fort of Saorgio was ſhamefully given up to the enemy by its governor, the count Sant Amore, on the firſt ſummons, though he had received poſitive orders to make a vigorous defence. General Colli retired with the Auſtro-Sardinian army to the Col de Tende. Here he halted for a few days, to afford time for the removal of his maga-

* See Ann. Reg. for 1793, p. 74.

zines,

mines, and then continued his retreat towards Coni, in order to cover that place, and defend the valleys of Geſſo and Stura.

It was not only with external foes that the king of Sardinia had to contend. The count Sant Amore being condemned by a court-martial to be ſhot for the ſurrender of Saorgio, endeavoured to ſave his life by the diſcovery of a conſpiracy for the deſtruction of his majeſty and the royal family. The plan of the conſpirators was, in the firſt place, to ſet fire to the theatre, that the citizens might be drawn to that quarter to extinguiſh the conflagration; they were then to fire the palace, the arſenal, and ſome parts of the city, and, by means of ſignal cannon, already poſted at convenient diſtances, to give notice of their operations to a body of French troops, which was to advance rapidly from the ſide of Pignerol. Some of the ſoldiers of the garriſon were concerned in the plot. Arms, artillery, and ammunition, were provided by the traitors in conſiderable quantities. The twenty-ſixth of May was the day fixed upon for the execution of this truly diabolical ſcheme. The conſpirators were immediately arreſted, and brought to trial, and the charge being clearly proved, by the correſpondence found about them, forty-one of them were ſentenced to the puniſhment of death, which they had ſo juſtly merited.

In aid of his regular force, the king of Sardinia directed the levy in maſs of the menaced provinces to be called into action. This meaſure, however, produced no beneficial effect. The want of diſcipline formed an inſuperable obſtacle to its ſucceſs. The men of the levy were not called into the field upon more than one or two occaſions; and then, as was naturally to be expected, their inexperience gave to their republican adverſaries an eaſy triumph.

Three months now elapſed, during which the war was carried on with little ſpirit on either ſide. The exploits of the French were confined to the capture of the once celebrated but now almoſt neglected poſts of l'Aſſiete and the Barricades; thoſe of the Piedmonteſe to the expulſion of their enemies from the upper part of the valley of Aoſto.

In September the republican general put his army in motion to diſlodge a corps of ten thouſand Auſtrians which was poſted at Carcaré, and was ſaid to be meditating the ſurprize of Savona. The Auſtrians were attacked on the nineteenth, and forced to fall back to Cairo, where they ſuſtained another combat, which ended in their retiring to Dego. To this latter place they were followed by the enemy, on whoſe approach they continued their retreat to Acqui. Garriſons were placed in Savona and Finale by the victors, who alſo occupied, by a diviſion of ſeven thouſand men, the heights of Finale and the poſt of Vado.

This was the laſt action of importance which occurred in the campaign. Predatory incurſions continued to be made, and trifling ſkirmiſhes to be fought, for a little longer, but the rigour of the ſeaſon ſoon compelled both the French and the Piedmonteſe to deſiſt for a while from mutual annoyance, and content themſelves, in the repoſe of winter quarters, with the pleaſ-

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ing anticipations of future conqueſt and plunder.

From the Alps we muſt now turn to the Pyrenées, where, at the commencement of 1794, both parties prepared to renew the conteſt in a vigorous manner. His catholic majeſty, at the cloſe of the laſt campaign, ſtrained every nerve to recruit his armies, but, though he was patriotically ſeconded by many of the Spaniſh nobles, who raiſed regiments at their own expence, his ſucceſs was not proportioned to the magnitude of his exertions. The republicans, on the other hand, were ſtill more active than his majeſty, and with better fortune. The armies of the eaſtern and weſtern Pyrenées received various reinforcements, and among them a great part of the troops and artillery which had been employed in the ſiege of Toulon.

The campaign in the Weſtern Pyrenées was opened by the Spaniſh commander. On the fifth of February, early in the morning, three Spaniſh columns, conſiſting of thirteen thouſand men, croſſed the Bidaſſoa, and made an attack upon all quarters of the republican poſition. The out-poſts were driven in, and the fortified camp, called the camp of the Sans Culottes, was, for a conſiderable time, in danger of being forced by the aſſailants. An entire defeat would in all probability have been ſuſtained by the French troops, had general Urrutia, with the column of Spaniards on the right, puſhed forward after his firſt ſucceſs, and had the column of the centre aſſaulted with ſomewhat more vigour a redoubt which covered the enemy's rear. The combat laſted ſeven hours, and was terminated by the retreat of the Spaniards, which was made in good order, and without interruption. The loſs was nearly equal on both ſides, and amounted in the whole to a thouſand or twelve hundred men killed and wounded.

More than two months elapſed after this action, without any operation of the ſlighteſt conſequence being undertaken by either of the armies. The republicans having repeatedly deſtroyed by fire the habitations of the peaſantry in Valcarlos, the Spaniſh general at length determined to puniſh them by ſevere repriſals. On the twenty-fifth of April he accordingly put in motion for that purpoſe the greater part of his troops. The attack was completely ſucceſsful. All the enemy's poſts from St. Jean Pied de Port to Baygorry were driven in; more than four hundred houſes were reduced to aſhes; and ſix thouſand head of cattle ſeized upon, without any loſs to the Caſtilians.

The French now, in their turn, became the aſſailants. Their firſt object was the valley of Baztan, which, indenting deeply into the republican territory, is bounded by that territory on the ſouth and eaſt, while, on the north and weſt, the mountains which form it are continued to ſome diſtance within the Spaniſh frontier, and thus afford, to a hoſtile poſſeſſor of the valley, the means of turning by its right the poſition of Vera, and by its left the famous valley of Roncevaux.

On the ſide of St. Jean Pied de Port two paſſages lead into the valley of Baztan; the firſt from St. Etienne de Baygorry by the Col d'Iſpeguy, the ſecond from the Aldudes by the Col de Berdaritz. On the

the oppoſite quarter another road enters the valley from St. Jean de Luz by the Col de Maya. The Cols of Iſpeguy and Berdaritz were carefully intrenched by the Spaniards, and the valley of the Aldudes was defended by three hundred native chaſſeurs, and by the legion of loyal emigrants.

For the attack of theſe poſts, three diviſions were put in motion on the morning of the ſecond of June. The firſt, conſiſting of two thouſand men, led by general La Victoire, made itſelf maſter of Berdaritz, after a hard ſtruggle, and the death of its commander. The ſecond diviſion, two thouſand ſtrong, under the orders of Le Franc, was ſtill more fortunate on the ſide of the Col d'Iſpeguy, which it carried with little trouble. The Col de Maya was abandoned by the Spaniards to general Caſtelvert, who advanced againſt it with fifteen hundred men. An opening was thus made for the conqueſt of the valley of Baztan.

Hoping to take in another quarter his revenge for the defeat which he had ſuſtained in this, the Spaniſh general reſolved to attack the republican poſition between the Bidaſſoa and St. Jean de Luz. Accordingly at break of day, on the twenty-third of June, he made a furious aſſault upon it with eight thouſand men, divided into four columns. The firſt column was for a time victorious; but, not being properly ſupported by the others, was finally compelled to give way; and by eight o'clock the whole of the Caſtilian troops were driven from the field. Their loſs in killed and wounded was nearly five hundred men; that of their antagoniſts was not more than one half of this number.

The late attack of the republicans upon the poſts which covered the valley of Baztan, plainly indicating their deſigns in that quarter, general Caro, whoſe whole force, from the bay of Biſcay to the frontier of Arragon, did not exceed twenty thouſand men, propoſed to abandon the valley, which he conſidered as indefenſible, and intrench himſelf ſtrongly in the mountains. The court of Madrid, however, was deaf to the weighty reaſons which he urged in ſupport of his plan. It obſtinately perſiſted in ordering the valley to be defended, and iſſued at the ſame time a proclamation to the inhabitants, exhorting them to take arms, and aſſiſt in repelling the threatened inroad of the enemy. Not willing to make himſelf reſponſible for meaſures which he diſapproved, Caro reſigned the command, in which he was replaced by the count de Colomera, viceroy of Navarre.

The fears of Caro were ſoon proved to be well-founded. The preparations for the invaſion of Spain being completed, the French general-in-chief, Muller, put his troops in motion. General Moncey, with nearly ten thouſand men, was directed to penetrate into the Spaniſh territory by the valley of Baztan; while general Delaborde, with a ſmall corps, fell upon the centre of the Caſtilian line at Commiſſari and Vera. Theſe two diviſions were to effect their junction on the left bank of the Bidaſſoa. Fontarabia was, in the mean time, to be bombarded by the diviſion of general Fregeville, which was alſo

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to force the paſſage of the river as ſoon as the other columns had arrived at the deſtined point. The ſucceſsful reſult of theſe movements would, it was juſtly calculated, be the expulſion of the Caſtilians from the whole of the poſts which they at preſent occupied.

In order to diſtract the attention of the enemy, and inſpire him with the dread of being cut off from re-
July 24. treat, Moncey divided his force into four columns, which were to enter the valley by the paſſes of Maya, Arriete, Berdaritz, and Iſpeguy. The column which marched by the pass of Iſpeguy was the firſt in action. It was oppoſed at every ſtep, and gained ground but ſlowly, and with great loſs, till it was ſeconded by the advance of the remaining columns; when the Spaniards, finding that to perſiſt in the ſtruggle would be to riſk much without the hope of advantage, retired, under the protection of their cavalry, to St. Eſtevan, leaving the republican troops in poſſeſſion of the valley. Six thouſand muſkets, with ſome cannon and ſtores, were left behind; but the richeſt prize gained by the victors was the produce of an abundant harveſt, which was yet untouched. The following morning Moncey puſhed forward to St. Eſtevan, which, on his approach, was evacuated by the Caſtilians, who, in the courſe of the day, retired entirely from the valley of Lerins. No obſtacle remained to his junction with the centre diviſion.

That diviſion did not accompliſh
July 25. its deſign without a ſevere ſtruggle. At three in the morning it attacked the redoubts of Commiſſari, which were placed on the ſummit of a mountain, and commanded the circumjacent ground. One of theſe redoubts was in reality a regular ſtar fort, covered by a broad and deep ditch, with chevaux de frize and wolf traps. The other was of inferior ſtrength. So hot a fire was kept up from theſe works that, at firſt, the aſſailants were driven in confuſion behind the parapet by which the redoubts were connected. Increaſing numbers, nevertheleſs, enabled the republicans to carry the weakeſt redoubt, and to inveſt completely the ſtrongeſt, the defenders of which were finally compelled to ſurrender by the want of ammunition. The evacuation of Vera and Biriatu, the laſt poſts of the Spaniards on the right of the Bidaſſoa, was the neceſſary conſequence of this diſaſter. Seven hundred of the French troops were killed or wounded in this day's engagement.

The republican generals did not ſuffer the graſs to grow under their feet. Having formed a junction at Leſaca with the diviſion of Delaborde, general Moncey attacked the Spaniſh poſts on the heights of Aya, and carried them with little difficulty. While he was
Aug. 1. thus employed, the diviſion of Fregeville forced near Biriatu the paſſage of the Bidaſſoa under a heavy fire. By theſe combined movements the intrenchments on the mountain of St. Martial, which in front were almoſt impregnable, were turned, and rendered uſeleſs. Scarcely any reſiſtance was made by the Spaniards. They retreated towards Oyarzun, leaving the conventionaliſts maſters of

of the field, and of an immenſe booty in military ſtores.

Though the victors had obtained a footing in Spain, they had yet to conquer the fortreſſes of Fontarabia and St Sebaſtian, before they could venture to purſue their march into the country. This taſk was to all appearance of no ſmall difficulty. The former place had ſuſtained a ſiege of twenty-one days, the latter of thirty, againſt the great duke of Berwick. It was therefore to be expected that, although they were now ſcantily garriſoned, they would put a ſtop, for a ſhort time at leaſt, to the progreſs of the invading army.

Treachery or cowardice, however, but more probably the former, opened to the enemy the gates of both theſe towns. Fontarabia capitulated on the Aug. 1. firſt ſummons. The troops in garriſon, conſiſting of eight hundred men, commanded by don Vincentio de los Reyes, were made priſoners of war. Three days after this event, the republicans appeared before St. Sebaſtian, Aug. 4. which was delivered to them without a ſingle ſhot having been fired againſt its ramparts. In this fortreſs ſeventeen hundred men were made priſoners. They laid down their arms with the greateſt reluctance, exclaiming indignantly, that they had been betrayed and ſold. Port Paſſage, and ſeveral adjacent places, ſhared the fate of their ſtronger neighbours. A hundred and fifty pieces of cannon and mortars, with an enormous quantity of proviſions and ammunition, were found in the various magazines by the conquerors. The Spaniſh army retired beyond Toloſa, which city was taken poſſeſſion of by a republican detachment.

The conventional deputies, Pinet and Cavaignac, ſoon made their tyranny felt by the inhabitants of the invaded country. Their firſt ſtep was to diſſolve the provincial aſſembly of Guipuſcoa, for having dared to requeſt that the province might be allowed to remain neuter till the concluſion of the war. They next put under arreſt all the nobles and prieſts, ſhut up the churches, impoſed ruinous contributions upon the people, and, to crown the whole, cauſed the guillotine to be permanently placed in one of the ſquares of the town of St. Sebaſtian. So intolerable was the cruelty and oppreſſion of theſe republican deſpots, that a crowd of Guipuſcoans fled into the interior of Spain, leaving behind them their property, which was immediately confiſcated. That part of Biſcay, which was within the reach of Pinet and Cavaignac, ſuffered likewiſe from their ſavage fury. Some diſtant villages in that province having heſitated to comply with the requiſitions demanded of them, three battalions received orders to march and deliver them to the flames. Theſe orders were faithfully executed. Diſguſted by this impolitic conduct, and inceſſantly thwarted in his plans, Muller reſigned the command of the army, which was conferred upon general Moncey. A ſhort time ſubſequently to his reſignation, the two deputies were recalled, and others appointed to act in their ſtead.

For more than two months, no movement of conſequence was made by either the Spaniſh or

French army. The latter was daily receiving freſh acceſſions of ſtrength. From the army of the Weſt it obtained a reinforcement of fifteen battalions. By the middle of October it conſiſted of ſixty-ſix battalions of infantry, with ſixteen ſquadrons of horſe, and a numerous train of artillery. The force of the Spaniards, in ſpite of all their endeavours to increaſe it, was much inferior to that of their enemies.

On the ſide of Navarre the Spaniards ſtill held, with a corps of twelve thouſand men, the poſts of the valley of Roncevaux, though the right flank of their poſition was completely turned by the ſucceſſes of the republicans in Guipuſcoa, and the left was expoſed to the ſame danger. Their pertinacity in maintaining this perilous ſtation, aroſe, it is probable, from their reluctance to abandon the two large and valuable foundries of Euguy and Orbaicet. The duke of Oſſuna, who was charged with the defence of the valley, was not blind to the difficulty of his taſk; and he took every precaution that prudence could ſuggeſt to render abortive any attempt of his antagoniſts to drive him from his ground.

The powerful force which the republican general had under his command, enabled him to form a very extenſive plan of attack upon the valley of Roncevaux. Advancing at once from all points on the circumference of the valley, he deſigned to drive the Caſtilians to the centre, hem them in, and compel them to lay down their arms. The confuſion, terror, and weakneſs which ſuch an event muſt occaſion, would, he hoped, afford him alſo a favourable opportunity of making himſelf maſter of Pampeluna by a ſudden aſſault.

This project, which did honour to the military talents of the French general, failed, nevertheleſs, in its execution. Oct. 15. The various columns carried into effect, though not without much hard fighting, the greateſt part of the purpoſed operations; but one of them having halted for the night at Viſcari, an opening was left between that place and Burguete, through which the duke of Oſſuna ſkilfully accompliſhed his retreat to Pampeluna. His loſs in the different actions which took place previouſly to his retreat, was eſtimated at fifteen hundred men. The loſs of the French was probably not inferior, as ſome of the columns were more than once repulſed before they could oblige the Caſtilians to retire.

Nothing of importance occurred till the latter end of Nov. 24. November, when general Marbot, with his diviſion, made an attack upon the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Pampeluna. The republicans were defeated with great ſlaughter, and purſued as far as the heights of Oſtiz, where, the night coming on, their purſuers halted. The next morning the victors renewed the battle, and were on the eve of utterly routing their adverſaries, when a detachment from the poſt of Zubiri unexpectedly aſſailed them in the rear, and compelled them to fall back to their former poſition.

On the ſide of Biſcay the republicans obtained a trifling advantage. Two columns moved from Tolofa and Gue- Nov. 29.

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taria, and a third from Lecumberry, to cut off the marquis de Ruby, who was poſted with four thouſand men on the heights of Bergara. The firſt two columns drove the marquis from the heights; but the third not coming up in time to intercept his retreat, the aſſailants had only the ſatisfaction of pillaging Bergara, and adding the towns of Aſpeytia and Aſcoytia to the number of their conqueſts.

The rigour of the ſeaſon, and the ſickly ſtate of the armies, now compelled both parties to deſiſt from hoſtilities. At the cloſe of November the republicans withdrew their advanced poſts, and went into winter quarters. Their line extended from Toloſa, by Leſaca and the valley of Baztan, to St. Jean Pied de Port. The Caſtilians followed their example; and thus Biſcay and Navarre were for a ſhort time relieved from the horrors and the ſufferings of war.

The conventional army of the Eaſtern Pyrenées was not leſs ſucceſsful than that whoſe operations in the Weſtern Pyrenées we have juſt related. After the defeats at the latter end of the preceding year, the routed French fell back to Perpignan, in the vicinity of which place they formed a camp of ſo irregular and diſorderly an appearance, that it is ſaid to have borne no diſtant reſemblance to the camps of the wandering Arabs. Doppet, their general, having fallen dangerouſly ill, the command was given to the brave and ſkilful Dugommier, who, on his arrival, found the troops broken in ſpirit by diſaſters, preyed on by diſeaſes, which had their riſe in indolence and licentiouſneſs, and nearly loſt to all ſenſe of military honour.

Grieved, but not diſcouraged, he immediately began the arduous taſk of reſtoring order and diſcipline to his army. His exertions were warmly ſeconded by generals Perignon, Sauret, and Augereau, who commanded under him. Regular camps were formed, the ſoldiers were kept to their exerciſe, or occupied in throwing up field works, for ſeveral hours in the day; and at night were ſometimes called from their ſlumbers to arms, and ſometimes diſpatched to haraſs the enemy. Emulation and ſhame were alſo employed by the general to aſſiſt in the reformation of his ſoldiers. Idleneſs and inſolence in a ſhort time gave way to activity and ſubordination, and Dugommier had the ſatisfaction to find that he might undertake offenſive operations with the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs.

The Spaniſh army, of about thirty thouſand men, was at this moment poſted along the Tech, covered by intrenchments which had been raiſed with the greateſt ſkill and care. General Ricardos having died early in the year, it was commanded by the count de la Union, a young and gallant officer, who had ſignalized himſelf at the head of the left wing in the preceding campaign.

The plan of the French general was to drive the Caſtilians from their preſent ſtation to the other ſide of the Pyrenées, and then to form the ſiege of thoſe places which they had conquered in Rouſſillon. As their centre, while defended by a conſiderable force, was almoſt impregnable, Dugommier reſolved to deceive the Spaniſh general by movements towards the left of his line; and thus induce him to weaken

his centre. Augereau was in conſequence detached to take poſt on the heights of Ons, and engineers were ſent to trace out roads, in order to induce a belief that the artillery of the republicans was to paſs in that quarter. In aid of this ſcheme, general Dagobert had, as early as the beginning of April, been directed to make an incurſion into Spaniſh Cerdagne, from the ſide of Puycereda, and he was already in poſſeſſion of Urgel, after defeating at Monteilla a ſmall body of Caſtilian troops.

The count de la Union was caught in the ſnare which had been ſpread for him by his wily antagoniſts. A detachment which he ſent to diſlodge Augereau being repulſed, he diſpatched reinforcements to it, and the conteſt was renewed with greater fury than before. Augereau, however, remained immoveable. Alarmed by this ſtubborn reſiſtance, and conceiving it of importance to avert the danger which menaced his left, the count himſelf marched, on the third day, with his beſt troops, and made a deſperate effort to overpower the republican general. He combated with the utmoſt valour, and obtained ſome advantage, but was not able to accompliſh his deſign of compelling the enemy to retire. The loſs was conſiderable on both ſides.

While the count de la Union was vainly ſtriving to defeat Augereau, Dugommier ſeized the favourable opportunity to put his plan in execution. The central point of the Spaniſh poſition, and in truth the key of the whole, was the redoubt of Monteſquieu. This redoubt was attacked at break of day by four republican columns. A heavy fire of artillery and muſketry was kept up againſt it till noon, when the aſſailants advanced to the ſtorm, and carried the work with fixed bayonets. By its capture, the communication between the right and left of the Caſtilians was broken, and the line of the Tech rendered no longer tenable. They abandoned, therefore, with the greateſt precipitation, thoſe poſts which were ſtill in their power, and retired over the Pyrenées, leaving fifteen hundred priſoners, two hundred pieces of cannon, immenſe magazines, and all the baggage in the hands of the enemy. General Navarro, with the diviſion of the right, conſiſting of nearly ſix thouſand men, finding his retreat into Spain cut off, threw his troops into Collioure, Fort St. Elmo, and Port Vendre, and prepared for a vigorous defence.

April 30.

Bellegarde was immediately blockaded; Port Vendre, Fort St. Elmo, and Collioure were inveſted. Port Vendre the republicans made an attempt to carry by aſſault; but they were repulſed with great ſlaughter. The ſiege of Collioure and Fort St. Elmo was a work of difficulty, as Navarro made an obſtinate reſiſtance, and retarded by ſallies, and every other mode of annoyance, the progreſs of the beſiegers. At length, on the twenty-third of May, Fort St. Elmo being entirely ruined, the Spaniſh general propoſed to capitulate. Not being able, however, to obtain ſuch terms as were ſatisfactory to him, he ſilently withdrew his troops in the night from the Fort and Port Vendre into Collioure, and made known his reſolution of holding

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out to the laſt extremity. The conferences were now renewed by Dugommier; and, on the twenty-ſixth, the terms of the ſurrender were finally arranged. Two articles of a highly offenſive nature were contained in this treaty; the one aſſerted that the Caſtilians had owed to treaſon alone the poſſeſſion of the places re-conquered by the French; the other branded the emigrants as "rebels, traitors, and "conſpirators," and ſtipulated that they ſhould be given up to their fate. The ſix thouſand men, compoſing the garriſon, were allowed the uſual honours, with permiſſion to return into Spain, whence an equal number of French priſoners was to be ſent back; but neither the French nor the Spaniards ſo exchanged were to ſerve during the continuance of the war. The capitulation had only been ſigned a ſingle day, when admiral Gravina arrived with eight ſail of the line to the ſuccour of Collioure.

This capitulation gave riſe to a correſpondence, which was carried on with great aſperity, between general Dugommier and the count de la Union. The latter refuſed to agree to the articles, on the ground that they were cruel, abſurd, and unjuſt, and that Navarro was not authorized to conclude them without the conſent of his ſuperior officer. Finding that remonſtrances were ineffectual, Dugommier appealed, in a paſſionate letter, to the convention. That body followed, on this occaſion, the mode of conduct which was moſt congenial to its feelings. It paſſed a decree, declaring that if the capitulation was not immediately ratified, no quarter ſhould be given to the Spaniſh troops, and ordering the prieſts and nobles to be ſeized by the invading armies, and retained as hoſtages. This decree was not a dead letter: the republican ſoldiers took care that, as far as depended upon them, it ſhould be executed with the moſt rigid fidelity.

While the Spaniards held the fortreſs of Bellegarde, it was impoſſible for the French to undertake, with any degree of ſafety, the invaſion of Catalonia. The marquis de Valleſantoro, who commanded in Bellegarde, was a man of diſtinguiſhed intrepidity and honour. It was in vain that Dugommier repeatedly ſummoned him, firſt in the language of moderation, afterwards in that of brutal menace. Valleſantoro knew the importance of the poſt intruſted to him, and replied, temperately but firmly, that, whatever might be the conſequence of his reſiſtance, he would remain faithful to his own character, and to the duty which he owed his ſovereign. A fruitleſs attempt was, on the nineteenth of May, made by the count de la Union to throw ſuccours into the place. The French were at the outſet defeated, but the battle was eventually decided in their favour by the attack of a column of chaſſeurs upon the flank of the Spaniſh diviſion.

The ſtubborn valour of Valleſantoro retained the French armies nearly in a ſtate of inaction during the months of June, July, and Auguſt. The capture of a few defenceleſs towns, in Spaniſh Cerdagne, was all that in this time they could boaſt of having achieved. To induce the inhabitants of Cerdagne to demand an union with the republic, the convention paſſed

a decree by which tythes were abolished.

The count de la Union was, meanwhile, preparing to relieve the blockaded fortreſs. To revictual it, he collected at Figueras a large convoy of proviſions, and, to enſure the ſucceſs of his enterprize, he called to his aſſiſtance all the troops which could be ſpared from the Catalonian garriſons. His plan was to attack the enemy along the whole of his line from Campredon to the ſea. Six attacks were to be falſe ones, for the purpoſe of holding the republicans in check, while the ſeventh, and moſt formidable, was made on their right under general Augereau, which was poſted at Darnious, Terrades, and St. Laurent de la Muga. If this attack ſucceeded, the blockade of Bellegarde would not only be raiſed, but a large part of the French army would be ſhut out from all retreat.

The battle commenced at two in the morning. At the first onſet the Spaniſh troops carried ſeveral batteries, and drove in the advanced poſts of the republican right. Augereau found himſelf aſſailed at once on his centre, right flank, and rear. In this critical ſituation he diſplayed the talents of an able general. Taking advantage of the nature of the ground, he, with one part of his force, arreſted in a defile the progreſs of the column which menaced his centre, while with the other part he drove back thoſe columns which appeared on his rear and right. His ſkill would, nevertheleſs, have moſt probably been inſufficient to ſave him, had not ſome of the columns deſtined to attack him unfortunately miſconceived their inſtructions, and by this means been prevented from coming up in time to ſupport the others. The conteſt laſted till five in the evening, when Augereau having brought up to his centre thoſe troops which had been employed to ſecure his rear, the Caſtilians believing them to be a reinforcement ſent from Dugommier, and fearing to be ſurrounded, thought it prudent to begin a retreat, which, though purſued by the enemy, they effected in admirable order. The other diviſions alſo retired from the field with little interruption. The whole loſs which the Spaniſh general ſuſtained was eſtimated by himſelf at about twelve hundred killed and wounded. The republicans aſſerted theirs to be leſs than a thouſand. One of their generals was ſlain, and another was ſlightly hurt.

August 13.

For more than a month after the defeat of his friends, Valleſantoro, though almoſt hopeleſs of ſuccour, perſevered in the defence of Bellegarde. Famine at length maſtered valour. His proviſions being entirely conſumed, he demanded to capitulate. Dugommier, however, inſiſted that the garriſon ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion, and to this hard condition the brave Valleſantoro was under the neceſſity of yielding his aſſent. Three days after the French had entered the fort, the count de la Union, unapprized of its fall, made an attempt, in which he was foiled, to afford it relief. Bellegarde was the laſt place held by the allies on the territory of France.

Sep. 18.

Two months now paſſed without being marked by any event of importance. Dugommier was employed

ployed in making arrangements for the invaſion of Catalonia; the count de la Union in taking meaſures to ſecure that province. The Spaniſh army was ſtrongly intrenched along the right bank of the Muga; its right being covered by the fortreſs of Roſes, its left extending to the mountains, on one of which, that of Magdeleine, at the extremity of the line, numerous batteries were erected. Behind the army was the camp of Llers, which was protected by the fortreſs of Figueras. The French were poſted on the other ſide of the Muga, within ſpeaking diſtance of their enemies.

To make a general attack along the whole of the Spaniſh line would, Dugommier was perſuaded, be of doubtful event, and would inevitably occaſion a terrible ſlaughter of his troops. It appeared to him, however, that it was not impoſſible to turn the left, and thus oblige the Spaniards to abandon their poſition. Augereau was charged with the execution of this plan. If he proved fortunate, the republican centre and left were to follow up the blow. The left, in the mean time, was to ſecond his efforts by a falſe attack.

A little after midnight Augereau commenced his march, leaving a corps on the right bank of the river, to divert, by a continual fire of muſketry and artillery, the attention of the Caſtilians from the menaced quarter. He reached un-
Nov. 17. diſcovered the bridge on the Muga, ſurpriſed the guard which was ſtationed there, and by break of day began to aſcend the mountain of Magdeleine. A briſk fire was opened upon him, but he continued his march without returning it, and as ſoon as he arrived at the ſummit of the mountain, the Spaniards were ſeized with a panic terror, and took flight on all ſides. Had not a column, diſpatched from Coſtouges on the preceding evening to act againſt their rear, been luckily retarded in its progreſs, they muſt have experienced very ſerious loſs. When they had in ſome degree got rid of their terror, they endeavoured to make a ſtand in the poſt of Roc-Blanc, but were ſpeedily driven from it, and forced to ſeek for protection under the batteries of the centre. A corps of twelve hundred men, under the command of M. Crillon, ſon of the Duke de Crillon, was the only one which in this combat made a gallant reſiſtance.

Dugommier was, meanwhile, anxiouſly watching from a mountain the movements of Augereau's diviſion. At the very moment when he had the gratification to ſee victory declare in his favour, and was on the point of giving orders to his centre and left to move rapidly forward, a ſhell from a howitzer ſtruck his head, and killed him on the ſpot. This diſaſter put an immediate ſtop to the operations of the army. Augereau, on receiving the news of it, halted with his diviſion in the poſts which he had won, and the centre and left, which had been ſlightly engaged, returned to their former poſition.

General Perignon was appointed to the command in chief by the conventional deputies. The new leader was ſo convinced of the excellence of his predeceſſor's plans, that he did not think proper to make any alteration in them.

To haſten their execution was all that he deſired. A council of war was aſſembled, in which it was reſolved to give battle to the enemy immediately. Augereau was again intereſted with the principal attack, and his diviſion was in conſequence ſtrongly reinforced from the diviſions of the centre and left.

By the ſhort pauſe from hoſtilities which the death of Dugommier occaſioned on the part of the French, the Spaniards might have profited either to make an attempt to regain the poſts which they had loſt on the ſeventeenth, or to fall back upon the camp of Llers and the fortreſs of Figueras. They unwiſely choſe to wait the republican onſet on their preſent ground. The centre and right occupied its uſual poſition; the defeated left had fallen back, ſo as to form an obtuſe angle with the reſt of the line.

The combat began on the left, Nov. 20. before the dawn of day. After an obſtinate reſiſtance on the ſide of the Spaniards, ſeveral redoubts were carried by the French, who finally penetrated to the principal redoubt, which was of immenſe ſtrength, and contained no leſs than twenty pieces of cannon. Here the conteſt was long undecided; but at length the aſſailants overpowered their antagoniſts, and made themſelves maſters of the work. The attack on the right of the line was alſo crowned with ſucceſs. Finding their intrenchments forced, the Spaniards gave way in all quarters. The count de la Union vainly ſtrove to rally them; they were deaf to every thing but their fears. At the head of a handful of brave men, he for a while maintained a deſperate conteſt with the republicans, and in the end expired, covered with honourable wounds. His fate was ſhared by the prince de Montfort. The duke de l'Infantado, and ſeveral other general officers, were dangerouſly wounded. Two hundred pieces of cannon, all the baggage, ammunition, arms, and ſtores, were abandoned to the victors.

The greateſt part of the Spaniſh army continued its retreat to the other ſide of the Fluvia. Between nine and ten thouſand men, however, took refuge in Figueras, where, two days after the battle, they were inveſted by the triumphant republicans. In leſs than a week, without waiting to be beſieged, and though Nov. 27. they were amply provided with every requiſite for a vigorous defence, they ſurrendered as priſoners of war. A hundred and ſeventy-one pieces of artillery were found in Figueras.

The reduction of Figueras cloſed the warlike labours of the year in the Eaſtern Pyrenées. The French army was ſent into winter quarters beyond the Muga, in the vicinity of Roſes, with the ſiege of which place the French commander deſigned to commence, at an early period, the operations of the next campaign.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Maritime and insular campaign. Hopes of naval success entertained by the French rulers. Convoy expected from America. Brest fleet puts to sea to protect it. Lord Howe gets sight of the enemy. Actions of the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of May. The two fleets come to a decisive action on the first of June. The republicans completely defeated. Lots of the French. The convoy enters Brest in safety. Campaign in Corsica. General Paoli and the majority of the Corsicans declare against the French. Lord Hood sails to Corsica, and effects a landing. Fort and batteries in the neighbourhood of St. Fiorenzo reduced. Republicans retire from St. Fiorenzo Lord Hood proposes to besiege Bastia, but is unable to prevail upon general Dundas to consent. He undertakes the siege himself. Bastia surrenders after a siege of five weeks. Letter of general Paoli to his countrymen. Meeting at Corté of the representatives of Corsica. They offer the crown to his Britannic majesty. Acceptance of it. British commanders resolve to besiege Calvi. The French send out a fleet to Corsica. It is driven into harbour by lord Hood. Siege of Calvi. Storming of the outworks. The place surrenders. Campaign in the West Indies. Sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis intrusted with the reduction of the French West India islands. They are deprived of a part of their force before they set sail. They arrive in the West Indies. Preliminary measures. They resolve to attack Martinico. Effect a landing. The enemy driven into forts Bourbon and Royal. Capture of the town of St. Pierre. Fort Royal taken by storm. Surrender of Fort Bourbon. Capture of St. Lucia. The commanders attack Guadaloupe. Fort Fleur d'Epée taken by assault. Reduction of the whole island. Mortality among the troops. A French squadron arrives and lands a body of troops. The French recover Grand Terre. Ineffectual attempts of the British commander to expel them. Conquest of Basse Terre by the French. Military operations in St. Domingo. Surrender of several parishes. Reduction of l'Acul and Cape Tiburon. Fears of the colonists. Arrival of a small reinforcement. Capture of Port au Prince. End of the chapter.

VICTORIOUS by land, on every side of their extensive frontier, the rulers of France flattered themselves that the time was also arrived when the triumphs of their naval force would emulate those of their armies in number and in splendour. Their hopes were indeed somewhat more elevated than either reason or experience could authorize them to entertain; for it was confidently predicted that the spirit produced by republican principles would enable the French sailors to wrest from this country its maritime superiority, and thus open the way for that most desired of events, its irretrievable ruin. To doubt that the champions of liberty would vanquish "the robbers and tyrants of the ocean," as the English were insultingly

inſultingly called, was in truth conſidered as a crime of no common magnitude.

It was not long before an opportunity occurred of putting to the proof, and that in the moſt deciſive manner, the boaſted efficacy of thoſe principles which were to inſpire the mariners of France with irreſiſtible valour. Honour, however, was not the motive which prompted the republicans to deviate from their ſyſtem of predatory warfare upon the commerce of their enemies, and try their fortune in a naval combat. From America a convoy of one hundred and ſixteen ſail, laden with proviſions and naval ſtores, was hourly expected, the preſervation of which was of the utmoſt importance. To intercept it, admiral lord Howe and admiral Montague were cruizing, with ſeparate ſquadrons, in the mouth of the Britiſh channel. The committee of public ſafety, therefore, ſent orders to the Breſt fleet to put to ſea, and to ſecure, at any hazard, the American convoy.

The channel fleet, under lord Howe, conſiſted of twenty-ſix ſail of the line. On his lordſhip's return with it off Breſt from the Engliſh coaſt, to which he had put back, he found that the enemy had ſailed a few days before. From rear-admiral Montague he alſo received diſpatches, which made him deem it requiſite to form a junction with that officer as ſpeedily as poſſible. In conſequence of this he proceeded towards the ſtation where the rear-admiral had propoſed to wait, but receiving intelligence on his route that the enemy's ſquadron was only a few leagues to the weſtward, he altered his courſe, and ſteered to the quarter where he expected to meet them.

The enemy, early on the morning of the twenty-eighth of May, was diſcovered far diſtant on the weather-bow by the advanced frigates. For ſome time they came down in looſe order, as if unapprized that the Britiſh fleet was in view. As they came nearer they hauled to the wind, but it was ſeveral hours before they were formed in complete order of battle on the ſtarboard tack. By this time lord Howe had neared them conſiderably, and the detached part of the fleet, under rear-admiral Paiſley, had placed itſelf advantageouſly to make an impreſſion on their rear.

Towards the cloſe of day, the rear-admiral bore down upon the enemy in the moſt ſpirited manner. La Revolutionnaire, the ſternmoſt ſhip in the French line, was attacked by lord Hugh Seymour in the Leviathan, and was ſhortly after brought to cloſe action by captain Parker of the Audacious, by which ſhip ſhe was in leſs than two hours compelled to ſtrike. From the unmanageable ſtate of the Audacious, La Revolutionnaire ſucceeded, however, in making her eſcape, and the next day was towed into Rochefort by a republican veſſel which fell in with her. The Audacious unfortunately drifted to leeward in the night, and being chaced by ſeveral ſail of the enemy was compelled to return to Plymouth. By this circumſtance the force of lord Howe was reduced to twenty-five ſail of the line. The enemy's ſquadron ſtill conſiſted of twenty-ſix.

In the morning the van ships of the British appearing to be far enough advanced to make an impression upon the republican rear, they were tacked in succession with that intent. The enemy also wore from van to rear, and edged down to engage the British. The signal for passing through the line was then renewed by lord Howe, upon which the battle commenced with great fury. As the smoke dispersed, the admiral perceived that the Cæsar had not kept the wind, and that the appointed movement was likely to fail of its purposed effect. The Queen Charlotte was, therefore, tacked. Followed by the Bellerophon and the Leviathan, he passed through in action between the fifth and sixth ships in the rear of the hostile line. She was then put about again to renew the attack. The republican admiral, Villaret Joyeuse, now wore to the eastward, to succour the disabled ships of his rear, which his lordship, from the disunited state of the fleet, and his having with him only two crippled ships, was unable to prevent. The enemy having succeeded in his operation wore round, and stood away in order of battle, pursued by the British. For two days the fleets remained separated a few miles, but could only occasionally catch a glimpse of each other, during the momentary intermissions of a heavy fog. In the afternoon of the last of May, the weather cleared up, and a battle became inevitable. The night was spent by the French in drinking and singing, by the English in calm and silent preparation.

May 29.

The weather-gage having been gained by the preceding manœuvres, the British squadron bore down, between seven and eight in the morning, upon the enemy, who resolutely waited to receive the attack. Lord Howe, in the Queen Charlotte, engaged the republican admiral in Le Montagne, and the action was in a short time general along the line. The French for a while fought with great valour. In less than an hour, however, after the centre had come to close quarters, the republican leader crowded off, and was followed by those ships of his van which were in a condition to carry sail. He left behind him ten or twelve of his crippled and dismasted ships, but, such was the shattered state of the British squadron, that some of the French vessels escaped under a sprit-sail singly, or a smaller sail raised on the stump of the foremast. La Juste and Le Sans Pareil of eighty guns, L'Amerique, L'Achille, L'Impeteux, Le Vengeur and Northumberland, of seventy-four guns remained in the possession of the victors. The latter ship sunk* before the whole of her crew could be removed. Three hundred and twenty men were fortunately rescued from the waves. During the engagement, another ship of the line went to the bottom, and not one of her crew was saved.

June 1.

* In a bombastic report which was made to the convention by Barrere, it was asserted that the sailors of Le Vengeur disdained to surrender to the English, and that as the vessel went down they uttered the shouts of Vive la Republique, Vive la Liberté and la France. The one of these assertions is as false as the other. The vessel did surrender, and when she sunk nothing was heard from her crew but cries for succour.

The

The total loſs of the Britiſh on this glorious day was little more than nine hundred men, of whom leſs than a fourth were in the liſt of ſlain. Captain Montagne was the only captain who fell: admiral Graves, rear-admirals Bowyer and Paiſley and captain Hutt were ſeverely wounded.

The carnage on board the French fleet was horrible. La Montagne alone, as appears by the confeſſion of the republicans, ſuſtained a loſs of three hundred men. The number killed and wounded in the ſix captured ſhips was twelve hundred and ſeventy.

For this complete and humiliating defeat the French rulers were in ſome meaſure conſoled by the arrival of the American convoy, valued at five millions ſterling, which, twelve days after the engagement, unaccountably entered Breſt in ſafety, notwithſtanding its approach had been long enough known to allow the Admiralty to ſend out ſuch a force as might have conducted it triumphantly into a Britiſh harbour.

The ſuperiority which Great Britain maintained on what may be called her native element, enabled her to carry on a war againſt the colonies and inſular territories of France with conſiderable effect. Among the firſt of thoſe advantages which, during the preſent campaign, ſhe derived from her maritime aſcendancy, was the conqueſt of Corſica. This conqueſt, however, was not due ſolely to her arms, as in achieving it ſhe was very materially aſſiſted by the efforts of the Corſicans themſelves.

In the beginning of 1793, general Paoli, who had long been diſguſted by the conduct of the revoluſtioniſts, began openly to expreſs his diſſatisfaction, and was ſupported in his ſentiments by a great majority of his countrymen, who wiſhed for a ſeparation from France. The convention, on being informed of his proceedings, ſummoned him to its bar, and, as he prudently refuſed to obey this ſummons, it ſhortly after ſet a price upon his head. In the month of May a general aſſembly of the Corſicans was held at Corté, in which the rank of generaliſſimo was unanimouſly conferred by the deputies upon their illuſtrious compatriot. From this time hoſtilities were daily carried on between the iſlanders and the republican troops. The latter were ultimately expelled from all the poſts which they occupied, with the exception of St. Fiorenzo, Calvi, and Baſtia. While the Britiſh forces were maſters of Toulon, an attempt to cooperate with the general was made by lord Hood, but without ſucceſs. After the evacuation of Toulon, his lordſhip reſolved to make a ſerious attempt to ſecure, for Great Britain, the poſſeſſion of Corſica. Major-general Kohler was in conſequence diſpatched to learn from general Paoli the real ſituation of affairs. Within a week he returned with ſo encouraging a report, that the admiral immediately began to make the neceſſary arrangements for the execution of his plan. Not many days elapſed before the whole was completed.

On the twenty-fourth of January the fleet ſet ſail with a fair wind from the bay of Hieres, but, on the next afternoon, juſt as it had arrived within three miles of Iſola Roſſa, between Calvi and St. Fiorenzo, a violent tempeſt aroſe, which

which compelled the admiral to take ſhelter in Porto Ferrajo, where ſome days were ſpent in procuring ſtores, and repairing the damages occaſioned by the ſtorm. Every thing being completed, the ſquadron put to ſea on the fifth of February, and on the ſeventh a part of it, with the tranſports and troops, anchored in a bay adjoining to that of Mortella.

To protect the gulph of St. Fiorenzo, the enemy had erected works on various eminences. The firſt of theſe was ſituated on Cape Mortella, and commanded the bay of the ſame name. It was a ſtrong tower, mounting two eighteen-pounders; the walls of prodigious thickneſs, and the parapets lined with ſeveral feet of baſs junk, filled up with ſand. Beyond this was the redoubt of the Convention, which occupied the ſummit of a detached height, about two hundred and fifty feet above the ſea, and mounted twenty-one pieces of heavy ordnance. Separated from the redoubt of the Convention by a ravine, and nearer to the town of St. Fiorenzo, was the tower and batteries of the height of Fornelli.

To ſecure an anchorage in the bay of Mortella, which is the ſafeſt ſtation in the gulph, it was neceſſary to obtain poſſeſſion of the tower. The troops, to the number of fourteen hundred men were accordingly landed, and a battery was raiſed within a hundred and fifty yards. Two ſhips were alſo ordered to aſſiſt in the attack; but ſuſtaining, in two hours and a half, a loſs of ſixty men killed and wounded, they were compelled to ſhear off without having performed any eſſential ſervice. Such was the ſtrength of the tower, that it was not till after a continued cannonade of two days from the land battery that thirty-two men, compoſing the garriſon, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners.

Feb. 7.

The redoubt of the Convention was ſo ſituated that its ſpeedy reduction was only to be hoped by the eſtabliſhment of batteries upon heights which were apparently inacceſſible. Accuſtomed to diſregard and obſtacles, the officers of the navy cheerfully undertook to place the cannon on the ſpots pointed out to them; and, after four days of inceſſant toil, they ſucceeded in raiſing four eighteen-pounders, a large howitzer, and a ten-inch mortar, to the top of a rugged eminence, not leſs than ſeven hundred feet high. Two batteries were, on the ſixteenth, eſtabliſhed, the one of which enfiladed the redoubt, while the other took it in reverſe. A heavy fire of two days having ſilenced the enemy's guns, and made a practicable breach, three columns of troops, conſiſting of the ſecond battalion of Royals, and the twenty fifth, fifteenth, and fifty-firſt regiments, moved to the aſſault, carried the work with fixed bayonets, and drove the republicans down the ſteep hill in the rear of the redoubt. A hundred of the French were ſlain, and ſixty made priſoners.

Apprehenſive that their retreat would be cut off, the enemy now abandoned their poſt of Fornelli, and began to prepare for the evacuation of St. Fiorenzo. The town was ſummoned to ſurrender by the Britiſh commander, but a negative anſwer was returned to the ſummons. In the afternoon, nevertheleſs, the republicans

Feb. 20.

licans quitted the town, and retired as far as the tower of Tigine, midway between Baſtia and St. Fiorenzo.

Eager to complete the conqueſt of Corſica, Lord Hood propoſed to general Dundas to form the ſiege of Baſtia. The general, thinking this enterprize far beyond his ſtrength, declined undertaking it before the arrival of a reinforcement of two thouſand men, which he expected from Gibraltar. Finding that his colleague was immoveable, his Lordſhip ſet ſail with the fleet, and cruized for a fortnight off Baſtia, as well to gain information, as to intimidate the enemy, and to prevent any ſupplies or ſuccours from being thrown into the town.

The general ſtill perſiſting in his refuſal to act, lord Hood determined to commence the ſiege of Baſtia with the ſmall force which was at his diſpoſal; and he accordingly ordered the remnants of the eleventh, twenty-fifth, thirtieth, and thirty-ninth regiments, to return to the ſquadron, on board of which they had originally been ſent out to ſerve as marines. Along with them he received two officers and thirty men of the artillery, ſome intrenching tools and military ſtores.

In the beginning of April the ſeamen, marines, and ordnance, were ſafely diſembarked to the northward of the town, and the fleet was anchored in a ſemi-lunar form at the entrance of the harbour, juſt out of the range of the enemy's guns. The batteries on the heights being completed, a ſummons March 11. was ſent into the town, to which Lacombe St. Michael, the conventional deputy, replied in a ſtrain of vaunting inſolence. As ſoon as the reſult of the ſummons was known by the admiral, a ſignal was made from the Victory, at ſight of which a ſevere fire was opened upon the town, citadel, and outworks.

For five weeks the attack and defence of Baſtia were continued with equal vigour. The loſs ſuſtained was, however, by no means equal. On the ſide of the beſiegers it was trifling; on the ſide of the beſieged it was of ſerious magnitude, both from the fire of the Britiſh, and the ravages of diſeaſe. At length, hopeleſs of being relieved, the governor, Gentili, conſented to ſurrender the May 22. town. A favourable capitulation was granted him, by which it was agreed that the garriſon ſhould march out with all the honours of war, and be embarked, as ſoon as poſſible, for the port of Toulon.

The reduction of Baſtia did no ſmall honour to the boldneſs and perſeverance of the Britiſh admiral. It is, in truth, aſtoniſhing that, with his ſmall force, he was able to bring the ſiege to a ſucceſsful termination. The diminutive army with which he accompliſhed his deſign conſiſted, excluſive of a corps of Corſican irregulars, of no more than twelve hundred and forty-eight ſoldiers, marines, and ſeamen, officers included. At the commencement of the ſiege the garriſon was ſomewhat more than three thouſand ſtrong. The only artillery uſed by the beſiegers was the lower-deck guns of the men of war, which were worked by the ſailors, under the direction of Captains Hunt, Bullen, and Serocold, and lieutenants

nants Gore, Hotham, Stiles, Andrews, and Briſbane. Among thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their activity and ardour was captain Horatio Nelſon, who commanded a brigade of ſeamen. The killed and wounded of the beſiegers did not amount to more than ſixty men.

The preliminary ſteps had already been taken to unite the kingdom of Corſica with that of Great Britain. Sir Gilbert Elliot was appointed commiſſary plenipotentiary to receive, in his Majeſty's name, the tender of the Corſican crown. On his arrival he opened, in concert with Lord Hood, a correſpondence * with general Paoli, who was requeſted to convene the repreſentatives of the people to deliberate upon the ſubject of a union. Paoli in conſequence addreſſed to his countrymen a circular letter, in which, after reminding them of the tyrannous conduct of France, he laid before them the advantages reſulting from Britiſh protection, and invited them to ſend deputies to form at Corté an aſſembly, where the meaſure now propoſed to them might receive that diſcuſſion which its importance demanded. A proclamation of a ſimilar tenor was likewiſe iſſued by the proviſional council of government.

May 1.

The deputies met on the tenth of June, and choſe general Paoli as their preſident. They did not, however, proceed to the main buſineſs till the fourteenth, when the general opened the ſitting with an eloquent ſpeech, ſtating what had been done ſince their laſt meeting, and for what purpoſe they were at preſent convened. The firſt act of the aſſembly was a vote of thanks to the preſident, with a full and entire approbation of all the meaſures purſued by him ſince he had been inveſted with authority. The ſeparation of Corſica from France, and its union with Great Britain were next decreed without a diſſenting voice, and with every demonſtration of pleaſure. A committee was then appointed to prepare the conſtitutional articles, by which the liberties of the iſland were to be ſecured from future danger. In three days the articles were framed by the committee, and preſented to the aſſembly, which, after an able expoſition of them by the ſecretary, M. Pozzo di Borgo, adopted them with unanimity, and with univerſal applauſe.

The ceremony of receiving the crown was performed on the nineteenth of June. The commiſſary plenipotentiary having firſt ſworn, on the part of his Majeſty, to govern according to the conſtitution, the preſident and members of the aſſembly took the oath of allegiance and fidelity. Two copies of the Act of Union were then ſigned by both parties. On the following day Te Deum was ſung in the cathedral, accompanied by the diſcharge of artillery, and prayers were offered up for the new ſovereign; at night the town was illuminated, and all ranks of people manifeſted, by every means in their power, their loyalty and

* For the whole of the ſtate papers relative to Corſica, ſee the ſtate papers, p. *440 to p. *458.

joy.

joy. Before the aſſembly broke up it voted an addreſs, expreſſive of its gratitude and affection, and deputed four gentlemen to proceed to London, and preſent it to the King.

All that now remained to be done to reſtore peace to the iſland was to expel the republicans from Calvi. The French rulers on their ſide were determined not to let the dominion of Corſica be wreſted from them without a ſtruggle. From Toulon they diſpatched, on the fifteenth of June, ſeven ſail of the line, with a number of troops. However, Lord Hood, who had obtained information of their deſigns, fortunately got ſight of this armament a few days after its departure from port, purſued it, and compelled it to ſeek for ſhelter in the ſhoals of the bay of Gourjean, a ſmall diſtance from Antibes. The bay being protected by formidable batteries, it was impoſſible to make an attack upon the enemy. His Lordſhip, therefore, left admiral Hotham with a ſufficient force to blockade them, and ſailed with the reſt of his ſquadron to co-operate with lieutenant-general Stewart in the reduction of Calvi.

The ſtrength of Calvi was not inconſiderable. The town itſelf was well fortified, but the chief reliance of the garriſon was placed on the outworks, which had been conſtructed with great labour and ſkill. The firſt of theſe outworks was the ſtar-fort Mozello, built of ſtone, bomb proof, and mounting ten pieces of cannon. To its right was a battery of ſix guns, flanked by a ſmall intrenchment. This line covered the town to the weſtward. In its rear, and to the eaſtward, was a battery of three guns on a rocky hill. Advanced on the plain to the ſouth-weſt, but ſeated on a ſteep rock, and commanding the communication between Calvi and the province of Balagni, was fort Mollinocheſco, which was ſupported by the raking fire of two frigates moored in the adjacent bay. The country all round was likewiſe ſo mountainous and rugged as to render any approach to the works a matter of no ſmall difficulty.

The troops were landed at Port Agra, on the nineteenth of June, and in the courſe of the day were encamped on the Serra del Cappucine, a ridge of mountains about three miles from the town of Calvi. For more than a fortnight the ſeamen and ſoldiers were inceſſantly employed in opening roads, dragging guns to the tops of almoſt inacceſſible hills, and collecting military ſtores for the purpoſe of erecting on the ſame night ſix batteries, two of them deſigned for mortars, and four for cannon. One of theſe batteries was intended againſt the Mollinocheſco; the ſecond, of ſix guns, was to be raiſed within ſeven hundred and fifty yards of the Mozello, and a third was to cover and ſupport the latter battery.

By the ſeventh of July the enemy were compelled to abandon the Mollinocheſco, and withdraw the frigates under the protection of the town. A heavy fire was now commenced upon fort Mozello, and was continued, without intermiſſion, till the eighteenth, when, the breach appearing practicable, orders were iſſued for an aſſault upon the whole of the outworks.

Covered by two field-pieces, under

under the direction of lieutenant Newham of the Royal Artillery, the grenadiers, light infantry, and ſecond battalion of the Royals, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Moore of the thirty-firſt, and Major Brereton of the fifty-firſt regiment, were directed to ſtorm fort Mozello. July 19. Lieutenant-colonel Wemyſs, with the Royal Iriſh regiment, was at the ſame time diſpatched to carry the enemy's battery on the left. In both attacks the aſſailants were ſucceſsful. In defiance of a ſhower of ſhot and ſhells they entered the works with fixed bayonets, and quickly compelled the republicans to ſeek for ſafety in flight.

A ſummons was the next day ſent to the governor, Cara Bianca, who anſwered by a poſitive refuſal to give up the town. Batteries were directly commenced, and in nine days thirteen cannon, three howitzers, and four mortars, opened with ſo well-directed fire, that, the enemy being unable to remain at their guns, the governor thought proper to propoſe a capitulation. The garriſon marched out on the tenth of Auguſt with the honours of war, and was allowed to return to France. The total loſs of the beſiegers did not, in killed and wounded, exceed one hundred men. Among the ſlain was the brave captain Serocold; among the wounded was captain Nelſon, who loſt his right eye by a ſhot driving into it with great force ſome ſand from a battery at which he was poſted. The Corſican troops, whoſe gallantry on this as on former occaſions was worthy of applauſe, had their full ſhare in ſlain and diſabled.

The ſurrender of Calvi cloſed the campaign of the Britiſh in Corſica, and left them ſole and uninterrupted poſſeſſors of that extenſive and valuable iſland. We muſt now turn our attention to another part of the globe, where, during the preſent year, hoſtilities were carried on by them with equal bravery and perſeverance, though with greater loſs and leſs continued ſucceſs.

It has in the preceding volume* been ſeen that, ſhortly after the commencement of the conteſt with the regicidal government of France, the Britiſh miniſters reſolved to undertake the conqueſt of the French poſſeſſions in the weſtern hemiſphere. To carry that reſolution into complete effect a formidable force, conſiſting of nearly twelve thouſand men, was collected in the autumn of 1793. At the head of theſe troops was placed general ſir Charles Grey, with the rank of commander in chief in the Weſt Indies. The ſquadron, by which the operations of this army were to be ſeconded, was intruſted to admiral ſir John Jervis, who hoiſted his flag on board the Boyne.

The expedition was on the eve of its departure, when miniſters unexpectedly withdrew from it, for another ſervice, a great part of the artillery, and no leſs than four thouſand ſeven hundred of the troops. With the remainder, however, the general and admiral ſet ſail on the twenty-ſixth of November, and, after a ſtormy paſſage, during which the convoy was diſperſed, they reached Barbadoes on the ſixth of January. They arrived

* See Annual Reg. 1793.

at an inauſpicious hour, the yellow fever having lately raged with great violence in the iſland, and being not wholly rooted out at the moment when the troops were landed.

The moſt active exertions were immediately made to commence the campaign with vigour. Detachments of ſeamen were daily trained to the uſe of ſmall arms and pikes; a number of negroes were procured to attend the army; ſeveral gun-boats of a peculiar conſtruction, which had been framed in England, were put together; the troops were kept continually exerciſed; and ſuch full inſtructions were iſſued for the direction of their future conduct, as left no room to defend criminality by the plea of ignorance.

To what quarter they ſhould firſt direct their efforts now became a ſubject of conſideration with the Britiſh commanders. Diminiſhed as their force was, they reſolved to begin by the conqueſt of Martinico. The reduction of that colony would, they were perſuaded, be ſpeedily followed by the reduction of the others; while, on the contrary, the loſs they muſt inevitably ſuſtain, if they commenced by attacking the ſmaller iſlands, would render any attempt upon Martinico a deſperate and fruitleſs enterprize.

The fleet ſailed from Barbadoes on the third of February, and on the fifth it reached the coaſt of Martinico, along which it ſailed for ſome diſtance, occaſionally ſending on ſhore detachments to ſpike the guns of ſmall batteries, which were opened by the enemy. To divide the attention of the republicans, and to alarm them in every quarter at once, the Britiſh commanders reſolved to effect three ſeparate landings, at places remote from each other.

Upon the north ſhore of the iſland a diviſion, under major-general Dundas, was landed on the fifth and ſixth in the bay of Gallion, about a league from the town of La Trinité; the commander in chief and lieutenant-general Preſcot, with the principal part of the army, made good their landing at the ſame time at the ſouthern ſide near Trois Rivieres; and, on the eighth, colonel ſir Charles Gordon diſembarked with the reſt of the troops at Caſe de Navire. Feb. 5-6, 1794.

The diviſion under general Dundas drove the enemy from La Bruen, took poſſeſſion of La Trinité, and, puſhing forward over the Gros Morne, the forts on which were abandoned by the republicans, it halted, on the evening of the ninth, upon Morne Bruneau, not more than two leagues from Fort Bourbon.

As the ſquadron could not enter the bay of Fort Royal while Pigeon iſland remained in the hands of the French, ſir Charles Grey, on his landing at Trois Rivieres with the ſecond column, immediately diſpatched brigadier-general Whyte, with the ſecond battalion of light infantry to accompliſh its reduction. In two hours after the batteries were opened the garriſon was compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion. As ſoon as ſir Charles Grey was apprized of this event he moved from La Riviere Sallée to Morne Bruneau, to which poſt lieutenant-general Preſcot had advanced on the preceding day with a part of the troops.

Sir

Sir Charles Gordon, with the third brigade, was equally ſucceſsful. He drove the republicans from the whole of their batteries between Caſe de Navire and Fort Royal, and occupied the poſts of Gentilly, La Coſte, and L'Archot, within a league of Fort Bourbon.

Before they commenced their operations againſt Forts Bourbon and Royal, the Britiſh commanders thought it proper to make themſelves maſters of the town of St. Pierre, the capital of the iſland. This ſervice was performed by a column of troops under general Dundas, and a part of the ſquadron. The republicans, however, did not yield the town without a ſtruggle, in which two Britiſh officers, colonel Campbell and lieutenant Keating were unfortunately ſlain. Feb. 17.

To inveſt Fort Bourbon completely it was neceſſary for the beſiegers to poſſeſs the heights of Sourier, on which Bellegarde, a black leader, was encamped with a conſiderable force of mulattoes and blacks. Sir Charles Grey accordingly formed a plan of attack which was to be put in execution on the morning of the nineteenth. The temerity of the ſable leader ſaved the Britiſh general more than half the trouble and danger of the projected attack. Deſcending from his camp, at the head of nearly all the troops he could muſter, Bellegarde fell with great ſpirit upon the Britiſh left, in order to cut off the communication between the army and the fleet. From the heights of Bruneau this movement was perceived by ſir Charles Grey, who inſtantly ſeized the favourable opportunity, and diſpatched the third battalion of grenadiers, and the firſt and ſecond of light infantry, under lieutenant-colonels Buckridge, Coote, and Blundell, to attack the camp of Sourier. The camp was carried, with inconſiderable loſs, by a determined aſſault. Bellegarde had by this time been driven back, and, unconſcious of what had happened, was retreating to his former ſtation, when he was ſaluted with a diſcharge from his own artillery at Sourier, and was obliged to retire under the walls of Fort Bourbon. As the French commander, general Rochambeau, refuſed to admit him into the fort, and his ſituation on the outſide of it was not a little perilous, he, in a few days, deſired to capitulate, and was allowed to ſail for America, leaving his followers as priſoners of war. Feb. 18.

General Rochambeau now diſpatched an aid de camp with an offer to give up the iſland, on condition that it ſhould be reſtored to Louis the ſeventeenth, if ever he aſcended the throne, or to the republic, ſhould that form of government be recognized at the concluſion of a peace. This propoſal, certainly not an unreaſonable one, the ſyſtem of ſpoliation adopted, in common with its allies, by the Britiſh cabinet, did not allow the commander in chief to accede to, or even to diſcuſs; and he in conſequence returned for anſwer that "he came expreſsly to take Martinico for his Britannic Majeſty, "and that he hoped to take all "the French iſlands in this quarter "on the ſame account." Feb. 19.

For nearly three weeks three hundred ſailors were employed without intermiſſion in opening

roads through the woods, and dragging cannon, frequently after heavy rains, to the top of hills which are so steep that for a mile of the ascent loaded mules cannot proceed in a strait direction. Not a single complaint escaped these brave fellows, except once, when the general happening to meet them, they in a ludicrous manner addressed him upon the hardship of having all the work and none of the fighting, and expressed a hope that they might be allowed to have some share in the latter. Their remonstrance procured them the pleasing information that a battery had been set apart, the service of which was to be performed entirely by themselves.

The batteries of the first parallel being at length ready, general Rochambeau was summoned, but without effect. A March 7. heavy fire was immediately opened both upon Fort Bourbon and Fort Royal, the latter of which had for some time been exposed during the night to a cannonade from the gun-boats. By the twentieth the works were advanced within little more than four hundred yards of Fort Bourbon, and the batteries of the second parallel were completed.

The success of an attempt which was made by some of the boats of the squadron upon a frigate in the bay, induced the admiral to believe that it was not impracticable to carry Fort Royal by a vigorous assault. A plan of conjoint attack was accordingly arranged by the British commanders. It was agreed that while a division of troops assailed the fort by land, all the gun and row boats of the fleet, protected by the Asia of sixty-four and the Zebra of sixteen guns, should storm it on the side next the sea.

For a day previously to the attack a tremendous fire was kept up against the fort from all the batteries on Morne Tortenson and Morne Garnier. March 20. At twelve in the morning the ships and boats entered the bay under a shower of grape-shot. From a want of precision in Monsieur de Tovrelles, the ancient intendant of the port, who had undertaken to pilot the vessel, the Asia was unable to get up to her appointed station. Seeing little hope of being seconded by the Asia, captain Faulkner of the Zebra bravely ran his ship close to the walls of the fort, scaled the ramparts with his men, and got possession of this important post before the boats could reach the land. The troops almost at the same moment entered the town of Fort Royal, and hoisted the British colours. A part of the garrison effected its retreat to Fort Bourbon.

Fort Royal, which was his grand depôt of provisions and ammunition, being lost, general Rochambeau was compelled to make proposals of capitulation. The articles were speedily settled. The garrison, to the number March 25. of nine hundred men, marched out with all the customary honours, and was embarked for France, on condition of not serving against the King or his allies during the continuance of the present war.

St. Lucia was the next object which engaged the attention of the British commanders. Leaving a sufficient force to defend Martinico, sir Charles Grey set sail, on the

the thirty-first, with the remainder of his army. On the next day he made good a landing in three different places; and by the third of April the French troops on the island laid down their arms, on the same terms which had been granted to the garrison at Fort Bourbon. The conquest of St. Lucia was accomplished without the loss of a single man on the side of the conquerors.

The general immediately returned to Martinico, took in a supply of stores and provisions, and then sailed to attempt the reduction of Guadaloupe. The Boyne and the Vengeance, with some of the transports, arrived on the afternoon of the tenth of April, in the bay of Point à Petre, off the village of Gosier, but the remainder of the fleet was prevented from getting in by a fresh wind and a lee current. Lord Seaforth, in the Winchelsea, having silenced the enemy's batteries, the troops were landed early on the morning of the eleventh. In the course of the day much of the stores got in, and the disembarkation was nearly completed.

Perceiving the enemy to be in considerable force at Fort Louis, our [illegible] resolved to [illegible] April 12. [illegible] immediately. At five in the morning the troops advanced in three divisions [illegible]. The [illegible] were to [illegible] the bayonet alone. They succeeded, under a heavy fire of grape-shot, up the hill on [illegible], and, in spite of a [illegible] fire of musketry, [illegible] way through the entrenchments, made themselves masters of the work, and put to the sword the largest portion of the garrison. Between seventy and eighty of the assailants were killed and wounded in this desperate enterprize. The name of the fort was changed by the general to Fort Prince of Wales. The success of the attack put the British in possession of that half of Guadaloupe which is known by the denomination of Grand Terre.

Basse Terre was reduced with still less difficulty. The troops were put on shore at Petit Bourg on the fourteenth, and, on the morning, the batteries on the heights of Fannie having been carried by the British, the governor, general Collett, capitulated on the same terms which had been granted to the governors of the other islands. The islands called The Saints had already been captured by a detachment from the army; De rade and Marigalante were included in the present capitulation. The garrison marched out on the twenty-second from Fort Charles, to which was given the name of Fort Matilda.

Here terminated the good fortune of the British arms in the Caribbean islands. Before the middle of the year the yellow fever had made fatal havoc among the troops, who were exhausting by incessant exertion, that there was not a sufficient number remaining alive for the defence of any one of the colonies which they had conquered in the course of the campaign. Only two small reinforcements, not more than sixteen hundred men, had arrived from England, and these the commander in chief had dispatched to St. Domingo, which he knew stood in need of immediate succour.

In this situation of affairs, and just as general Thomas Dundas, [2 B] the

the governor of Guadaloupe, was expiring, a French ſquadron, conſiſting of two frigates, a corvette, two fours armed en flute, and two other ſhips, with fifteen hundred troops, appeared off Grand Terre.

June 3. A landing was immediately effected by the enemy, who advanced againſt Fort Prince of Wales, which, on the ſixth, they carried by ſtorm, after a gallant reſiſtance on the part of the Engliſh garriſon. The loſs of this important poſt was occaſioned by the cowardly conduct of ſome of the royaliſt iſlanders, who formed conſiderably more than one half of the force intruſted with its defence. About forty or fifty of the garriſon eſcaped to Baſſe Terre.

Not expecting any further aid to arrive from home till the month of November, ſir Charles Grey had taken leave of his army, and ſailed for England. A ſchooner was diſpatched after him, which fortunately found him at St. Chriſtopher's. The general immediately returned to Guadaloupe, and began to make preparations for the expulſion of the enemy. His firſt movement gave a favourable omen. A republican diviſion, which had landed on Baſſe Terre, and encamped at St. Jean or Gabarne, was ſurprized in the night, and the

June 16. greateſt part of it put to the ſword. The ſurvivors only eſcaped by plunging into the ſea, and ſwimming acroſs the harbour.

As ſoon as he was joined by the troops which he had called to his aſſiſtance from the neighbouring iſlands, the general proceeded to Grand Terre, on which he landed without oppoſition, and moved to Grozier, which was abandoned by the enemy. The republicans were now driven from the heights near the fort, and batteries were erected. In two deſperate attempts which they made to recover the heights, they were beaten back with a terrible ſlaughter.

The ſetting in of the rainy ſeaſon, the approach of the hurricane months, and the hope that the foe had been much weakened by the late defeats, induced the general to make a bold effort to finiſh at once the campaign, by an aſſault upon Fort Prince of Wales, the heights of Morne Gouvernment, and the town of Point à Petre. The attack upon Morne Gouvernment and Point à Petre was intruſted to brigadier-general Symes, who, in caſe of ſucceſs, was to make a ſignal for the commander in chief to move from Morne Maſcat againſt Fort Prince of Wales.

This ſcheme unfortunately failed in its execution. Miſled by the guides, the troops were

July 2. expoſed at every ſtep of the march to a galling and deſtructive fire from the republican batteries, which mowed down whole ranks of them. They penetrated into the town, but having loſt ſeveral hundred men, and being aſſailed by round and grape ſhot from all quarters, they were at length under the neceſſity of retreating back to Morne Maſcat. In this fatal affair, thirty-eight officers and nearly ſeven hundred privates were either ſlain or wounded.

The ſeaſon for action was now paſt, and the army was thinned by the ſword, and debilitated by fatigue and diſeaſe. A retreat became therefore abſolutely neceſſary. The troops were accordingly led back from

from Grand Terre to the part of the iſland which yet remained in the power of the Britiſh. Batteries were raiſed along the narrow channel which ſeparates Grand Terre from Baſſe Terre, and a camp was eſtabliſhed at Berville, under the command of general Graham. Having taken theſe precautions, the admiral and general departed for Martinico.

Two months paſſed away, during which the Britiſh in Baſſe Terre were little moleſted by the republicans. They had, however, to cope with a far more formidable enemy. From the ſwampy nature of the ground on which they were encamped, malignant fevers broke out among them, and made ſuch a rapid progreſs that by September the troops were inadequate to furniſh hands for the different batteries. Several companies could not produce a ſingle man fit for duty, and ſo many officers had died, that field officers were in the end compelled to mount captain's guard.

Victor Hugues, the republican general, at length found himſelf ſtrong enough to undertake offenſive operations. By regimenting and diſciplining the negroes and mulattoes, who flocked to his ſtandard on the offer of emancipation, he had collected a very numerous force. On the twenty-ſeventh of September he embarked his troops, paſſed the Britiſh cruizers unperceived, and got footing on Baſſe Terre. As the enemy advanced towards camp Berville they put to death all the ſick and wounded who fell into their hands.

Camp Berville was ſpeedily ſurrounded, and all communication cut off between the camp and the ſhips. Three violent aſſaults were made upon it by the republicans, in all of which they were repulſed, with a loſs eſtimated at not leſs than two thouſand men. Reſiſtance, however, though honourable, was ſoon found to be fruitleſs. On the ſixth of October the Britiſh troops, now reduced to one hundred and twenty-five rank and file, ſurrendered, on condition of being ſent to England. Three hundred royaliſts, who had diſplayed the moſt exemplary bravery in defence of the camp, were given up to the conquerors, by whom they were put to death in the moſt barbarous manner. The guillotine was firſt employed, but that being thought too tedious, the remainder of the priſoners were tied together, fired upon by the ſoldiers, and then thrown, ſome dead, ſome dying, and ſome unhurt, into the trenches of the camp, where they were inſtantly buried by their brutal murderers. When ſir Charles Grey was informed of this maſſacre, he, with equal judgment and feeling, iſſued an order that no capitulation ſhould in future be accepted from the enemy, in which the ſafety of the royaliſts was not as effectually ſecured as that of the Britiſh.

From camp Berville Victor Hugues marched to fort Matilda, in which general Preſcot commanded, and which was the laſt poſt of the Engliſh in Guadaloupe. By the twentieth of October the ſiege was completely formed, and batteries were opened from the ſurrounding heights. General Preſcot, however, defended himſelf with te utmoſt vigour till the tenth of December, when the fort being nearly demoliſhed, he embarked the garriſon in the night, without the loſs of a man,

men, and retired on board the squadron which had been cruizing off the coast, and had given him occasional assistance from the time when the republican army commenced its operations.

The smallness of the force at St. Domingo occasioned the war to be languidly carried on in that island for some time subsequently to the commencement of the campaign. The British, however, notwithstanding the scantiness of their means, continued awhile to gain ground. About the middle of January the parishes of Jean Rabel, St. Marc, Arcahaye, Boucassin, and Legane, surrendered on the same terms as had been granted to Cape Nicholas Mole and other places. Cape Tiberoon, which had been fruitlessly attacked in the preceding year, was reduced on the second of February by a colonial division, aided by a detachment of English troops. The post of l'Acul was also assaulted and taken by lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke. The lieutenant-colonel was not quite so fortunate in an attempt which he made to induce the French general Lavaux to give up the town of Port de Paix for a gratuity of five thousand pounds. His proposition was delivered to the general before the whole of the garrison, and the consequence was an answer couched in the language of complaint, reproach, and defiance.

In the month of April the republicans made an attack upon Tiberoon, but were repulsed with great loss by the colonial troops under Monsieur de Sevré. The Baron de Montalembert likewise defeated, with a small detachment, a corps of fifteen hundred men, which Regaud, the black leader, had collected for the purpose of recovering the post of l'Acul. The British, on the other hand, received a slight check at Bombarde from the conventional forces.

Every hour now added to the impatience of those who had thrown themselves upon the protection of the British Sovereign. At length, when the colonists began to despair of any succours from England, and when some parishes had even gone over to the enemy, the reinforcement, which had been forwarded by sir Charles Grey, arrived at Mole St. Nicholas. It consisted of the twenty-second, twenty-third, and forty-first regiments of infantry, commanded by major-general Whyte.

In concurrence with lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke, and commodore Ford, the major-general formed, immediately on his arrival, a plan of attack upon Port au Prince, the residence of the commissioners, and the harbour of which was known to contain a booty of no small value. The force embarked for the attack consisted of fourteen hundred and sixty-five men, and was escorted by three sail of the line, one fifty gun ship, three frigates, and three sloops.

A part of the troops, under major Spencer, were landed, on the first of June, near Fort Bizotton, which was carried by assault the same evening. The remainder were the next day landed on the opposite side of the bay, whence they advanced against the town. Port au Prince not being tenable, the republican commissioners now withdrew from it, with their treasure and their partizans, and effected their retreat to Jaquemel, without the least molestation from the Bri-

tish

tiſh army, which moved forward ſo ſlowly that it was not till the fourth of June that it made its entrance into the place. In the harbour the conquerors found twenty-three veſſels in ballaſt, and twenty-two richly laden with ſugar, indigo, cotton and coffee.

The capture of Port au Prince forms a remarkable epoch in the hiſtory of the war carried on in St. Domingo by the Britiſh forces. We ſhall, therefore, reſerve for our next volume the narrative of thoſe events which took place in the latter part of the year 1794, and cloſe for the preſent our detail of military operations in the weſtern hemiſphere.

CHRONICLE.

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1794.

JANUARY.

1st. LAST week arrived from Sierra Leone, the Felicity, captain Wenham, with a cargo of wax, camwood, &c.—The diſpatches by this ſhip contain very flattering accounts of the health of the colony, and of its progreſs in commercial purſuits; but we are ſorry to add, that they bring alſo an account of the death of prince Naimbonna, who expired on the evening of his arrival at Sierra Leone, of a putrid fever, contracted on ſhipboard, in the courſe of his paſſage from this country. This amiable young man had been for ſome ſhort time in England, under the protection of the Sierra Leone company. He poſſeſſed a very excellent underſtanding, a diſpoſition earneſt in the purſuit of knowledge, and great facility in receiving inſtruction. His mental acquirements, during his ſtay in this country, were the ſubject of much admiration, and his eaſy addreſs and ſuavity of manners, endeared him to all thoſe to whom he was introduced. He had imbibed, and he profeſſed to the laſt moment of his exiſtence, the ſtrongeſt attachment to the principles of the Proteſtant faith, and by his will (made in the beginning of his illneſs) earneſtly requeſted his relations to oppoſe the ſlave trade, and to befriend the Sierra Leone company to the utmoſt of their power.

6th. *Edinburgh.* This morning the court proceeded in the trial of William Skirving, accuſed of circulating a ſeditious writing or paper, dated "Dundee Berean Meeting-houſe, July, 1793," being the ſame hand-bill for which Mr. Palmer was ſentenced to tranſportation, with having been a member of a ſociety denominated, "Friends of the People."

8th. *St. James's.* His excellency Yuſuf Adijah Effendi, embaſſador from the ſublime porte, attended by his ſecretary and interpreter, had his firſt private audience with his majeſty.

The ſame day, the king in council ſigned an order for the tranſportation of Meſſrs. Muir and Palmer to Botany Bay, for the term ſentenced by the court of juſticiary in Scotland.

13th. The London Gazette contains proclamations ordering public faſts, on account of the war, one to be obſerved in England, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed, on Friday the 28th of February next, and the other in Scotland, on Thurſday the 27th of the ſame month.

9th. *Edinburgh.* This morning about ten o'clock, a vaſt croud aſſembled in front of the Black-Bull inn, where Maurice Margarot, indicted for ſeditious practices, lodged. He ſhortly after came out attended by three friends. When he got the length of the regiſter-office, the mob forced all the four into a chaiſe which they had provided, and from which they had previouſly taken the horſes. This done, they immediately drew the carriage to the parliament cloſe, where Margarot and his friends alighted, and walking into the parliament-houſe, he aſſiſted himſelf at the bar. On his way home, Mr. Margarot was again forced into a carriage by the mob, along with five of his friends, and the horſes being taken from the coach, the mob drew him to his lodgings at the Black Bull inn.

10th. To prevent a repetition of ſuch indecent outrages, the provoſt and ſheriff depute, iſſued a proclamation, that all perſons concurring in them, ſhould be taken into cuſtody, and proſecuted as riotous and diſorderly perſons, and diſturbers of the public peace.

13th. The Lord Provoſt and magiſtrates followed up their proclamations, by aſſembling a large body of officers and others to keep the peace; they iſſued an order that no hackney coaches ſhould ply in the ſtreets, and in the morning, the Lord Provoſt appeared at the head of the force, collected to diſperſe any tumultuous cavalcade that might accompany Margarot to the court. About ten o'clock, Mr. Margarot and his friends appeared, ſurrounded by a multitude of people, all on foot, and ranged in rank and file, bearing a white flag, on which was inſcribed theſe words, *Law, Liberty, Reaſon, Juſtice*, and *Truth*. The mob had no weapons of any kind, and were perfectly quiet. As ſoon as they made their appearance, entering the bridge from the new town, the provoſt and his cavalcade marched forward to meet them, and the two bodies met on the bridge. The magiſtrates immediately ſeized the flag, diſperſed the multitude, took ſome of the moſt forward of the mob into cuſtody, and then proceeded to the parliament-houſe, with Margarot, and his friend Mr. Brown, where they left him to take his trial, while they went to hold a council to deliberate on what ſteps they ſhould take for the preſervation of the peace.

The trial commenced immediately, and laſted till three o'clock the next morning, when ſentence of tranſportation for 14 years was paſſed upon him. (See App. to the Chron.)

Alexander Callender, indicted for a ſimilar offence, having failed to appear, was outlawed.

16th. James Lyon was indicted at the Old Bailey, for feloniouſly uttering forged ſcrip receipts for 16,000l. ſtock, in the 3-per cent. annuities, with intent to defraud Francis Barroneau, Eſq. and the governors and company of the Bank of England. The indictment conſiſted of twelve counts, to all of which he pleaded guilty. The lord Chief Baron pathetically admoniſhed him to alter his plea, as it would not give him a greater claim to mercy. The indictment was then read a ſecond time, but he

he ſtill pleaded as before; Mr. Garrow, counſel for the proſecution, having ineffectually recapitulated the arguments of the lord Chief Baron, Mr. Juſtice Groſe enquired of the priſoner his reaſon for this extraordinary perſeverance; to which he anſwered, that it aroſe from the poignancy of his feelings, on reflecting that his ſiſter was the principal witneſs againſt him; whereupon Meſſrs. Wood and Knowlys, his counſel, prevailed with him to demur to the indictment, as by admitting the facts, the determination of his caſe, as a point of law, would devolve to the judges.

20th. This demurrer was argued at the Old Bailey, but the deciſion poſtponed.

21ſt. Some workmen in a coal-pit, near Newcaſtle, holing an old waſte, charged with inflammable air, one of their candles occaſioned an exploſion, by which 25 men and boys, and 16 horſes, were killed.

23d. *Paris.* A deputation of Americans was admitted to the bar of the national convention, and the orator demanded the pardon of Thomas Paine, that apoſtle of liberty, who had been proſcribed in England, and whoſe arreſt was a ſpecies of triumph to all the tyrants on earth. His papers had been examined, and far from finding any dangerous propoſitions, the committee had traced only the characters of that burning zeal for liberty—of that eloquence of nature and philoſophy—and of thoſe principles of public morality, which had through life procured him the hatred of deſpots, and the love of his fellow citizens. They demanded, therefore, with confidence, that Thomas Paine ſhould be reſtored to the fraternal embrace of his fellow citizens, and they offered themſelves ſureties for his conduct during the ſhort time that he ſhould remain in France.

The preſident, after a high compliment to the American people, ſaid, "You demand from us Thomas Paine—you are anxious to re-conduct to your own ſides the aſſerter of the Rights of Man. We muſt applaud this generous devotion. Thomas Paine was born in England—that was enough to ſubject him to the decree in the firſt inſtance, which our own ſafety demanded by the revolutionary laws. The convention will take into conſideration your demand.

28th. The following circumſtances are detailed to the public, as having attended a late marriage between his royal highneſs Prince Auguſtus Frederick, and lady Auguſta Murray, daughter of the earl of Dunmore.

His royal highneſs met with lady Dunmore and her two daughters at Rome: a mutual attachment enſued between him and lady Auguſta they were married according to the forms of that country, and the lady became pregnant. On their return to England leſt any objection ſhould ariſe on account of the marriage having been ſolemnized in a foreign country, and by a catholic prieſt, banns were regularly publiſhed in Saint George's church, Hanover-ſquare, in the names of Auguſtus Frederick, and Auguſta Murray, without title, and the clergyman who publiſhed the banns and performed the ceremony, appears to have entertained no ſuſpicion of the real

rank of the parties. When the king was apprized of these circumstances, Mr. Heseltine, his majesty's proctor, by his special instruction, served a citation on lady Augusta, as the commencement of a suit in the Arches Court at Doctor's Commons, to nullify the marriage. The ground of attack is not the non-performance of the ceremony, but the legal incapacity of the prince to contract a marriage; an incapacity created by the royal marriage act, which declares that no descendant of George II. except those born of princesses married into foreign families, shall be capable of contracting marriage before the age of 25 years, without the king's consent previously signified in council; that, in case his majesty should refuse his consent, any such descendant having attained the age of 25 years, and wishing to marry, shall notify the name of the person, to whom he or she wishes to be united, to the king and privy council, and, at the expiration of twelve months from the date of such notification, such descendant shall be at liberty to marry the person so named, unless the two houses of parliament shall in the mean time have presented addresses to the king against such marriage. And the act declares all marriages contracted by every descendant of George II. except as above excepted, without a compliance with the forms therein enacted, absolutely null and void. It is not pretended that the king's consent was given or asked; but, that a marriage has been celebrated in the face of the church, with all the forms prescribed by law, for every man and woman in in England not descended from George II., and that issue has been born of that marriage.

Dublin. Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Esq. was tried in the Court of King's Bench, on an information filed *ex officio*, by the attorney-general, for publishing, on the 16th of December, 1792, a false, scandalous, malicious, and seditious libel, purporting to be "*An Address from the United Irishmen of Dublin, to the people of Ireland.*" Objections were taken to the evidence produced on behalf of the prosecution, and an attempt was made to prove that one of them was not to be believed on oath. The prisoner had all the benefits of Mr. Curran's eloquence in his defence, but the facts being clearly proved, the jury, after consulting only three minutes, pronounced him *guilty*, and he was conveyed to Newgate to await his sentence. 30th.

A smart shock of an earthquake was felt at Kirby Wisk, in the county of York, about nine o'clock this morning; its vibration continued four minutes. 31st.

DIED.—Lately in Capel Street, Dublin, aged 102, Mr. Owen O'Neill.

Guillotined in Paris, Armand Louis Goutaud, *ci-devant* duke of Biron, nephew of the late marshal Biron, *ci-devant* general of the republic, in Italy and La Vendée. He was better known in England by the title of duke de Lauzun. He inherited the title of Biron from his uncle. While duke de Lauzun he lived quite in the English style; his dress, his horses, his servants, were English; and in person he

had very much the appearance of an Engliſhman. It was by Engliſh influence that his anceſtor was raiſed to the rank of duke. It was to the then count de Lauzun, that king James II. committed the care of his queen and infant ſon, when he ſent them off to France. The count's conduct on this occaſion was ſo pleaſing to the king, that he requeſted Louis XIV. would reward him for it, by conferring upon him the ducal dignity, which that monarch readily conſented to do. Unfortunately for himſelf, he was too much in the habits of intimacy with the late duke of Orleans. Had they never been friends, the duke de Biron would not have died on a ſcaffold; he would have ſupported the throne of his lawful ſovereign; or like a brave man, and a loyal ſubject, buried himſelf under its ruins.

Alſo, aged 25, Armand Louis Philip Cuſtine, jun. ſon of the late general Cuſtine, born at Paris, formerly miniſter plenipotentiary of Louis XVI. at Berlin, adjutant general of the army on the Rhine, convicted of manœuvres, conſpiracies, &c. During the whole of his trial he exhibited an uncommon coolneſs.

Alſo Nicholas Luckner, born at Kempf, in Bavaria, 72 years of age, ſettled at Straſburg, formerly a nobleman, employed in the Hanoverian army, a lieutenant-general, marſhal of France, commander in chief of the armies of the Rhine and the North. He was convicted of being the author and accomplice of a conſpiracy, which exiſted between the late king and his miniſters, ſeveral generals of the French armies, and the external enemies of France, tending to facilitate by all poſſible means, the entrance of the leagued power on the French territory, and to favour the progreſs of their arms, by delivering up to them the forts, towns, and fortreſſes on the frontiers. His two ſons are in the ſervice of the prince of Denmark, and his daughter is married to a Daniſh nobleman. He had a large eſtate in Holſtein.

Alſo Adrien Lamourette, aged 52, *ci-devant* member of the legiſlative aſſembly, and conſtitutional biſhop of the department of the Rhone and the Loire. On being queſtioned as to his connections with Mirabeau, he declared that he was convinced of the very immoral character of that man ſo ſhamefully celebrated. He alſo acknowledged himſelf to be the author of the diſcourſes pronounced by Mirabeau on eccleſiaſtical matters.

DIED.—17th. At his ſeat at Luxborough, full of years and honour, ſir Edward Hughes. K. B. admiral of the blue ſquadron of his majeſty's fleet. He had ſerved in the navy for more than half a century; was made a lieutenant for his ſervices at the taking of Porto Bello under admiral Vernon, and ſerved as captain under admiral Boſcawen, at the taking of Louiſbourg, and with ſir Charles Saunders, at the taking of Quebec. As an admiral, he commanded in chief in the Eaſt Indies during the late war, and ſupported the honour of his country in ſeveral actions with an active enemy, to whom he was always inferior in number of ſhips. In private life, the goodneſs of his heart led him to acts of benevolence, which, though not oſtentatious in themſelves,

ſelves, will remain recorded in the memories of many.

FEBRUARY.

2d. It appears by Lloyd's liſts, that from the 1ſt of February 1793, to the 1ſt of February 1794, 316 ſhips have been taken by all the allied powers from the French, and that the French have taken from the allied powers 410. The balance therefore of captures is 94 in favour of France.

3d. Their majeſties having commanded a play at the little theatre in the Haymarket, a great crowd aſſembled before the pit-door, which being opened, a woman was thrown down; others preſſing forward, fell over her, and all were trampled on by the crowd, who paſſed over their bodies into the houſe. The ſcreams of the dying were heard by thoſe, who were urged forward by the crowd behind, and involuntarily trampling them to death. Seven lifeleſs bodies were carried into Mr. Wynch's, a druggiſt, near the theatre, ſome to the ſhops of other medical men, and others to St. Martin's watch-houſe to be owned. Every remedy was tried to reſtore animation, in caſe it ſhould only have been ſuſpended; but without effect, except in the caſe of Mr. Brandon, of Tooley-ſtreet, whoſe nephew, ſiſter-in-law, and niece were all killed. The number deſtroyed was fifteen, among whom, were Benjamin Pingo, Eſq. York Herald, of the Herald's college, J. C. Brooke, Eſq. Somerſet Herald, of the Herald's college; Mrs. Willis, and Mr. Willis, wife and ſon of Mr. Willis, attorney, of Gray's Inn; nearly twenty others ſuffered material injuries in bruiſes and broken limbs. This unfortunate event was not generally known in the theatre, till late in the evening; and was kept from the knowledge of their majeſties, till the play was over.

6th. The arrival of the Swallow packet at Torbay, having on board marquis Cornwallis, and part of his ſuite, was announced at the India houſe.

The Swallow left Madras the 10th of October, and was convoyed by admiral Cornwallis to the ſouthward of the equator. When ſhe left India, all the poſſeſſions of the company were in an unexampled ſtate of proſperity; five lacks of pagodas had been ſent to Bengal from Madras, and there were ſtill five lacks remaining in the treaſury of Fort St. George.

Tippoo Saib had made all his payments, and pledged himſelf in the moſt decided manner, to have no concern or alliance with the French convention, and the nabob of Arcot and rajah of Tanjore had uſed the moſt ſpirited exertions in ſupplying our forces with neceſſaries on their march to Pondicherry.

7th. The duke of York, accompanied by two aides-de-camp, arrived in town from the continent. His royal highneſs came paſſenger in the Veſtal frigate, which accompanied prince Adolphus to Oſtend, and landed at Ramſgate in fourteen hours.

The court of King's Bench in Ireland decided, after a long and able argument, that Mr. Archibald Hamilton Rowan ſhall not have a new trial; and he was ſentenced to

to two years impriſonment, a fine of 500l., and to give ſecurities for his good behaviour, for ſeven years, himſelf being bound in a penalty of 2,000l., and two other perſons in 1,000l. each.

The following ſpirited action deſerves to be recorded:

8th. *Falmouth.* The Antelope packet ſailed from Port Royal, November 27. On the firſt of December, on the coaſt of Cuba, ſhe fell in with two ſchooners, one of which, the Atalanta, outſailed her conſort, and after chaſing the Antelope for a conſiderable time, and exchanging many ſhots, at five o'clock in the enſuing morning, it being calm, rowed up, grappled with her on the ſtarboard ſide, poured in a broadſide, and made an attempt to board, which was repulſed with great ſlaughter.

By this broadſide, Mr. Curtis, the maſter and commander of the Antelope, the firſt mate, ſhip's ſteward, and a French gentleman, a paſſenger, fell. The command then devolved on the boatſwain, (for the ſecond mate had died of the fever on the paſſage) who, with the few brave men left, aſſiſted by the paſſengers, repelled many attempts to board. The boatſwain, at laſt obſerving that the privateer had cut her grapplings, and was attempting to ſheer off, ran aloft, and laſhed her ſquare-ſail-yard to the Antelope's fore ſhrouds, and immediately pouring in a few vollies of ſmall arms, which did great execution, the enemy called for quarter, which was inſtantly granted, although the French had the bloody flag hoiſted, during the whole conteſt. The prize was carried into Annotta Bay about eleven o'clock the next morning.

The Antelope ſailed with 27 hands, but had loſt four before the action, by the fever, beſides two then unfit for duty; ſo that the ſurgeon being neceſſarily in the cock-pit, they engaged with only 20 men, beſides the paſſengers.

The Atalanta was fitted out at Charleſtown, mounted eight three-pounders, and carried 65 men, French, Americans, and Iriſh, of whom 49 were killed or wounded in the action, the Antelope having only two killed and three wounded, one mortally.

The houſe of Aſſembly at Jamaica, as a reward for this moſt gallant action, voted 500 guineas, 200 to be paid to the maſter's widow: 100 to the firſt mate's; 100 to the boatſwain, and 100 among the reſt of the crew.

Vienna. A ſhock of an earthquake was very ſenſibly felt in this capital, on Thurſday laſt, at about one o'clock P. M.

Boſton. In the aſſembly of New York on the 13th ult. Mr. Wilcocks moved,—"That the titles of *excellency*, *honourable*, *eſquire*, and all other characteriſtic deſignations not warranted by the conſtitution, and which are unneceſſary, and inconſiſtent with the *plainneſs and real dignity of republican manners*, be aboliſhed." On the 17th the motion was debated, and negatived.

Court of King's Bench, 9th. Weſtminſter. Caſe of Mr. Purefoy. A bill of indictment was found againſt the priſoner, in the county of Kent, for the wilful murder of Henry Roper; and he not having appeared and pleaded, proceſs of outlawry had iſſued, and

he ſtood attainted of felony and murder. Being required to ſhew cauſe why execution ſhould not be awarded againſt him, Mr. Purefoy prayed for a writ of error and reverſal of outlawry, on the ground that at the time of awarding the proceſs, and long before and after, he was beyond the ſeas, to wit, at Tournay, in Flanders, and conſequently could not ſurrender himſelf. The attorney-general admitting the truth of that fact, Mr. Juſtice Aſhhurſt ordered the outlawry to be reverſed, and Mr. Purefoy to be reſtored to every thing he had loſt by the judgment. The attorney-general then obtained a writ of procedendo, to carry the indictment back to the aſſizes, in order that the priſoner might be tried, and Mr. Purefoy was remanded.

10th. Mr. Muir, under ſentence of tranſportation, was conveyed from Newgate to the place appointed for his embarkation for New South Wales. Mr. Palmer was ſent off ſome days before. About 60 female convicts were put on board a veſſel at Blackfriars bridge, deſtined to the ſame voyage.

Information was received at the Sierra Leone houſe of the progreſs of that colony, to the 20th of December laſt. The natives continued perfectly friendly; ſome of the neighbouring chiefs had ſent their children to be educated at Sierra Leone, others propoſed to ſend them in the enſuing dry ſeaſon. The rainy ſeaſon had paſſed without any conſiderable mortality; and the Nova Scotia coloniſts had maintained their health, and appeared to have become well inured to the climate. The trade was much more briſk; cultivation was advancing both in the colony, and in the parts adjacent, and native labourers were procured without difficulty.

The ſchools contained between 300 and 400 children, chiefly of Nova Scotians, who improved rapidly, and the plantations were all proſperous, except the ſugar canes, which had been injured by the white ants. The colony had gradually improved in order, and appeared to be advancing in every reſpect.

A diſaſtrous fire, however, had conſumed the York company's ſtoreſhip, with all the articles on board. The value, at prime coſt, might be 8,000 l. or 9,000 l.; a great portion being African produce, on the point of being ſhipped for England. The whole loſs, including the value of the ſhip, and eſtimated profits on the goods, is computed by the governor and council, at between 14,000 l. and 15,000 l.

This night about 10 o'clock, a dreadful fire 11th. broke out at Smith's floor cloth manufactory, at Knightſbridge, oppoſite the new barracks. It raged furiouſly for upwards of three hours, notwithſtanding the great number of engines that arrived, and the exertions of the firemen of the different offices. The great quantity of oil, turpentine, and paint of various kinds, as well as the combuſtible nature of the other materials made uſe of in the manufactory, rendered every effort to extinguiſh the flames fruitleſs, until the whole was burnt down. By it no leſs than 20,000 l. worth of property, with the buildings, was deſtroyed, and no portion of

of either insured. The fire, it is said, was occasioned by the neglect of a boy, who, in heating some colour, suffered it to boil over, which immediately set the whole premises in a blaze. A gentleman was run over by an engine, and is since dead; and a labouring man had his thigh broke by the fall of a piece of timber. Great apprehensions were entertained for the barracks opposite; but the timely assistance of the engines saved them, and also the house of Mr. Harris, manager of Covent Garden theatre, which was immediately contiguous to the floor cloth manufactory; and whose stables were actually burnt.

13th. *Cardiff.*—The canal in this neighbourhood is completed; and last Friday a fleet of canal boats, from Merthir-Tidvil, laden with the produce of iron works there, arrived at this place, to the great exultation of the town. With the iron treasures of the hills, we hope to grow daily more truly rich than the Spaniards are with their mines in Mexico and Peru; as ours occasion industry and population, whilst theirs purchase slothful dependance, and are destructive of both. The rude tracts, through which the canal in some places passes, are constantly improving, from the happy and healthful toil of the husbandman, and in a few years will be forgotten in a garden of verdure and fertility. The canal from Merthir to Cardiff is 25 miles in extent; it passes along the sides of stupendous mountains. Nothing can be more extraordinary, than from a boat navigating this canal, to look down on the river Taaff, dashing among the rocks a hundred yards below. The fall from Merthir to Cardiff is little less than 600 feet. The first barge that arrived at Cardiff was finely decorated with colours, and was navigated from Melingriffid works by Mr. Bird, senior water-bailiff of the port.

Oxford. By a statement of earnings and support of the criminals under confinement, and sentenced to hard labour in the castle gaol, and house of correction, delivered in by the committee of magistrates, who superintended the gaol, to the bench, at the last general quarter sessions, it appears there has been earned during the last year, by labour of different kinds, the sum of 249l. 8s. 9d. The total expence of maintaining and cloathing the criminals, during the same period, was 185l. 3s. 5d., leaving a balance of 64l. 5s. 6d. derived from the labour of the prisoners, the county allowance for whose bread would have been 68l. 4s. 10d. had they, as before, remained unemployed.

16th. The St. Eustatia prize cause has, at length, reached its termination, and the agents are about to distribute 64,000 l. of the produce.

19th. There never was a measure so little alarming, and so completely effectual, as that adopted last year by parliament, for granting aid to private credit by means of exchequer bills.

Though it was said, that five millions would be a sum too small, and nothing could stop the tide of bankruptcy; yet of the 5,000,000l. exchequer bills allowed, only 3,724,824 l. were applied for, before the 4th of August, and only 2,129,200 l. granted. The two first payments of this loan have been punctually

punctually made; a fact, which proves that temporary relief only was wanted, and to no great amount. The alacrity of parliament to ſupport the credit of the country, was in itſelf relief. The month of May, 1793, was the epoch of the greateſt number of bankruptcies; they greatly decreaſed in June; and ſtill more in July; they continued to decreaſe in Auguſt; and in September they were nearly on a par with the numbers in September 1792. The merchants in the capital, borrowed ſomething leſs than one million, thoſe of Mancheſter, about 250,000 l. Liverpool 130,000 l. and Briſtol only 40,000 l. It appeared that moſt of the bankruptcies aroſe from illegal ſpeculations, and an avaricious extenſion of capital.

22d. A hackney coachman, apprehended in conveying dead bodies from the burial ground in High ſtreet, Lambeth, was brought before the magiſtrates at Union hall, Borough. The magiſtrates adjourned the caſe for a few days, and the priſoner was remanded to cuſtody. At the time the coach was ſeized, the body of the late porter to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, that of a young woman, and two children, were found in it. The pariſh having given permiſſion to the friends of ſuch perſons, as have been buried in this ground, to examine whether or not the bodies remained there, moſt of the graves have been opened, and upwards of two hundred coffins taken up empty. Large rewards are offered for the apprehending of the parties concerned.

24th. Accounts were received in town, by the Minerva, from Bengal, for Oſtend; that on the 27th of September laſt, the Princeſs Royal Eaſt Indiaman, outward bound, fell in near the Sunda iſlands, with three French frigates, and engaged them for upwards of an hour, when ſhe was obliged to ſtrike.

At the ſeſſions in the Old Bailey, Daniel Iſaac Eaton, a bookſeller, in Newgate-ſtreet, was tried for a libel, contained in a pamphlet, entitled, "Hogs Waſh, or Politics for the People." The libel conſiſted, in a ſtory ſuppoſed to be told at a debating ſociety, of a man who kept a game-cock. The indictment charged, that under this fable of a game-cock, the preſent king was intended, and that it was publiſhed with a view to excite diſaffection to the king and regal government of this country, and to ſtir up ſedition. The indictment was opened by Mr. Fielding for the crown. Mr. Gurney, as counſel for the defendant, made a ſpeech of ſome ability and pleaſantry, tending to ſhew, that a cock could in nowiſe repreſent a king of Great Britain, but that if any king was meant, it muſt be a king of France. The defendant was acquitted.

The ſame day, eleven priſoners received ſentence of death; nineteen were ordered to be tranſported for the term of ſeven years, ſix to be impriſoned in Newgate, ſix in Clerkenwell Bridewell, nine to be publicly whipped, ten had judgment reſpited, and twenty-one were diſcharged by proclamation.

An action was tried in the Court of King's Bench, brought by Bernard Howard, Eſq. preſumptive heir to the duke of Norfolk, againſt Mr. Bingham, ſon of the

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earl of Lucan, for seducing his wife, lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the earl of Fauconberg. On the part of the defendant, it was admitted, that he had lived in intimacy with lady Elizabeth, since the time of the separation, which took place the 24th of July, 1793.

Several witnesses proved the great attention of Mr. Bingham to lady Elizabeth, previously to the separation, by which he was deprived of the affections of his wife, and which was the cause of her separating from him. The proper respect paid by Mr. Howard to his lady, was also proved.

Mr. Erskine, for the defendant, stated, that Mr. Howard married lady Elizabeth on the 24th of April 1789, and had had issue by her on the 12th of August 1791; and he was happy that it was universally allowed, that this issue was the child of Mr. Howard, presumptive heir of the duke of Norfolk. The parties had separated the 24th of July, 1793, and no evidence had been produced to affect his client, but cohabitation since the separation. This unfortunate lady, he said, was dragged a victim to the marriage bed, without having the least love for Mr. Howard, and he promised to prove, by a relation of the marquis Cornwallis, that the privilege of a husband was denied Mr. Howard for months, which fully shewed her rooted aversion. Reasoning on these circumstances, the eloquent advocate reprobated alliances founded only on the desire of augmenting the wealth, or adding to the honours of great families. Damages, he said, could not be the object of the plaintiff; to ground a divorce was what caused him to look for a verdict; and he would prove the noble conduct of his client in endeavouring to subdue his passion, by withdrawing from the object of his love and adoration, of whom he had been enamoured previously to her marriage; and, as to the damages, it would not be creditable for the jury to give what it would be disgraceful for the plaintiff to receive.

On the part of the defendant, Mrs. Bishop, servant in the family of lord Fauconberg, proved, that she attended lady Elizabeth in her own chamber the morning she went to be married; she cried very much, and appeared extremely unhappy; after the service was finished they left town; on their arrival in the country, they went into a room where the witness was; when Mr. Howard left the room, lady Elizabeth cried much; she attended lady Elizabeth to bed that night; she again wept, appeared distressed, and trembled extremely. Lady Elizabeth was young, very beautiful, and about the same age with Mr. Howard. When the witness was quitting the room, lady Elizabeth desired to be called early the next morning, and the witness called her at nine o'clock. On Mr. Howard's quitting the room, lady Elizabeth threw herself round the witness's neck, cried bitterly, but said nothing; the witness put her ladyship to bed the second night, but she continued in the same situation for above a fortnight. After remaining in the country three weeks, lady Elizabeth returned to be presented at St. James's; when they came to town, she returned home very late, sometimes at three or four o'clock. Mr. Howard constantly retired to bed,

bed before lady Elizabeth; when they came home, she often cried, threw herself in a chair, often went to sleep in it, and with difficulty was prevailed on to go to bed. On the witness's asking her once to go to bed, she said she would as soon go to Newgate; and once lady Elizabeth, returning from a walk in Kensington gardens, appeared extremely agitated, and gave as a reason, "That she had seen Bingham, but he turned up his nose, and frowned at her." The witness spoke once to lady Elizabeth about her wedding clothes; but she answered, "Indeed, Polly, when I had them made, I did not intend to marry Mr. Howard." The witness remembered lady Elizabeth leaving her husband's bed, and going to sleep with her sister, who was in the same house; never heard that the least animosity subsisted between Mr. Howard and lady Elizabeth, nor ever heard that they had any words. She never disclosed any thing which passed between lady Elizabeth and her. Mr. Howard always returned home, and retired to bed before lady Elizabeth.

Mr. Greville had known Mr. Bingham long and intimately, knew of his being acquainted with lady Elizabeth before her marriage with Mr. Howard. He was firmly persuaded, that the love and attachment of lady Elizabeth and Mr. Bingham, was reciprocal. He well remembered the marriage; the effect it produced on Mr. Bingham, was the impairing his health. Mr. Bingham, in order to forget lady Elizabeth, went to Bath and Cheltenham before the marriage, and did not return to London for many months.

Mark Singleton, Esq. a neighbour and intimate friend of Mr. Howard, said, they did not appear to him to be a happy couple; nor from what he could observe, did they cohabit like people attached to each other. Very shortly after the marriage, Mr. Howard said, he believed he had not the affection of lady Elizabeth, complained that his wife would not allow him to have any connection with her for two months, and, during that time, he had no conjugal enjoyment.

Lord Kenyon interrupted the evidence.—This, observed his lordship, is a most melancholy case.—I can throw no imputation on the plaintiff; he has been unfortunate in not having the affections of the woman he espoused, but his treatment to her has been no way improper. He wished the counsel would (as a verdict must be for the plaintiff) leave the ascertaining of the damages to him and the jury.

Mr. Erskine said, he wished to Heaven his being an umpire could have prevented this business from coming into a court of justice; but that his client had several witnesses to produce, which would fully exculpate him in the eyes of the jury.

Lord George Conway, said, he knew Mr. Bingham, before Mr. Howard paid his addresses to lady Elizabeth; thought lady Elizabeth and Mr. Bingham were much attached; and also knew, that immediately subsequent to the marriage, Mr. Bingham avoided lady Elizabeth as much as possible.

Charles Morris, Esq. being sworn, Mr. Erskine said, I am sorry, my lord, it has been necessary to hear so much of this cause; your lordship

lordſhip ſees the nature of the evidence I mean to produce; I have ſome of the moſt noble characters in the country; I muſt alſo be obliged to introduce ſome of the near relations, whoſe feelings I wiſh not to wound. I will reſt on thoſe I have produced, and leave the aſcertaining the damages to your lordſhip and the jury.

Lord Kenyon.—Gentlemen of the jury.—You are now to give your deciſion on this melancholy caſe. Since the time I have had the honour of preſiding over this court, I have endeavoured to make the laws of the land ſubſervient to the laws of morality; and alſo to enforce the ſacred precepts of religion. I have often had the happineſs of finding juries going with me, by giving heavy damages, puniſhing the libertine, who violates the law of God, of ſocial duty, and religion, Sometimes plaintiffs have procured ſmall damages, and at other times large; but, gentlemen, ſaid he, emphatically, this is a moſt unfortunate caſe—you do not here obſerve the plaintiff making uſe of the defendant's friendſhip, and introducing him into the affection of his wife; or, what is equally criminal, being privy to their illicit amour; but, alas! it has appeared that the plaintiff never had the affection of this woman: her love was engaged, and, though the object abſented himſelf for a time, yet, when they met, the unextinguiſhed flame lighted again. The defendant, it is true, uſed his endeavours for ſome time to bridle his affection—he retired to the country. The huſband, has not, I fear, been deprived of the comfort of his wife's ſociety: he ſtrongly doubted he never did poſſeſs it. I think, gentlemen, the damages can neither be great, nor at the ſame time nominal. This young man ſeemed to withdraw himſelf from the ſnare into which his paſſions had led him. The jury, without retiring, found a verdict of 1,000l. damages.

In the court of Common Pleas, an action was tried of ſome importance to authors and reviewers. The plaintiff, Mr. Swinton, had publiſhed Travels into Norway, Denmark, and Ruſſia, in 1788, which were reviewed in the Critical Review for July 1792. The critics inſinuated, that he was one of thoſe writers of travels, who are ſcarcely ever out of their cloſets; and the work being in other reſpects roughly handled, the author conceived himſelf injured, both in character, and in the ſale of this book, and brought his action againſt Meſſrs. Robinſons, the proprietors of the Critical Review, to recover a compenſation. 28th.

The chief juſtice explained to the jury, that this was a caſe very different from that of a common libel; in his opinion it was a caſe of criticiſm, which, if not left fair and open, the greateſt injury would accrue to literature. The plaintiff had proved no loſs or damage, and as to its being inſinuated, that he had compoſed this work in his cloſet, the public might perhaps be as deſirous to read the book, as if he had actually travelled, they might be deſirous to know how well a man can write fiction. His lordſhip inſtanced two books, with which he preſumed the jury were well acquainted, and had been often delighted—Gulliver's

ver's Travels, and Robinſon Cruſoe. He did not conceive that the plaintiff had proved any loſs from the review, which, however, the jury might read and conſider, and if they were convinced that he had been injured, they would no doubt afford a compenſation.

The jury, without going out of court, gave a verdict for the defendants.

DIED.—2d. The Honourable Baron Power, ſecond baron of the Court of Exchequer in Ireland; of diſtinguiſhed eminence on the bench, and of not leſs reputation as an intelligent lawyer. He was alſo uſher to the Court of Chancery; in right of which office, large ſums of money in conteſt, were occaſionally depoſited in his hands for the ſecurity of ſuitors. In the conteſt between the duke of Chandos and his tenants, which ſo long engaged the chancery, a large ſum had been paid by the tenants, which, under an order of the court, was to be inveſted in government ſecurities, the principal and accruing intereſt to be the right of the party who obtained the decree; which terminated, after many years, in favour of the tenants. On adjuſtment of accounts, the uſher, as in right of office, withheld the intereſt, which amounted to near 3,000 l. The tenants appealed to the chancellor, who was ſtruck with the equity of their claim, and which, we have reaſon to think, was ſtill ſtrengthened by an order of the late chancellor. Lord Fitzgibbon immediately directed the uſher to appear in court, to anſwer for his conduct. The baron heſitated, if not refuſed; alleging his ſtation as a judge, and holding his ſeat alſo on the ſame bench with the chancellor, in the Court of Exchequer-chamber. The chancellor was peremptory in his order; and moſt juſtly obſerved, that no perſon muſt or ſhould hold a place in that court, where he preſided, who did not give perſonal and immediate attendance when directed; and, further, fixed on the 5th inſtant, for the appearance of the uſher perſonally, to account for his conduct. The baron brooded in ſilence over the buſineſs. On Sunday, the 2d inſtant, about one o'clock, he rode to the extremity of the ſouth wall—with calmneſs diſmounted, and gave his horſe to the ſervant, with directions to proceed ſlowly, and wait at Ringford for his return. The ſervant returned; the baron advanced to the new Packet dock, in Dublin Bay, and diſappeared, after leaving his hat on the wall. The ſervant waited till duſk, and finding no appearance, returned back, but could not get the ſmalleſt intelligence, not a trace, the hat excepted, which he immediately recognized. It was then ſuppoſed the baron had taken a boat, and boarded ſome of the packet boats under weigh for England. Theſe hopes all vaniſhed, when the body was diſcovered, the next morning, on the ſtrand, near the pigeon-houſe. A jury ſat on the body; verdict, accidental death. This family has been remarkably unfortunate; one brother was killed, a few years ſince by the white boys; a ſecond broke his neck when hunting; and a third, as above related, fell a ſacrifice to high ſpirited pride.

5th. At his chambers in Lincoln's Inn, Richard Burke, Eſq. counſellor at law, recorder of Briſtol,

Briſtol, and brother of the Right honourable Edmund Burke; with whom, and another relation, he had ſupped the preceding evening in Duke ſtreet, St. James's, when he was in good health and ſpirits; and at twelve o'clock was carried in a coach to his chambers, where he was ſoon after taken very ill, and expired before three in the morning. He was uſually called *Dick Burke*, on account of his eaſy humour and familiar good nature, and was a very valuable man. He poſſeſſed an underſtanding which, though diſtant from the tranſcendant powers of his brother, was highly reſpectable, and fraught with various and abundant knowledge. He excelled in repartee, which he delivered with a pleaſant quaintneſs, that gave an additional poignancy to the ſentiment. But it is the beſt part of the eulogium which his character demands, that he had an humane and honourable diſpoſition.

MARCH.

1ſt. *Copenhagen.*—On Wedneſday evening, about five o'clock, a fire broke out in the palace of Chriſtianbourg, which communicating from the hereditary prince's apartment, where it began, to the reſt of the building, in the ſpace of ſeven or eight hours reduced the whole to a heap of aſhes. The royal family have happily eſcaped without accident, but the greater part of their valuable effects have been a prey to the flames. The number of lives loſt is not known. This palace, one of the moſt commodious and ſumptuouſly furniſhed in Europe, was erected in the reign of Chriſtian VI, and is ſaid to have coſt (in building only) conſiderably above a million ſterling: and with the loſs ſuſtained by the numerous individuals by whom it was inhabited, the damage is eſtimated at two millions ſterling. It is ſome conſolation, that the royal library, conſiſting of between two and three hundred thouſand volumes, which ſtood detached from the principal pile, was ſaved. The garriſon and citizens were under arms, and every effort made both by the military and the failors, to prevent diſorder and pillage.

His Daniſh majeſty is lodged for the preſent, in an apartment at count Bernſtorff's, and the reſt of the royal family are diſperſed in different quarters of the town, till proper houſes can be prepared for their reception.

The royal aſſent was given to the mutiny act, the acts for preſerving French property, repealing the glove tax, and the duties on births, &c. and for indemnifying thoſe who have omitted to qualify for offices and employments.

3d. An officer arrived at Lord Grenville's office, with letters from Francis Groſe, Eſq. lieutenant-governor of Botany Bay, and from captain Gridley King, lieutenant-governor of Norfolk Iſland, which mention that the colonies were in a flouriſhing ſtate.

4th. *Ireland.*—The Right honourable W. B. Ponſonby, introduced his promiſed bill for reforming the Iriſh Houſe of Commons. At twelve the houſe divided on a motion by Sir Hercules Langriſhe, for reading the bill a ſecond time the firſt of Auguſt—

Ayes

Ayes 142—Noes—44—Majority againſt the bill 98.

8th. Laſt week a decree of divorce was given out from the commiſſary (or eccleſiaſtical) court in Scotland, at the inſtance of the ducheſs of Hamilton againſt the duke of Hamilton, for crim. con. by which the marriage is diſſolved, and either party may contract again, but with certain reſtrictions as to the duke, impoſed by the laws of Scotland, tending principally to prevent his incurring the perſon with whom he had committed the crime which occaſioned the divorce.

10th. *Edinburgh.* Joſeph Gerald was tried on a charge of being a member of a ſeditious meeting, called the Britiſh Convention, which met here in November and December laſt, and having addreſſed to that meeting a ſeditious ſpeech; the culprit endeavoured to prove, that the Lord Chief Juſtice Clerk could not properly ſit on his trial. he having in converſation prejudged the cauſe: this objection was, however, overruled. The trial finiſhed on the 10th, when the jury unanimouſly found the priſoner guilty, and he was ſentenced to tranſportation for fourteen years. *See App. to the Chronicle.*

24th. A ſet of grave-robbers, commonly called reſurrection men, were apprehended at a houſe near the turnpike, Mile End. In the morning a coach was obſerved to ſtop at the houſe, when a perſon came out with a ſack, containing, as was ſuppoſed, a body, which he carried into the houſe, and returned immediately with a large hamper; the coachman then drove to a neighbouring public-houſe, where he took up ſome other perſons, and was traced to the launch at Deptford. The pariſhioners were informed of theſe circumſtances, and about ſix in the evening the coach returning with a ſimilar loading, which was depoſited in the houſe, ſome conſtables, accompanied by a large poſſe, forced an entrance, found two men and a woman drinking tea on a bench, at one end of which, lay the bodies of two children. They were ſecured, and in an adjoining room the bodies of ſix adults were diſcovered unmutilated; beſides ſeveral limbs ſtrewed on the floor.

27th. *Leiceſter.*—On Saturday, 23d. Robert Erpe, of Caſtle-Donnington, watch-maker, was tried at the aſſizes for ſedition. He was indicted for having on the 17th of November, 1793, ſaid, "King George the third ſhall not reign next March;" and on the 29th of the ſame month, "the juſtices of the peace will not have it in their power much longer to grant licenſes to public houſes; but the people will do it very ſoon. There is a body of people at Sheffield, going to London: They will remember the enemies and burners of Paine at Donnington, on their way to London: if the words of the people are not ſufficient, they will take the point of the ſword to defend the rights of the people."

Samuel Baker, an exciſeman, proved the expreſſions reſpecting the king to have been uttered at the Horns, a public-houſe in Caſtle-Donnington, where Erpe and three other perſons were drinking and talking politics, and diſcuſſing the divine right of kings. On his croſs examination, it appeared he had not written the words till ſome days afterwards, nor could he recollect

collect the connection of the words with the general converſation.

William Hearſon, the maſter of the Turk's head, Caſtle Donnington, proved the words reſpecting the magiſtrates, but he had not written them down till ſome days afterwards.

On behalf of Erpe, John Dore, one of the perſons in the company at the Horns, proved that Baker was not ſober, and that the converſation related to ſome chapters in the firſt book of Samuel; which ſtate, that, "kings were given in the wrath of God," &c.

Two other witneſſes, who had taken part in the converſation, proved that the words were part of a ſpeech of the late lord Chatham, and that the words had not been uſed ſo as to imply the conſtruction put on them in the indictment. Some evidence was alſo adduced to affect the character of Baker.

Mr. Galley, counſel for the defendant, explained to the jury the nature of the new libel act. They ought not, he ſaid, to find a verdict of guilty on the ſimple proof of words ſpoken, but the innuendos, and malicious intention, muſt alſo be fully ſubſtantiated.

Mr. Baron Thompſon, in his charge, told the jury, if they were ſatisfied Mr. Erpe had ſpoken the words with the intention ſtated in the indictment, they ought to find him guilty, but if the malicious intention did not appear to be eſtabliſhed, he ought to be acquitted.

In about twenty minutes the jury returned with a verdict, "guilty of ſpeaking the words, but not with the ſeditious intent," which his lordſhip refuſed to accept, and after again retiring, the jury in ten minutes brought in another verdict, "guilty of ſpeaking the words, but not with an intent to diſturb government;" which was alſo rejected by the court. The jury then brought in a general verdict, of "not guilty;" but being interrogated whether they were unanimous, and one of the jury appearing to heſitate, they were once more ſent back, and returned with a general verdict, "not guilty;" which was recorded.

A valuable diſcovery has 27th.
been made at Lincoln, of a grand teſſelated pavement, ſuperior to any known in the kingdom.

DIED.—5th. At his houſe in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, aged 84, the Honourable Sir Henry Gould, Knt. one of his majeſty's juſtices of the court of Common Pleas. Though nature had nearly run her courſe, he retained his faculties to the laſt moment of his exiſtence, and expired with the fortitude and reſignation of a chriſtian, and a man whoſe life had been ſpent in a ſeries of kindneſſes and benefits to his fellow creatures. He died full of years and honour, and carried with him to his grave the deep regret of a wide circle of friends, and the general eſteem of his country. He was entered as a ſtudent of the Middle Temple, May 16th, 1728; and was called to the bar June 13, 1734. May 3, 1754, he was made a king's counſel, in 1761 he ſucceeded Mr. Baron Lloyd, as one of the barons of the Exchequer; and January 24, 1763, was removed to the court of Common Pleas, which ſeat he continued to fill with diſtinguiſhed ability, till his death. During this period he ſaw the bench three times cleared by

the natural viciſſitudes of human exiſtence. A more amiable character than Sir Henry Gould is ſcarcely to be met with. In his judgment he was juſt, yet merciful; his manners amongſt mankind were marked with the ſtricteſt politeneſs; his ſociableneſs in a large circle of acquaintance, and the affection continually ſhewn to his family, will long be remembered. As a lawyer, he was enlightened and profound; and as a judge, his ability and integrity were eminently conſpicuous. Tempering the ſternneſs of juſtice with feeling, the criminal never failed to be awed by his manner into a ſenſe of guilt, or to be led by his admonitions into the ſalutary paths of contrition and remorſe. By thoſe of his own profeſſion he was revered for his great legal knowledge; by all men he was beloved for the ſuavity of his manners, and the uniform benevolence of his heart. He left iſſue two daughters, the eldeſt married to the honourable Temple Luttrell, and the ſecond to the earl of Cavan. His remains were depoſited at Stapleford-Abbot, Eſſex, of which his brother, the Rev. Dr. Gould is the reſident rector.

APRIL.

1ſt. Mary Henderſon was apprehended at the honourable Mr. Eardley's, in Clarges-ſtreet, on a charge of having put lord Eardley in fear, and feloniouſly robbed him of a ten pound bank note, and alſo of a draught upon Meſſieurs Goſling and Co. for 140l. She had conſpired with other perſons to extort money from him, under pretence that ſhe was in poſſeſſion of a manuſcript intended for publication, which contained a narrative of many circumſtances that might be unpleaſant to him being made public, and under the maſk of friendſhip propoſed to ſuppreſs it, on condition of receiving the above-mentioned ſum. She was committed to Bridewell, and lord Eardley, Mr. Sampſon Eardley, Culling Smith, junior, Eſq. and John Townſhend, were bound over to proſecute.

2d. *Lancaſter.* Came on the trial of Thomas Walker, merchant, of Manchester, for conſpiring with nine other perſons mentioned in the indictment, to overturn the conſtitution by force of arms, and to raiſe men for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the French, in caſe of an invaſion.

He was alſo ſeparately indicted for ſeditious expreſſions againſt the king. The counſel for the proſecution, were Mr. Law, (the attorney-general for the duchy) and Meſſrs. Wood, Topping and James; for the defendants, Mr. Erſkine, ſerjeant Cockel, and Meſſrs. Chambre, Lloyd, and Vaughan.

Mr. Law opened the caſe, by ſtating that Mr. Walker and the other defendants were accuſtomed to meet privately in ſocieties of perſons calling themſelves the conſtitutional, the reformation, and the patriotic ſocieties; at which meetings, ſeditious writings were read, violent and ſeditious expreſſions commonly uſed againſt the king, conſtitution, and government: and moreover, that many of the members were at thoſe meetings regularly trained and exerciſed with muſket and bayonet, for the expreſs purpoſe of being

ready

ready to aſſiſt the French, in caſe of an invaſion.

Thomas Dunn ſtated, that he was preſent at forty or fifty of theſe meetings, in the warehouſe of Mr. Walker; that they conſiſted of from 50 to 150 perſons; that he had heard Paine's Rights of Man, and other ſeditious writings read there, had heard Mr. Walker and others damn the king, and all kings; that ſuch expreſſions were common among the members of thoſe meetings, and that he had repeatedly ſeen ſeveral perſons under arms, who, he underſtood, were training for the purpoſe mentioned by Mr. Law.—On his croſs examination he prevaricated much, and it appeared, that he did not inform till he was taken into cuſtody for ſeditious practices; that at thoſe meetings, all perſons were admitted, no queſtions aſked, nor ſecreſy enjoined, and the doors never ſhut.

Kynaſton was called to prove, that he had been appointed to watch the doors of Walker's houſe and warehouſe; had repeatedly ſeen perſons go in in the evening when meetings were ſuppoſed to be held, but never went in himſelf.

Mr. Erſkine, for the defendant, ſtated the legality of peaceable meetings for the purpoſe of conſidering the queſtion of a reform in the repreſentation of the country; and ſtated, at length, his own opinion and conduct on that ſubject. The evidence for the defendants conſiſted of ſeveral members of the patriotic and reformation ſocieties, who met at Mr. Walker's. They depoſed that they met there only in conſequence of being turned out of their uſual places of meeting by the publicans of Mancheſter, and the houſe of Mr. Gorſe, where they ſubſequently met, being deſtroyed by the rioters; that no ſeditious writings were ever read, ſeditious propoſals made, or ſeditious expreſſions, to their knowledge, uſed at any of thoſe meetings, either by the defendants or others; that no perſons were excluded or queſtioned on entering; that the doors were never kept ſhut, nor any ſecreſy uſed; that there never was any training or exerciſing men at arms, nor any ſuch meaſure propoſed at any of thoſe meetings; that no arms were ſeen by any of the witneſſes, excepting a few ſmall ſwivels, which were brought there the day after Mr. Walker's houſe had been attacked by the rioters, and a few other arms brought by his friends on that occaſion: That the real, as well as the avowed object of the meeting, was to procure by peaceable and conſtitutional means, a reform in parliament; and that nothing paſſed at the meetings of thoſe ſocieties which they need be aſhamed of before God or man.

Five witneſſes were called, to prove that Dunn had voluntarily confeſſed to them, that Mr. Walker never had uſed the expreſſions charged in the information; but that he had been bribed to accuſe him, and could not ſleep till he had made this confeſſion. He had, in their preſence on his knees, and with tears, implored Mr. Walker's pardon for having injured him, but refuſed to tell by whom he had been bribed, Dunn being called to confront each of theſe witneſſes, perſiſted in declaring their teſtimony falſe; but Mr. Law at length declared the characters of ſome of theſe to his knowledge ſo re-

ſpectable, that he could not think of proceeding with a caſe ſupported only by Dunn's teſtimony, and accordingly gave it up.

Dunn was ordered into cuſtody for perjury, and the judge (Heath) ſaid, "I hope Mr. Walker, this will be an admonition to you, to keep better company in future." Mr. Walker replied, "I have kept no bad company, my lord, except the wretch who ſtands behind me; nor is there a word or act of my life, that I wiſh unſaid or undone as far as relates to the public, or that, under ſimilar circumſtances, I would not repeat."

2d. *Bury, Suffolk.*—John and Nathan Nichols, father and ſon, were executed this morning, purſuant to their ſentence, for the wilful murder of Sarah Nichols, daughter to the one, and ſiſter of the other. They way-laid the helpleſs girl on the 14th of September; the father drew a ſtake from the hedge, and giving it to his ſon, urged him with threats to commit the horrid deed; whereupon the boy ſtriking his ſiſter on the head, knocked her down, and repeated his blows, till he had deprived her of life; he afterwards, at his father's deſire, tied one of her garters round her neck, and dragged her into a ditch, where ſhe was found the next morning. Nathan Nichols was 19, the deceaſed 17 years of age. The murderers long perſiſted in their innocence, but at the fatal tree the boy made an ample confeſſion, ſaying, *that his father was innocent for all he knew*, of the fact for which they were to ſuffer. The behaviour of the elder Nichols was very undaunted, he gave away his hat and neckcloth to ſome perſons ſtanding in the crowd, with apparent unconcern; and, on aſcending the ladder, addreſſed himſelf to the ſpectators, ſaying, "Life is but a ſhort paſſage, and now I am at the laſt ſtep; of the crime for which I am going to ſuffer I am entirely innocent." After hanging the uſual time, the body of the elder Nichols was conveyed to Fakenham, to be hung in chains; and the younger one was taken for diſſection to Bury. John Nichols was about 60 years of age, and had been many years employed as hedge-carpenter to the duke of Grafton.

5th. On Saturday, the lord mayor, with a ſelect committee of the corporation of London, the ſheriffs, and chamberlain, attended by the city marſhals on horſeback, with muſic and colours, proceeded from the manſion-houſe, to the reſidence of marquis Cornwallis, in New Burlington-ſtreet; to preſent that nobleman with the freedom of the city, elegantly embelliſhed with emblematical ornaments, and curiouſly written by Mr. Tomkins, incloſed in a gold box of one hundred guineas value, agreeably to the order of common council ſome months ago. The lord mayor accompanied this high civic honour, with a judicious ſpeech, to which the marquis returned an appropriate anſwer.

The committee then returned with the marquis, and his friends, to dine in the city. The populace took the horſes from the marquis's carriage in Pall-Mall, and drew it to the Manſion houſe.

The lord chancellor and ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, joined the committee at Temple-bar. On their arrival at the Manſion-houſe, the marquis took the oath of a citizen;

citizen; after which Mr. Chamberlain Wilkes addreſſed him on the ſubject of his meritorious conduct in the Eaſt.

A magnificent and coſtly entertainment, with a diſplay of ſplendid decorations, and emblematical ornaments was prepared, and a great number of the nobility and high officers of ſtate were among the gueſts. The front of the Manſion-houſe was brilliantly illuminated, and in the centre, between the two columns was introduced, a large well-painted tranſparency, of the delivering of the two ſons of Tippoo Sultan, by the ambaſſador, to the marquis, with ſeveral figures as large as life.

11th. *Bruſſels.*—On Wedneſday, the ninth, the emperor our king gratified the wiſhes of the Belgians, by honouring this city with his preſence. The ſtates in a body preſented the keys to his majeſty at the gate of Louvain, on which the following inſcription was read:—

"Cæſar adeſt frement Galli."

Young men dreſſed in white, repreſenting his people, ſlowly drew the coach. Some detachments of cavalry preceded, and followed at a certain diſtance. The proceſſion repaired to the church of St. Gudule, where the *Te Deum* was chanted. His majeſty paſſed afterwards through a part of this city, amidſt immenſe crowds, who thronged his paſſage, rending the air with the cries of *Vive l'Empereur! Vive le Roi!*

14th. *Briſtol.*—At the aſſizes for this city, came on the trial of Richard Vining Perry, ſurgeon, on the ſtatute of Henry VII. for forcibly taking away, and marrying Miſs Clementina Clark, an heireſs.

It appeared that Miſs Clark was placed in 1786, at the boarding-ſchool in Briſtol, then kept by Miſs More, and in 1790 transferred to the Miſſes Mills. In January, 1791, Miſs Clark's uncle left her a conſiderable eſtate in Jamaica; ſhe was a moſt mild, gentle, modeſt girl, and was much afflicted both in mind and body, at her uncle's death, and that of her father in February, 1791; and continued in a weak ſtate until ſhe left the ſchool. On the 19th of March, a forged note was ſent to the ſchool by a ſervant in livery, inviting Miſs Clark to the houſe of Mr. Gordon in Briſtol, to ſee a relation of her's from Scotland, ſuppoſed to be her aunt, Mrs. Ogilvie. Miſs Clark was ſent in the carriage; and on Miſs Mills going to Mr. Gordon's, the next morning, the fraud that had been practiſed on Miſs Clark was diſcovered; it was found that a woman ſervant, of the name of Betty Baker, who had gone from Miſs Mills on the day before, had been traced to the houſe of Mr. Perry, and that a coach and four had ſet out from the ſame (19th March) at eleven o'clock at night, and had gone to Newport in Glouceſterſhire. Upon this diſcovery, one of the Miſs Mills, attended by two gentlemen, ſet out for Scotland, in purſuit of Mr. Perry and Miss Clark, whom they met on their return between Penrith and Shap, in Weſtmorland; and, on the carriages ſtopping, Miſs Mills ſaw in the chaiſe ſhe met, Mr. Perry, Miſs Clark, the ſervant, Baker, and an apprentice of Mr. Perry's. The apprentice ſat in the front before Miſs Clark, and Mr. Perry put out a piſtol to Miſs Mills; and although ſhe preſſed very much to ſpeak to

Miſs Clark, refuſed to permit her, ſaying, there was no Miſs Clark there, but Mrs. Perry, and immediately ordered the chaiſe to drive on. A marriage was proved to have taken place at Gretna Green. At the opening of the court, Mrs. Perry was introduced, and ſat the whole time of the trial with the counſel for Mr. Perry, who were Mr. Erſkine, Mr. Fielding, and Mr. Mills; and a child ſhe had had by Mr. Perry was brought into the court and ſhewn to the jury.

An argument took place as to the admiſſibility of Mrs. Perry as a witneſs for her huſband, and the recorder, Mr. Gibbs, before whom the cauſe was tried, decided, that Mrs. Perry was a competent witneſs for her huſband. She was accordingly examined, and ſtated, that having ſeen Mr. Perry in her walks to the Down, ſhe had conceived an affection for him; ſhe never was in his company before the 19th of March, (the day ſhe left ſchool and ſet out for Scotland) but that ſhe had received a note from him about five days before, through the medium of the ſervant, Betty Baker, ſettling the elopement, and ſent an anſwer to it—that ſhe knew perfectly well where ſhe was going, and that the whole buſineſs was with her full conſent and approbation. Upon this evidence the defendant was acquitted.

14th. *Edinburgh.* The tragedy of Charles Iſt. being performed, the theatre was chiefly filled by perſons well affected to the conſtitution, but ſome of an oppoſite diſpoſition, choſe the opportunity to commence a political riot. They hiſſed all ſentiments of loyalty, and applauded all ſpeeches inculcating ſeditious or levelling doctrines. The audience endured this factious inſolence during the firſt and ſecond acts; but it being ſtill continued, the band was deſired to play "God ſave the king," which was accordingly performed. It had been uſual of late, when this tune was played, for the whole audience to riſe, and for gentlemen to ſtand uncovered: About eight or ten in the pit continued ſitting, with their hats on. It was concluded, that they were the perſons who had diſturbed the houſe, and there was a loud cry of "Hats off," to which thoſe perſons paying no regard, it was ſoon changed into "Out, out with them." A general uproar enſued, ſeveral gentlemen, among whom were ſome officers of the Argyllſhire fencibles, leaped from the boxes into the pit, turned ſome out of the houſe, and compelled the reſt to take off their hats.

On Wedneſday, (16th) the tragedy was repeated, when the diſturbance was renewed, but quieted without bad conſequences.

Vienna.—On the 26th ult. 15th. a plot for murdering the royal family at Naples, and the principal nobility, and changing the conſtitution of that kingdom, was happily diſcovered. It was to have been executed in the night of the 28th ult. A liſt has been found, containing the names of upwards of a thouſand conſpirators of all deſcriptions, together with a ſubſcription of 700,000 ducats to defray expences. Immediate orders were given to the military to occupy all the ſtreets, and ſquares, and ſeveral hundreds of the conſpirators were ſecured, but they eſcaped.

Cork.

Cork. April 25. On Tuesday the Rev. Dennis Driscoe was tried, before Prime Serjeant Fitzgerald, for a libel against the constitution under the title of "Truths," inserted in "The Cork Gazette" of which he was printer, publisher, and proprietor. After the indictment had been read, Mr. Emmet, counsel for the prisoner, challenged the array, on the ground that one of the sheriffs had declared, that the prisoner should be sent to Botany Bay. The prime serjeant sent to the chief baron, to take his opinion, and on his arrival the matter was ably discussed; and the judges declared that there was room to lay the matter before the twelve; but not sufficient to quash the indictment. The jury was then sworn in.

Mr. Egan opened the case, the publication was proved, and the judge explaining the law of libel to the jury, observed, if they saw the prisoner had not the intention imputed to the publication they must acquit him.

The jury in fifteen minutes acquitted the prisoner on the first count, and found him guilty on the second; he was sentenced (24th) to two years imprisonment, and to find security for his good behaviour for three years.

29th *Brussels.* The emperor returned to this city on the 21st inst. and his inauguration took place on the 23d, when he took the oaths as duke of Brabant. The states consisting of the high clergy, the nobles, and a deputation of the tiers etat, preceded his majesty in procession to the cathedral, where a Te Deum was celebrated by the bishop of Antwerp. The expression of joy was universal throughout all ranks of people, and was manifested by a general and brilliant illumination.

30th The new theatre in Drury-lane, contains in the pit 800 persons; whole range of boxes, 1,828; two shilling gallery 675; one shilling gallery 308; total 3,611; amounting to 826 l. 6 s. There are eight private boxes on each side of the pit; 29 all round the first tier, and 11 back-front boxes; 29 all round the second tier, of which 11 are six seats deep; 10 on each side the gallery, third tier; boxes in the alcove, 9 each side. Diameter of the pit 55 feet; opening of the curtain 38 feet wide; height of the curtain 38 feet; height of the house from pit-floor to the cieling 56 feet 6 inches.

MAY.

1st *Ireland.* The Rev. William Jackson, late of London, was arrested at his lodgings in Hyde's new hotel, in Dame-street, Dublin, on a charge of high treason, and brought before the earl of Clonmell, who committed him to the new gaol. His papers were seized. —This gentleman was distinguished some years ago in the quarrel between Foote the comedian, and the late duchess of Kingston.

The charge against him is understood to be a criminal correspondence with several persons belonging to the existing government of France, and giving treasonable information respecting the force in Great Britain and Ireland.

He is close confined in Newgate; two centinels, placed outside of the room to prevent intercourse either with visitors or prisoners,

attentively examine every article before it is ſuffered to enter. In other reſpects his ſituation is rendered as comfortable as the circumſtances of his caſe will admit; and orders have been iſſued to furniſh him with all neceſſary accommodation. It is expected that his trial will diſcover many important matters.

Hamilton Rowan made his eſcape from the priſon, alarmed, as it is ſuppoſed by ſome circumſtances of a treaſonable tendency, which have tranſpired relative to him, ſince the apprehenſion of Jackſon. His flight was ſo well preconcerted, that a horſe was in waiting, upon which he ſet off immediately for Ruſh, and was directly conveyed on board an American veſſel, which waited for him off that place, and ſailed the inſtant he came on board.

2nd The lord lieutenant iſſued a proclamation, offering a reward of one thouſand pounds, to perſons who ſhould apprehend Archibald Hamilton Rowan, or ſo diſcover him, as that he might be apprehended and recommitted to priſon. The corporation of Dublin alſo offered 500 l. and the jailor of Newgate 200 l.

Glouceſterſhire. A moſt inhuman murder was lately committed on the body of Mr. Reed of Swanley, in the pariſh of Berkeley. Having been indiſpoſed, his wife perſuaded him to make his will, bequeathing to her his whole property amounting to 6000 l. Soon afterwards, ſhe infuſed a doſe of poiſon in his broth; after he had taken it, he began to vomit violently, and his wife perſuaded him to go to bed, where he had not been long, before James Watkins, her brother, came into the houſe, to whom ſhe ſaid, the buſineſs was not finiſhed. On hearing theſe words, he took a broom-ſtick, and went up ſtairs, ſaying, he would finiſh it, which he did by ſtriking Mr. Reed ſeveral blows upon the head, one of which cut the fleſh down three inches over his forehead, and repeating them till he was dead.

Hearing ſoon afterwards that the deed was rumoured abroad, and that the coroner was preparing to take an inqueſt, Watkins abſconded, but the woman was arreſted and admitted to bail, by the Glouceſterſhire magiſtrates.

The voluntary narrative of Robert Edgar, a ſtripling belonging to the Dorſetſhire corps, led to the diſcovery, and the apprehenſion of Mrs. Reed, which was effected by the vigilance of the Bow-ſtreet magiſtrates. After her admiſſion to bail, ſhe wrote to the brother of her murdered huſband, in London, informing him, that Watkins was the perpetrator of the horrid deed; and that remorſe and contrition had impelled him to ſelf-deſtruction with a piſtol.

Mrs. Reed engaged in the wicked tranſaction, through love for Edgar, who was bred a ſurgeon; he was led to promiſe her marriage in caſe of her huſband's death, and Watkins undertook to deſtroy him for 200 l.

An inqueſt was taken on the body of Watkins, and the jury brought in a verdict, *Felo de ſe.*

The ſeſſions ended at the 6th Old Bailey, when ten priſoners received ſentence of death, 16 were ordered to be tranſported for ſeven, and one for 14 years; 19 to be impriſoned in Newgate, 11 in Clerkenwell Bridewell, 5 publicly whipped,

whipped, 2 fined and discharged, and the judgments of 9 are respited till next sessions.

A mob of poor people assembled on Streatham common, and set fire to the heath and furze; the conflagration was tremendous, but the neighbours rather promoted, than endeavoured to extinguish it. On Saturday (3d), Mr. M'Namara, the duke of Bedford's agent inclosed some ground from the common, which formerly was used for the cattle of the poor, and in the evening a hackney coach drove to the spot, when six men dressed in black, with crapes over their faces, got out of the carriage, and with carpenter's tools cut down the paled inclosure.

10th Mr. William Stone, of Rutland-place, Thames-street, coal merchant, after several examinations before the privy council, was committed to Newgate on a charge of treason.

17th *Whitehall.* The king having been pleased to order, that the colours taken at Martinico, which were lately brought to the palace at St. James's, should be deposited in the cathedral of St. Paul; and this day being appointed for that purpose, detachments of horse and foot guards were ordered to parade at St. James's at ten o'clock, and to march before his majesty, who was pleased to see them pass in the following order.

A captain and 40 life guards.
A serjeant and 12 grenadiers.
Music of the first regiment of guards.
Twenty-nine serjeants with the French colours.
Four companies of grenadiers.
A field officer and one hundred of the life guards.

In this order they proceeded to the west gate of St. Paul's, where the colours were received by the dean and chapter, attended by the choir; about which time the guns at the tower and in St. James's park were fired.

Edinburgh. In consequence of information received by the magistrates and sheriffs, several persons were apprehended in the nights of the 15th and 16th, and after examination, committed to prison. In two of their houses between 40 and 50 deadly weapons were found; some made in the form of a battle-axe, 22 inches long, and having something resembling a small scythe, much curved, fixed across. Others are in the shape of daggers, bayonets, pikes, &c. They are all made to be fixed on poles, or used without them. One of the persons apprehended is a blacksmith, who has of late been busily employed in manufacturing them. He refuses to declare who employed him, but says, that hearing of an invasion intended by the French, he thought the citizens would want such instruments as weapons of defence, and as he expected a good sale, thought it best to have some ready made. Of the persons apprehended, eight have been sent to gaol.

The discovery of these weapons was accidental. The person in whose possession they were found, was suspected of having secreted goods in his house belonging to a bankrupt; in searching for which, the sheriff's officer observed a parcel of daggers and other weapons, with a considerable quantity of shafts for pikes, concealed in a chest, and brought them, together with the owner, before the magistrates

trates of the Council-chamber. All the perſons in cuſtody prove to be members of the Britiſh convention.

Yeſterday an examination was made before the magiſtrates concerning a diſturbance, which happened laſt Sunday night, (11th) occaſioned by ſome men who went through the ſtreets with branches of trees, which they called the tree of Liberty, and therefore forced paſſengers to make obeiſance, and ſeverely wounded a recruit. They were ſentenced to pay a fine.

22nd A letter from Dublin gives the following particulars of a ſerious affray at Billinanaugh, in the county of Cavan.

This fatal event originated at a fair in the village, where Mr. Bigger a preſbyterian, was involved in a quarrel with ſome drunken country fellows who were Roman catholics, and ſeverely cudgelled. News being brought to ſome of his neighbours, that he was killed by a mob of papiſts, who were indiſcriminately called defenders by the preſbyterians, about 50 of them armed, went towards the fair. The rioters informed of their approach came out armed with ſticks, to give them battle; but they were fired on, and many of them, as well as of ſpectators, killed or wounded. Intelligence of this event being circulated, the friends of the deceaſed roſe to revenge their fate, and various ſkirmiſhes continued for two days; on the third, the military arriving, fired on the mob, and killed ſeveral. They were fired upon in return, and two of the light company fell. The exaſperated militia ruſhed with fury on the inſurgents, ſhot above thirty, and purſued the remainder to the village of Ballinanaugh, where they took refuge and fired from the windows. The whole place was then ſet on fire; thoſe who attempted to eſcape, were put to the bayonet or ſhot, and the reſt periſhed in the flames. Nearly 160 perſons are ſaid to have been deſtroyed.

The bill brought in by the chancellor of the Exchequer, 23d "to empower his majeſty to ſecure and detain all ſuch perſons as he ſhall ſuſpect of conſpiring againſt his perſon and government," having been carried after a long debate in the houſe of commons, by 201 to 39, and in the houſe of lords by 95 to 7, received the royal aſſent.

Dublin. Alderman Warren, chief commiſſioner of the police, aſſiſted by the high ſheriffs, Mr. Carleton, high conſtable, and a number of peace-officers, repaired to the Taylor's Hall in Back Lane, diſperſed the ſociety of united Iriſhmen, and ſeized the books of their proceedings, with a number of printed papers addreſſed from the ſociety to the people of Ireland.

Preſents of 500 l. each 27th (for which the king had ſigned warrants) have been given to captain Powlett and lieutenant-colonal Grey, who brought diſpatches of the ſurrender of Martinique; and to major Murray, who brought diſpatches from the duke of York, of the defeat of the French in the neighbourhood of Cateau.

At a court of common council at Guild-hall, Mr. Alderman Combe moved, that the thanks of the court be given to ſir Charles Grey, K. B. and to ſir John Jervis, K. B. for their conduct in the Weſt-Indies, which was ſeconded by Mr. Alderman Pickett, and unanimouſly agreed

agreed to. The freedom of the city was in like manner voted to each of them in a gold box of 100 guineas value, and the lord mayor requeſted to tranſmit copies of the reſolutions.

Conſtantinople.—March 28. "We have received from Aſia the melancholy intelligence, that towards the end of January, a terrible ſhock of an earthquake was felt in the environs of Eſdrum. The little town of Caiſſar, diſtant about ten miles from Eſdrum, and 200 from hence, was entirely deſtroyed and about two thirds of its inhabitants conſiſting of between 8000 and 9000 ſouls periſhed in the ruins. Some ſlight ſhocks were felt here about the ſame time, but were very little regarded, as we are often expoſed to them."

29th The privy council, after a full examination, committed the following perſons to Newgate, charged with high treaſon: John Aſhley, Jean Baptiſte Rouſſel, John Hillier, Thomas Spencer, and Richard Hayward.

In the courſe of this month, ſeveral perſons were taken into cuſtody on charge of high-treaſon, and committed to the Tower; particularly Mr. John Horne Tooke, the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, private ſecretary to lord Stanhope, and tutor to his ſon lord Mahon, John Thelwall, a political lecturer, John Auguſtus Bonney, an attorney, Mr. Richter, and Mr. Lovatt. Mr. Adams, formerly clerk in the auditor's office, but now ſecretary to the ſociety for conſtitutional information, Thomas Hardy, a ſhoemaker, ſecretary to the London correſponding ſociety, and Mr. Saints, ſecretary to a ſimilar ſociety at Norwich. The firſt ſix, after examinations before the privy council, were committed to the Tower on the 20th, the others remained ſome time longer in cuſtody of the meſſengers.

DIED.—Lately the celebrated traveller, major Houghton, who, ſome years ſince left England on a journey of diſcoveries in the interior parts of Africa. He had accompliſhed the buſineſs on which he was deputed by one of our African ſettlements to ſome of the princes of that immenſe continent, and was within two days journey of an Engliſh colony, when he was diſcovered dead in his bed; and, although without any viſible ſigns of violence, there is reaſon to fear he was murdered by thoſe who attended him, for the preſents, &c. with which he was returning. Major Houghton was a gentleman of Ireland, who, during the late war, ſerved with great approbation as fort-major of Goree in Africa. Some excurſions in the country, gave him an acquaintance with the character and language of the natives, and particularly qualified him for the ſituation in which he was latterly employed.

At his reſidence at Kennaird, near Falkirk, in Scotland, James Bruce, eſq. the well known Abyſſinian traveller; who traverſed with ſecurity the haunts of ſavages, and eſcaped perils, the bare recital of which excite horror and amazement, and in ſome a ſtrong degree of doubt as to his veracity. His moſt eventful life was cloſed by a fall down ſtairs, which at the time did not threaten ſerious conſequences.

JUNE.

6th A fire broke out in a room adjoining the laundry at Oatlands,

lands, the seat of the duke of York, which burnt with great fury for nearly an hour and a half, when it communicated to the grand armoury, where arms to the value of more than 20001. were destroyed, but by the activity of the neighbours, the greater part of the house was saved. The whole damage is estimated at 30001. The duchess beheld from her bed-chamber the dreadful conflagration. Her apartment is situated in the center of the mansion, and the fire was prevented from communicating with it, by hewing down a gate-way, over which the wing on fire was joined to the house.

7th Were capitally convicted at the Old Bailey, James Reeve and David Watkins, for feloniously assaulting Francis Buller Yard, esq. on the highway, and extorting from him the sum of nineteen guineas, by threatening to charge him with a certain detestable crime; but an objection arising in point of law, judgment was respited.

10th Lord Chatham carried the account of lord Howe's victory to the opera-house, and after the second act it was made known to the audience. A burst of transport interrupted the performance, and never was witnessed a scene of emotion more rapturous than was exhibited, when the band struck up "Rule Britannia." The excessive joy continued during the whole night. Morichelli joining in the general transport, "God save the King," was sung by her, Morelli and Rovedino. Banti being seen in a box, was universally called on to sing the same loyal and patriotic air, and her cheerful compliance crowned the transport of the night.

His royal highness the duke of Clarence, went to Covent-garden theatre, and lord Mulgrave and col. Phipps to Drury-lane, and communicated the joyful intelligence to the managers, by whose orders it was announced to the audiences, the music at both houses playing "God save the king" and "Rule Britannia."

The event was celebrated throughout the night by ringing of bells, and firing of cannon; the ensuing day the Park and Tower guns were fired, and during three successive nights (11th, 12th, 13th), the metropolis was illuminated.

12th On the first of these nights, earl Stanhope not choosing to exhibit the same testimonials of joy as were displayed by other people, received the customary marks of popular resentment for such contumacy, and the next day published the following advertisement.

"*Outrage in Mansfield-street.*

"Whereas *a hired band of ruffians* attacked my house in Mansfield-street, in the dead of the night between the 11th and 12th of June instant, and set it on fire at different times; and whereas a gentleman's carriage passed several times to and fro in front of my house, and the *aristocrat or other person*, who was in the said carriage gave money to the people in the street to encourage them: this is to request the friends of liberty and good order to send me any authentic information they can procure, respecting the names and place of abode *of the said aristocrat or other person* who was in the carriage above-mentioned, in order that he may be made amenable to the law.

"*Stanhope.*"

The merchants of London opened a subscription at Lloyd's Coffee-house, which was soon crowded with

the names of perſons who teſtified their patriotiſm and liberality, by large pecuniary donations for relief of the widows and orphans of thoſe brave Britiſh ſeamen who fell in the combat.

14th The exchequer loan, which happily proved the ſalvation of many opulent and reſpectable individuals, was completely redeemed, the laſt payment having been then made, without a ſingle default, and, with a gain to government of many thouſand pounds, after payment of every expence. This advantage aroſe from the ſurplus of intereſt, the exchequer bills bearing only four per cent. while individuals who were accommodated, paid the legal intereſt of five per cent.

17th The lord mayor convoked a common council, for the purpoſe of voting an addreſs of congratulation, which was unanimouſly agreed to, as were thanks to earl Howe, his officers and ſailors, accompanied with the freedom of the city to that valiant admiral in a gold box, value 100 guineas, and the corporation munificently added to the ſubſcription at Lloyd's the ſum of 500 l. from their revenues.

Naples. On the 13th ult. at ten o'clock at night, all Naples was ſenſible of the ſhock of an earthquake with a horizontal motion, which laſted about thirty ſeconds. On Saturday the 15th, about the ſame hour, the earthquake was repeated, which was followed by a violent eruption of Mount Veſuvius. The mountain opened in two places towards the center of its line, when columns of black ſmoke, mixed with liquid inflamed matter iſſued from each mouth, and in a line towards the ſea. The exploſions of all theſe mouths, louder than thunder, mixed with ſharp reports, as from the heavieſt pieces of artillery, accompanied by a hollow rumbling, reſembling the noiſe of the ſea in a ſtorm, ſhook all the houſes to their very foundations. The lava guſhing from theſe mouths, after having run four miles in a few hours, deſtroyed the greateſt part of the town of Torre del Greco, and made a conſiderable progreſs into the ſea, where it formed a promontory about ten feet above its ſurface, and near a quarter of a mile broad, having heated the water to ſuch a degree, that a hand could not be borne in it at the diſtance of a hundred yards from the lava.

The number of lives loſt cannot be aſcertained. Many families are miſſing, but whether they have eſcaped, or are buried in the ruins of their houſes, is not known. Naples is covered with aſhes, and every object obſcured as in a thick fog; but Veſuvius, though not viſible, continued to be very turbulent, and more miſchief may be expected, although the lavas are all ſtopped at this moment. The head of St. Januarius was carried in proceſſion yeſterday, and oppoſed to the mountain by the cardinal, archbiſhop of Naples, attended by many thouſands of the inhabitants.

20th The Paris papers contain a letter from Morlaix ſtating, that Archibald Hamilton Rowan landed from a ſmall veſſel at Poſcot, a village in the department of Finiſterre. The veſſel ſet ſail again as ſoon as he had landed. The committee of inſpection at Morlaix, ordered him to be brought before them and examined. He was afterwards

wards ſent to the deputy, Jean Bon St. André.

24th *Naples.* Mount Veſuvius is ſtill covered with a thick cloud of aſhes; all noiſe is ceaſed, and the running of the lava is ſtopped. The former crater has fallen in, and the cone of the volcano has lowered 400 or 500 feet, the preſent crater being enlarged, and nearly on a level with the top of the mountain of Somma. The aſhes that were carried up with a column of water and ſmoke to the perpendicular height of four miles, have fallen and done infinite miſchief to the town, villages, and country at the foot of that mountain, throwing down ſome houſes, and beating in many roofs. Several families from Torre de Greco are ſtill miſſing, but it is believed that very few lives have been loſt. The lava that ran over the greateſt part of that town, in its way to the ſea, where it has raiſed a promontory, is in ſome places ſeventy feet high, and its breadth is about a quarter of a mile. The whole of its courſe is about four miles, which it performed in leſs than four hours.

26th Their majeſties and three of the princeſſes arrived at Portſmouth about ten o'clock this morning, and were received by the governor and lord Howe, and conducted to the dock-yard, whence they proceeded to Spithead. Lord Howe's flag was ſhifted to a frigate, and the royal ſtandard hoiſted on board the Queen Charlotte, on board which his majeſty and the royal family remained till ſix o'clock. The lords of the admiralty hoiſted their flag on board the Queen, admiral Gardner's flag being removed on the occaſion. The whole garriſon was under arms, and the concourſe of people immenſe. The king carried a valuable diamond-hilted ſword, from the commiſſioner's houſe down to the boat, which he preſented to lord Howe on board the queen Charlotte, as a mark of ſatisfaction and approbation. His majeſty alſo preſented a gold chain, to which a medal is hereafter to be annexed, to admiral ſir Alexander Hood, and rear admiral Gardner; the like honour was conferred on ſir Roger Curtis, lord Howe's firſt captain. Admirals Bowyer and Paſley, who could not attend in conſequence of their wounds, have been diſtinguiſhed with ſimilar marks of favour. The royal family, in the evening, on their return from Spithead, rowed up the harbour to view the ſix French prizes at moorings.

27th The king firſt gave audience to the officers of lord Howe, and afterwards indiſcriminately to all the other naval and military officers. Some marks of diſtinction were conferred. On the levee being ended, the royal family returned to the commiſſioner's houſe in the dock yard to dinner, and in the evening proceeded up the river to view the French prizes. The town was brilliantly illuminated in the evening, and every poſſible demonſtration of joy manifeſted.

28th The royal family attended the launching of the Prince of Wales, a fine ſecond rate. Four flags were flying on board the Prince of Wales during this ceremony, the royal ſtandard, the admiralty flag, ſir Peter Parker's white flag as port-admiral, and the union flag. The cheering of the multitude in honour of the royal viſitants, wherever they appeared made

made the air ring; and bands of music continued playing in the yard, and on board the ships and yachts up the harbour. Immediately on the Prince of Wales being brought up to her moorings, their majesties, prince Ernest, and the princesses embarked, in order to go on board the Aquilon frigate, captain Stopford, at Spithead. As the barges approached the ships at Spithead, two guns from the Queen Charlotte were, as on a former marine trip, the signal for a general salute; every ship in consequence fired twenty-one guns, and the crews cheered as the barges passed. On their majesties going on board the Aquilon, and getting under sail, the like salute was fired; and the bands of the different ships played martial symphonies for the greatest part of the day. The Aquilon, after sailing round the fleet, stood away towards the Needles. Owing to there being but very little wind, soon after the Aquilon frigate had got to the eastward of Cowes Point, she, in going about, touched the ground, by which accident they were stopped an hour or two; and, night coming on, their majesties, and all the royal party took to their barges. The Aquilon, on the rising of the tide, was got off without receiving damage.

The following most extraordinary and unprecedented exertion ought to be recorded to the honour of the artificers of our dock yard. The prince of Wales of 98 guns, went off the stocks this day at 11 o'clock, came into the wet dock next tide, and was completely caulked and coppered in nine hours, in order to shew his majesty the operation.

The royal family left Portsmouth perfectly satisfied with their visit, after a residence of four days, and an inspection of the finest navy in the world. They sailed on board the Niger frigate for Southampton, where they landed in the afternoon, and proceeded in their carriages for Windsor. 30th

JULY.

This evening the proprietors of Drury-lane theatre gave a free benefit for the patriotic purpose of augmenting the subscription opened at Lloyd's coffee-house, for the sufferers in the glorious engagement on the 1st of June. Mrs. Jordan aided the views of the managers, by appearing for the only time during the season, in the character of Peggy in the Country Girl. A new after-piece, written by Mr. Cobb, a well known dramatist, followed the play, it was intitled *The Glorious First of June*, and served as a vehicle for patriotic sentiments, and some good poetry in songs, by the duke of Leeds and lord Mulgrave, and a prologue by Mr. Richardson. The prices of admission being raised for the occasion, the benefit produced nearly 1400l. 2nd

On Monday (31st June), a dreadful fire broke out at Tiverton in Devon, in that part of the town called West End. The buildings being mostly thatched and extremely dry, it spread with great rapidity and was not got under, till 4 o'clock on Tuesday morning. The wind being rather high, the fire communicated with houses in the main street, several of which are consumed and others much 3rd

much damaged. About 200 houſes are deſtroyed.

4th A ſhock of an earthquake was felt at Moortown, near Taviſtock, in the county of Devon, which laſted about 15 ſeconds.

Mr. Adams, late ſecretary to the conſtitutional ſociety has been liberated on giving bail.

7th A violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning attended with torrents of rain, occaſioned much damage and conſternation in many parts of the kingdom. At Malden in Eſſex, a farm was ſet on fire near Tiptree heath. At Hereford, the ſtorm raged with great fury; and at Goodrich, in the ſame county, ſeveral ſheep were killed, and a large elm ſhivered in pieces. At Shrewſbury, and throughout the county of Salop, it did great miſchief; in the neighbourhood of Ludlow, three horſes and ſeveral ſheep were ſtruck dead; Saliſbury ſuſtained conſiderable damage, and at Albourne, all the windows oppoſed to the wind were broken by hailſtones, ſome of which are ſaid to have meaſured five inches in circumference. The pariſh church of Beenham in Valence, Berks, was conſumed by lightning. At Northhill, Bedford, a large tree was ſhivered, and ſplinters driven to 30 yards diſtance; three men ſtanding under a neighbouring tree for ſhelter, were ſtruck down, and one with difficulty recovered; at Harleſton near Northampton, a remarkable fine oak was alſo deſtroyed. At Market-Harborough, the lightning ſtruck the north ſide of the ſteeple of the parochial chapel, a few feet below the upper window in the ſpire part, where it made a perforation, and ſhivered many courſes of the ſtone-work within ſide, extending the whole breadth of the north, and to the adjacent north-eaſt, and north-weſt ſides, and made a fiſſure of conſiderable length through the north-weſt angle. In its paſſage down the weſt ſide of the ſpire, it tore off a large piece of an oak frame, four inches ſquare, which was placed in the window of it: a few feet below which window, it wrenched a ſtone ſeven inches thick from its bed, leaving it projecting a full inch from the ſurface of the wall; it then ſhattered the wheel of the ſixth or tenor bell, and forced it into an oblique direction to the ſtock, ſo as to bear up the ſkirt of the bell; and finally threw the axis of one of the clock hammers out of the bouches or virtivals, by which it was ſupported. The paſſage of this moſt powerful and very awful agent can be traced in the inſide of the ſteeple walls for nearly 50 feet, and the exploſion at the time the perforation was made in the ſteeple, was tremendous indeed.

Leiceſter, Houghton, Handſworth, and ſeveral other places alſo experienced the effects of this tremendous viſitation.

13th The bakehouſe and warehouſe of Mr. Alderman Curtis were burnt. A ſugar houſe adjoining likewiſe caught fire; but by great exertions a conſiderable part of it was preſerved.

16th At a court of common council, the lord mayor communicated his majeſty's anſwer to the addreſs on the victory by earl Howe; alſo a letter from the admiral, expreſſing his grateful acknowledgments for the honour conferred on him, and the donation of 500l.

A petition

A petition from Martha Middleton, ſpinſter, a lineal deſcendant of ſir Hugh Middleton who undertook to bring the New River to London, praying the benevolence of the court, was read, and referred to the committee for general purpoſes.

19th At the concluſion of the ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, ſeven convicts received ſentence of death, 16 were ordered to be tranſported for ſeven years, two to be impriſoned in Newgate, one in Clerkenwell Bridewell, five to be publicly whipped, three fined one ſhilling, and diſcharged, and 24 diſcharged by proclamation. Seven convicts, who had been reſpited during his majeſty's pleaſure, were ſentenced to be tranſported for life to the eaſtern coaſt of New South Wales, or ſome one of the iſlands adjacent.

23d About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, a fire broke out at Mr. Clove's barge-builder, at Cock-Hill, Ratcliffe, occaſioned by the boiling over of a pitch-kettle, that ſtood under his warehouſe, which was very ſoon conſumed. The flames communicated to a barge, lying adjoining to the premiſes, and laden with ſalt-petre and ſtores; the blowing up of the ſalt-petre occaſioned large flakes of fire to fall on the warehouſes of the Eaſt India Company, which alſo took fire, as well as ſeveral other veſſels and ſmall-craft, lying near the barge. The wind blowing ſtrongly from the S. W. and the high-ſtreet Ratcliffe being narrow, both ſides were in flames, and the engines could be of no ſervice. The tide being out, no ſupply of water could be procured for many hours. In the courſe of the evening, the conflagration extended to the premiſes of Joſeph Hawkes, timber-merchant, in London-ſtreet, where it raged furiouſly and communicated to Butcher-row, the whole of the weſt and part of the eaſt ſide of which were conſumed.

The fire had alſo taken its courſe up Brook-ſtreet, caught the premiſes of Mr. Shakeſpeare, rope-maker, and burnt through to the fields on the one ſide, and all the dwellings on the other; till at length it ceaſed, from want of materials to conſume, having reached an open ſpace of ground, where the connexion of combuſtible ſubſtances was broken; but towards Limehouſe it continued to rage till about ten in the evening. It was a remarkable circumſtance that the houſe of Mr. Farr, an extenſive building ſurrounded by the conflagration was preſerved uninjured; the owner attributed this eſcape to the precaution he had adopted of remaining in his houſe, and on no account ſuffering a door or window to be opened.

A ſurvey was taken by the warden and other officers of the hamlet of Ratcliffe, who reported, that of 1200 houſes, of which the hamlet conſiſted, no more than 570 remained. More houſes have been deſtroyed by this fire, than by any ſince the memorable one of the year 1666.

The poorer part of the ſufferers carried the few goods they could ſave into the fields, and watched them all night; Stepney church was opened for their reception, but by far the greater portion remained in the open air. To alleviate their diſtreſſes government ordered 140 tents to be pitched in a field

a field adjoining Stepney churchyard, and waggons were ſent from the Tower in which ſome took up their abode. At leaſt fourteen hundred people were by this calamitous event thrown on the public benevolence; a ſubſcription was opened at Lloyd's coffee-houſe for their benefit which met with great ſucceſs; ſeveral benevolent and reſpectable gentlemen in the neighbourhood formed themſelves into a committee to augment and diſtribute charitable donations; and collections were made at the gate of the camp, and at all the avenues leading to the extenſive ruins, at which large ſums were given; the produce of one ſingle ſunday exceeded 800 l. of which 38 l. 14 s. was given in farthings; the genuine mite of needy benevolence.

28th *Dublin.* The commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, before Mr. Juſtice Chamberlaine, ended, and the following perſons received judgment.—Alexander M'Dowell and William M'Dowell, underkeepers of Newgate, for abetting the eſcape of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, to be impriſoned one year and nine months, being the unexpired period of his ſentence; and to pay a fine of 250 l. each, making 500 l. the ſum which he was condemned to pay.

Michael O'Berne convicted of robbing Mr. Bennet, was then put to the bar. Affidavits were tendered containing depoſitions of three witneſſes who were in the houſe of Mr. Lambert, the perſon implicated in the ſame crime with the priſoner, all tending to ſupport an alibi which had been attempted to be proved on the trial: the court, however, refuſed to receive them, as the parties ought to have given evidence before the jury. The priſoner being aſked if he could aſſign any reaſon why ſentence of death ſhould not be paſſed on him, in a manly but humble tone, thus addreſſed the court.

"My Lord, As to any miſmanagement on the part of thoſe who conducted my defence, in not bringing forward the witneſſes, whoſe affidavits your lordſhip has juſt now thought proper to refuſe, I cannot account for it, and it is now too late to be remedied. But as to guilt in the crime for which I am convicted, I now as a dying man do moſt ſolemly declare, in the preſence of this honourable court, and of the Almighty God, that I am as innocent of the robbery of Mr. Bennet, as the unborn infant. If your lordſhip ſhould be ſo humane as to think me not unworthy of the royal mercy, I ſhould be ready to ſerve my king and country in any part of the world. If on the contrary I am fated to die, I would meet my death with fortitude in any ſhape but the ignominious one which I apprehend is about to be pronounced againſt me. If I am to reſt hopeleſs of your lordſhip's benevolence, and of the royal clemency, let me implore your lordſhip, if you have the power, to permit me to be ſhot, and I will meet my fate with reſignation."

The learned judge declared he never before felt himſelf in ſuch a ſituation as the preſent, in performing that melancholy duty, which his ſtation impoſed upon him, in pronouncing the ſentence of an ignominious death, againſt a man, the reſpectability of whoſe connexions and family, and whoſe perſon, appearance and underſtanding ſeemed

to

to deprecate ſo melancholy a lot: but adverting to the charges, that had been laid againſt him, the poſitiveneſs, clearneſs and ſtrength of the proſecutor's teſtimony, the misfortune of attempting the defence of an alibi on ſuch teſtimony, as that of the wife of the very perſon implicated in the very ſame crime with him, and unſupported by the teſtimony of the ſervants or other perſons in Lambert's houſe; (whoſe affidavits were tendered this day) and the verdict of the jury, were all, his lordſhip ſaid, circumſtances inſurmountable. If the unfortunate priſoner choſe to riſque his life on ſuch a defence, the misfortune was his own, and it was now too late to amend it; nothing therefore remained but the melancholy taſk of pronouncing the awful ſentence of the law.

29th At Guildhall, Daniel Iſaac Eaton, the bookſeller, was tried for a libel on lady Elizabeth Luttrell, in a pamphlet called the "Female Jockey Club." Mr. Erſkine was counſel for the proſecution; Mr. Gurney for the defendant tendered no evidence, but made an apologetical addreſs, ſtating that Eaton was merely a publiſher, and had diſcontinued the ſale of the work, and offered to pay the coſts of the proſecution, and make all the reparation in his power. Lord Kenyon having ſummed up the evidence, the foreman of the jury immediately pronounced the defendant guilty; but the other jurymen did not all concur, they therefore retired and after deliberating an hour and a half, pronounced a verdict, "Guilty of printing and publiſhing that Book which is a Libel."—Lord Kenyon ordered the clerk to take the verdict generally *Guilty*; and obſerved that upon the evidence adduced, it would have been a reproach to the adminiſtration of juſtice, if that verdict had not been given. No man living, feeling the obligation of an oath, could poſſibly entertain a doubt of it.

AUGUST.

2nd The following particulars of the loſs of the Commerce, captain Bell, of Lancaſter, and of the miraculous eſcape of the crew, have been given by Mr. Garnett, of Manchester, who was a paſſenger.

The ſhip ſtruck about ſix o'clock in the morning of the 30th of April laſt, on the coaſt of Newfoundland, about a hundred yards from an iron-bound ſhore; the boats were ſtaved, and there was little proſpect of an eſcape for the people, 22 in number. However with the uſual intrepidity of Britiſh ſeamen, they conſtructed a ſmall raft, by which a few of them got on ſhore carrying with them ropes to faſten to the rocks; they ſcrambled up by theſe with great difficulty, and making the proper preparations they hoiſted up the reſt of the crew one by one. They found themſelves in a barren country and ſaw no trace of human feet for ſeven days. Whilſt they continued on the rocks, the tide brought a hog from the veſſel juſt alive, which they killed, and ate part of it raw. They had no fire, nor any means of making one, having in vain tried wood by friction, till happily a powder horn was thrown on ſhore, together with ſome cotton, which they

dried by applying it to their bodies; they then ſprinkled ſome powder on it, and one of them happening to have a flint, they made a fire and roaſted the remainder of their hog.

One of the crew more provident, as he thought, than the reſt, had ſecured ſome biſcuit in his jacket and left them. As they travelled in ſearch of relief, they found him expiring under a tree; he told them, that about two miles farther they would ſee a boat at the mouth of a river. They accordingly proceeded and found the boat, in which they went round nearly to the place where they had been wrecked. The hog was now almoſt conſumed, and no veſſel in ſight; but they providentially found a caſk of rum and another of coffee thrown up.—They had kept their fire alive by a continued watch of four at a time, the reſt ſleeping covered with branches of trees, while it rained very heavily. During this time they frequently ſaw a number of bears looking at them from a diſtance. Having found an iron ſhot and a copper pan, they uſed them for pounding and dreſſing their coffee. In a few days however they muſt have periſhed, if they had not ſeen a fiſhing boat, which they got on board of, and which took them to Placentia, St. Johns, and Haliſax, whence they ſailed in a ſhip with 250 French priſoners to Jerſey; meeting there with an American veſſel, the captain, mate and Mr. Garbett, went on board and were landed at Falmouth.

A few days ago ſome convicts attempted to eſcape from Cumberland fort. The circumſtances of their recapture, are extremely honourable to a young officer, lieutenant Howard Elphinſtone, of the Engineers.

Thirty convicts got out of the fort into the boat intending to effect their eſcape; as ſoon as lieutenant Elphinſtone heard of the circumſtance, he purſued them in another boat, and on their refuſing to ſurrender, he immediately attacked them, killed four and wounded ſix. The reſt then yielded and were conducted back.

Sir William Pitt the governor of Portſmouth, and commanding officer of that diſtrict, was ſo pleaſed with this brave action, that he thanked lieutenant Elphinſtone in public orders, and warmly recommended him to the notice of the duke of Richmond.

5th. The Trinity board, in their nautical reſearches during the preſent ſummer, have diſcovered by the moſt accurate ſoundings of the Goodwin Sands, adjoining to the Downs, a ſpacious and deep bay, nearly in the centre of them, capable of affording ſafe riding for the largeſt ſhips in all weathers. They have ordered it to be marked out with proper buoys and beacons, and by this valuable diſcovery, our mariners will find a ſafe anchorage in that latitude of our coaſt, which has hitherto proved ſo dangerous and deſtructive.

7th. The moſt violent ſtorm of hail and rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, took place in the metropolis, that has been known for many years. It commenced between 3 and 4 p. m. and was accompanied by long and vivid flaſhes of lightning. The rain burſt from the clouds like cataracts. The oldeſt inhabitant of

of London it is believed, never witneſſed ſo awful a ſcene. The thunder was ſo loud that thoſe who have faced the rage of the elements in all climes do not remember ever to have heard peals of ſuch force. The lightning, attracted by an iron weather-cock, ſtruck the roof of the Examiner's office in Rolls-yard, Chancery-lane, and made a hole large enough for a man to creep through, ſhattering many tiles, bricks, &c. and juſt afterwards a ball of fire falling near the lodge in the ſame yard, felled two perſons for a moment without hurting them, and, riſing again, made its courſe through one of the windows of the Crown Office in Chancery, and, it is apprehended muſt have paſſed out at one of the back windows of that office, which was alſo open. From the clouds of ſmoke that immediately iſſued and continued for ſeveral minutes, it was feared the office was on fire; but, on opening the door, it was diſcovered to have received little or no injury. On examination it was found, that the nails and iron-work, which the lightning met with in its paſſage, had been melted and partly vitrified. The Cock public houſe, Temple Bar, received ſome damage; but fortunately did not catch fire: the flaſh which hurt this houſe was ſeen to come down in an immenſe body, a few yards eaſt of Temple Bar; it wheeled about with great velocity, and ſtruck the ſtreet with immenſe force. Fortunately the heavy rain had driven every perſon from the ſtreet, and no coach was paſſing. The firſt effect obſerved was ſimilar to that produced by an exploſion of gunpowder; every particle of ſtraw, mud, and even the water was completely ſwept from the ſtreet; and the doors and windows of the houſes, particularly on the north ſide of the ſtreet, were ſhaken, and ſome driven open. In Falcon ſtreet, Alderſgate ſtreet, a razor in the hand of a perſon who was ſhaving himſelf was melted, and dropped inſtantaneouſly from the handle: the man fell to the ground, but received little injury. A ſhoemaker, near Aldgate, was ſtruck dead at his door. The centre beam at Lloyd's coffee room ſuddenly cracked during the ſtorm, and a great part of the ceiling fell: the torrent of rain was ſo great that in a few minutes the floor was covered with water; no accident, however, happened in conſequence. In Great Windmill ſtreet two balls of fire fell within ten minutes of each other, the direction of which extended towards the ſouth, of prodigious length, but without much injury. In Wardour ſtreet Soho, and ſeveral others to the weſtward, the ſame alarming ſcene preſented itſelf. A waterman croſſing Lambeth Marſh, was knocked down by its force, and his recovery for ſome time deemed doubtful. At Iſlington a cow was killed, its head being completely ſplit, and ſeveral ſheep alſo deſtroyed near Barnet.

A few days ago, the marriage of prince Auguſtus Frederick and lady Auguſta Murray, at Saint George's church, Hanover Square, was finally determined in the Arches Court, Doctors Commons, to be utterly null and void; and the former marriage pretended to have been ſolemnized at Rome, was declared by the laws of this country invalid. 8th

8th *Cowes.* A party from one of the tranſports, under convoy of the Nonſuch man of war lying at anchor here, obtained permiſſion to land, that they might have the benefit of ſea-bathing from the ſhore. On their return towards the ſhip, the wind blowing ſtrong from the north, and the tide at ebb, the ſmall boat in which they were, not being above 14 feet long, was overſet, and 16 ſoldiers of the 32nd regiment, and two ſailors, out of 28 perſons, who firſt left the veſſel, were drowned: the others were picked up by boats in the harbour.

9th *York.* On Thurſday (7th) at two o'clock John Wilkinſon of this city was detected, in court, of picking the pocket of David Armytage of his handkerchief. Sir William Milner granted a warrant to ſearch his houſe, where 36 ſtolen handkerchiefs, ſix pairs of gloves, and other articles, were diſcovered. A bill of indictment was immediately preſented and found by the grand jury; and he was tried, convicted, and ſentenced to ſeven years tranſportation before five o'clock the ſame afternoon.

12th Accounts were received at Lloyd's, on Wedneſday, (6th) of the arrival at St. Malo of nine cartel ſhips with French priſoners, from Barbadoes, Martinique and Guadaloupe. As ſoon as theſe veſſels arrived, they were ſeized by the French, and the captains and crews, after being deprived of all their perſonal property, put into priſon.

14th *Maidſtone.* At our aſſizes, Mr. Thomas Purefoy was indicted for the wilful murder of colonel Roper in a duel on the 21ſt of December 1788. The interval which had occurred between that event and the proſecution, was not aſſignable to the proſecutors, as Mr. Purefoy had, for the greater part of the time, been out of the kingdom.

In 1787, colonel Roper was commander in chief at the iſland of St. Vincent, and Mr. Purefoy an enſign in the 66th regiment. The latter having obtained leave of abſence, had a feſtive day, with ſome other officers, in which they committed ſuch exceſſes as occaſioned a complaint to the colonel by whom the leave of abſence was recalled. The ſtyle in which Mr. Purefoy made his remonſtrances induced the colonel to bring him to a court-martial, and by their verdict, which was confirmed by his majeſty, he was declared to have forfeited his commiſſion.—This was the origin of the diſpute, which had ſuch a fatal termination.

The evidence, particularly that of general Stanwix, the ſecond to colonel Roper, was extremely favourable to the priſoner; who being called upon for his defence, ſaid, he entertained no malice againſt the deceaſed. He had been urged by a call of honour, or, rather driven by the tyranny of cuſtom, to an act, which in early life had embittered his exiſtence, but without which, he was taught to believe, he ſhould loſe all the conſolations of ſociety. The laſt challenge, he ſaid, had come from colonel Roper; and as ſome expiation for his offence, he had already ſuffered nearly ſix years exile, and nine months cloſe confinement.

The latter part of his addreſs was

was read from a written paper by Mr. Erſkine, the feelings of Mr. Pureſoy overpowering his utterance.

Nine gentlemen moſt of whom had known the priſoner from early life, atteſted his general mildneſs and averſion to quarrel, and after a charge by the judge, Mr. Baron Hotham, the jury without heſitation pronounced him "*Not Guilty.*"

14th Diſpatches were received at the India Houſe over land from Buſſorah, brought thither by the Huſſar cutter from Bombay.

The object of the Bombay council in ſending theſe over-land diſpatches was, to give intelligence of the death of Madajee Scindia, the great Mahratta chief, who has ſo frequently embroiled all India in hoſtilities.

Private letters from Bombay mention that in conſequence of ſome diſcontents, which had broken out in the province of Oude, ſir Robert Abercrombie had left Bombay, and was gone with a detachment of forces into the Oude country.

Tippoo Sultan, having punctually fulfilled his engagements with the government of Madras, his two ſons, who were kept as hoſtages, have been ſent back to Seringapatam, highly ſatisfied with their treatment at Madras.

15th The king, queen, prince Erneſt, princeſs royal, princeſſes Auguſta, Elizabeth, Mary, Sophia and Amelia, with their attendants ſet off from Windſor lodge for Weymouth.

16th A fire broke out on board the Neptune Weſt India ſhip, lying in the Pool, loaded entirely with rum. She was immediately towed out of the tier, and run aſhore on the Southwark ſide, where ſhe burnt very furiouſly till late in the evening, but without communicating the fire to other veſſels. By the quantity of rum which flowed overboard, the fiſh in the Thames were ſo affected as to float up with the tide in great numbers, and the people on both ſhores collected whole baſkets full.

16th At Danbury camp, Eſſex, the whole line being drawn out in honour of the duke of York's birth day, on the feu de joye being fired, the adjutant of the Leiceſterſhire militia fell ſuddenly from his horſe in front of his regiment; ſome officers, who ran to his aſſiſtance, found that he was wounded, and on his being carried into his tent, the ſurgeon diſcovered that he had received a ball a little below the left breaſt, which no inſtrument could reach. The whole regiment were immediately ordered to ground their arms, when every muſket and cartouch box was examin'd, but nothing found that could lead to a diſcovery of the offender. The ſoldier ſuſpected of this deliberate villainy is brother of a private, who with four other men, received one hundred laſhes the preceding day, for leaving his work as tailor to the regiment.

A beehive at Edinburgh was found to weigh 130 lb. It meaſured thirty inches in diameter, and twelve in depth; the honey was raiſed in the pariſh of Cambuſnethan, after the method preſcribed by Bonner in his treatiſe on the generation and management of Bees, as quoted in the Encyclopædia Britannica, under the article Drone. If this method was more generally adopted a

very large crop of honey might annually be raiſed in this country, and much money ſaved which is paid for foreign honey of a very inferior quality.

17th This morning, between one and two o'clock Aſtley's Royal Saloon, on the Surrey-ſide of Weſtminſter Bridge, was entirely deſtroyed by fire, with ſeveral houſes in front of the Weſtminſter road; the Pheaſant inn, and ſome dwellings in Stangate ſtreet. All Mr. Aſtley's horſes were ſaved; but all the ſcenery, wardrobe, &c. were conſumed.

20th On Saturday evening, (16th) the coroner's inqueſt was taken on the body of George Howe, who on the 15th threw himſelf from a three-pair-of-ſtairs window in Johnſon's Court, Charing-croſs, and was killed on the ſpot. The jury returned their verdict, Accidental death in endeavouring to eſcape from illegal confinement in a houſe of ill fame.

On account of this accident a great crowd aſſembled on the 15th and 16th, demoliſhing the inſide of the houſe and breaking the windows of two others; they were however reſtrained by the guards. On Monday night the 18th they were again very riotous at Charing-croſs, which occaſioned the picquet guard to be called; they pelted the ſoldiers, who forebore extremities, but at length diſperſed them with little miſchief.

On that day, two men were brought before W. Addington, Eſq. at the public office Bow ſtreet, charged with ſtealing from the perſon of Edward Barnet, a ſilver watch and ſeveral other articles. It appeared by his evidence, that ſome time ſince he was trepanned by the priſoners, who confined him in a houſe in Whitcomb ſtreet, compelled him to ſign an atteſtation, and then after robbing him of the above-mentioned articles, ſent him to Banbury to join the regiment.

On relating theſe circumſtances to the commanding officer, the two men who brought him down were taken into cuſtody, and he was ſent back to London. The priſoners were fully committed for trial.

The White Horſe, public houſe, being a reputed houſe for receiving recruits, was ſurrounded on the 19th by a great concourſe of people, who deſtroyed the furniture and ſpilled the liquors in the ſtreet. The guards being at length called for and a reinforcement ſent from Kenſington, the rioters were diſperſed. Several keepers of theſe recruiting houſes, commonly called crimps, were brought before magiſtrates, and diſcharged for want of accuſers.

22d The lord mayor cauſed to be circulated and poſted throughout the city a printed requeſt, that every houſe-keeper would uſe his utmoſt endeavour to prevent any child or ſervant from appearing in the ſtreets at night, ſetting forth the conſequences that might enſue. An abridgment of the riot act, and of the proclamation therein, was alſo printed and poſted in various parts. An extraordinary number of conſtables was appointed to watch in every part of the town. The gentlemen of the aſſociation paraded all night, and a great number of the guards were kept at the manſion houſe, in readineſs to march at the ſhorteſt notice.

25th. A

25th A cauſe was tried before the lord chief baron and a ſpecial jury, at the aſſizes for the county of Warwick, brought by order of the Poſt-Maſter-General againſt Joſeph Whitmore, a carrier from Warwick to Birmingham, for illegally collecting and carrying letters. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff generally, whereby penalties to the amount of 1,500l. were recovered; but Mr. Newnham who conducted the proſecution, conſented to a verdict being taken for the two penalties of 5l. each only, with coſts of ſuit. This verdict ſhould be a warning to carriers, coachmen, and other perſons againſt taking up letters tied round with a ſtring, or covered with brown paper, under pretence of their being parcels, which the learned judge obſerved was a flimſy evaſion of the law.

26th At Carliſle aſſizes came on a trial, Johnſon *qui tam* v. Gilbanks, clerk; a cauſe of great importance to the clergy. The action was brought upon the ſtatute to compel the defendant, who lives in Cockermouth, to reſide upon his vicarage of Kirkland, in the county of Cumberland. The plaintiff was a poor fellow, living twenty miles from the pariſh of Kirkland, and farmer of the attorney who commenced the proſecution, and who was brother-in-law to the defendant. It was proved that the pariſhioners of Kirkland were univerſally ſatisfied with the diſcharge of the miniſterial duty by the curate; that the defendant when reſident at Kirkland, had laboured under bad health; and a phyſician and a ſurgeon who had attended him proved that he could not reſide in the vicarage without hazard of his life, the houſe being built on the ſide of the higheſt mountain in England, and the defendant labouring under a confirmed aſthma. The learned judge (Lawrence) explained the law to the jury—the ſtatute was framed to compel the reſidence of the clergy—a ſalutary proviſion: if this proſecution orginated in malice, as had been ſuggeſted, that was not for the conſideration of the jury, as any man might proſecute upon a penal ſtatute, the plea of health was for their conſideration, and if they thought proper to find for the plaintiff, they muſt inquire into the number of months proved. The jury found for the plaintiff—penalty 100l.. The defendant's counſel tendered a bill of exceptions.

Waterford. Auguſt 26. Laſt week Michael Cody, of Urlingford, was committed to Kilkenny gaol, for the murder of his wife, his ſon, a lad of about 16, and a child of two years old. His motives are yet unknown, but he has acknowledged the fact, with ſome of the particulars: being determined to kill his wife, his three children, and himſelf, he took the opportunity of their ſitting down together to dinner, to ſtrike each of them on the head with a hatchet, and then finiſhed the bloody work with a razor. The eldeſt ſon eſcaped, and having alarmed the neighbourhood, returned and found all expiring except the murderer, who had wounded himſelf ineffectually. He is faſt recovering of the wound, but preſents a moſt dreadful ſpectacle of remorſe and diſappointment.

Emigrations to America. The Factor, captain Bowen, ſailed for New

New York, with eighty-four paſſengers.

Ralph Eddowes, Eſq. of Cheſter, with his wife and five children, accompanied by four other of the principal families of that city, ſailed from Liverpool, about a fortnight ago, in the Hope, captain Johnſon, Mr. Eddowes has taken with him property to the amount of 26,000l.

Mr. Cooper, of Mancheſter, with a wife and four children was accompanied by eighteen of his friends, and departed from Liverpool in the Atlantic, captain Swain. He had been twelve months in America, had purchaſed an eſtate on the banks of the Suſquehanna, in Penſylvania, and returned for his family and friends, who have now accompanied him.

Mr. Ruffel, of Birmingham, a magiſtrate for the counties of Warwick and Worceſter, with his two brothers and their families; Mr. Humphries of Birmingham, owner of the beautiful villa of Camp Hill, near that town, with eight of his relations; and above a hundred other families of Birmingham, have alſo ſailed for America.

29th L'Impetueuſe of 74 guns, one of the largeſt line of battle ſhips, captured by earl Howe, and which lay at a ſmall diſtance from Portſmouth dock caught fire and burnt with prodigious fury and rapidity. Signals being made, all the boats belonging to ſhips in the harbour were manned, and by the intrepidity and judgment of the ſailors, chains were fixed fore and aft, in ſuch a manner as to prevent the flames from ſpreading in other directions, and to keep the veſſel fixed, till ſhe was conſumed to the water's edge. The fire at firſt ſpread ſo rapidly as to threaten the deſtruction of the whole dock-yard; and as the ſhip was moored near the powder magazine, the alarmed inhabitants fled in every direction from the town. The French priſoners in Portcheſter caſtle, amounting to near 5,000, on the moment of the flames burſting out, gave a loud ſhout of Vive la republique! and continued all night ſinging Ca ira, and the Marſeillois hymn, in expectation of being releaſed. They were however diſappointed, the moſt prudent caution being obſerved, and no ſtranger being permitted to enter the dock-yard. A Spaniard and four other perſons were apprehended on ſuſpicion of being concerned in ſetting the ſhip on fire; but it appears to have happened through negligence. Several Spaniards were on board, one of whom was preſerved though much ſcorched, the others were loſt in the conflagration.

Northford, *America*. June 20th. Yeſterday afternoon paſſed over this place, a cloud out of the S. W. the head of which was very thick and heavy, like a common thunder cloud, but of a very light ſmoky colour, and wonderfully agitated. Its height, and diametrical extent was about 1-8th of a mile; it was of a circular figure, and whirled in a moſt violent manner on its centre, from whence iſſued a vortex of air which deſcended to the earth, alternately increaſing and decreaſing from one to two rods apparently, but really from 5 to twenty. Sometimes it appeared to divide in a number of whirls, yet all completing one, the wind of which, when it was

contracted,

contracted, was a little lulled, and when it was expanded again, became exceedingly violent. The atmoſphere was filled with fences, leaves and boughs of trees whirled in every direction: no rain or hail fell from the cloud, which was zigzag in its courſe, and attended with an alarming rumbling like that of an earthquake. Its progreſs was rapid and tremendous, and a few buildings which ſtood in its courſe were rent aſunder and hurled to a conſiderable diſtance. The loweſt ground was marked with the greateſt havock.

DIED.—2d. At Cromwell houſe, aged 36, Richard Burke Eſq. M. P. for the borough of Malton, and the only ſon of the right honourable Edmund Burke. He had not taken his ſeat for the ſaid borough, having been elected thereto ſince the prorogation of parliament, on the reſignation of his father. The irreparable loſs which his country, his friends, and relations, have ſuſtained by this event, is beſt known to thoſe who knew him moſt. His talents, whether for buſineſs or ſpeculation, were not exceeded by any which the preſent or any former age could boaſt. In that ſhare, unfortunately ſmall, which fell to his lot in public affairs, the ſuperior abilities which he manifeſted were acknowledged by the firſt characters in public life. Perhaps it was owing to their magnitude and ſolidity, diſproportioned to the currency of the times, that they remained without farther employment. The variety and extent of his erudition was great; but what diſtinguiſhed him in literature was the juſtneſs, refinement, and accuracy of his taſte. In ſociety his manners were elegant; and the beſt judges both at home and abroad, thought him one of the beſt bred men of the age. He was at the ſame time, rigidly and ſeverely ſincere. He was of moderate ſtature, but of a beautiful countenance, and an elegant and graceful figure. He wanted no accompliſhment of body or mind. In the diſcharge of all the duties of friendſhip, and in acts of charity and benevolence, his exertions were without bounds. They were often ſecret; always, like all his other virtues, unoſtentatious. He had no expences which related to himſelf. What he wanted from the narrowneſs of his means, was made up from the abundance of his heart and mind; and the writer of this, who knew him long and intimately, and was himſelf under the moſt important obligations to him, could tell how many deſerving objects he aſſiſted, and ſome of whom he ſnatched from ruin by his wiſe advice and indefatigable exertions. He never gave up a purſuit of this kind, whilſt it was poſſible to continue it. But it was in the dearer relations of nature that his mind, in which every thing was beautiful and in order, ſhone with all its luſtre. To his father and mother his affection and aſſiduity were ſuch as paſſed all deſcription, and all examples, that the writer of this had ever ſeen. Here every thing of SELF was annihilated; he was perfect as human nature can admit. At home, and to his family he was, indeed, all in all. He lived in and for his parents, and he expired in their arms.—A ſincerely afflicted mind feels a momentary conſolation in drawing this imperfect ſketch of this

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ever to be honoured and lamented friend. W. K.

5th. At his ſeat at Oakley-grove, near Cirenceſter, in the county of Glouceſter, in his 86th year, the right honourable Henry Bathurſt earl Bathurſt, lord Apſley, one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, and a governor of the Charter-houſe. His lordſhip being bred to the bar, became one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas; and on the death of the new chancellor Yorke, in January 1770, was appointed one of the commiſſioners for the cuſtody of the great ſeal; in January 1771, was created lord Apſley, and appointed lord high chancellor of Great Britain; and in 1776 acted as lord high ſteward on the trial of the duchefs of Kingſton. In September 1775 he ſucceeded his father in the title of earl Bathurſt; and in 1778 reſigned the chancellorſhip, but was afterwards preſident of the council for ſome years; ſince which he lived chiefly in retirement. His ſon, Henry lord Apſley, M.P. for the borough of Cirenceſter, ſucceeds to the title and eſtates of earl Bathurſt. To the uncommon diligence and attention of the late earl, and his ſtrict integrity to the execution of the high office of chancellor, the decrees he pronounced bear the beſt teſtimony. Finding his health impaired by the fatigues of his duty, he voluntarily reſigned the ſeal, and withdrew from public life, equally beloved and revered by the bar, and all others who had occaſion to approach him, for his dignity and politeneſs of manners. He declined accepting a penſion uſually given to his predeceſſors in office, and which was offered to him, his liberality of mind, the diſtinguiſhed characteriſtic of his life, diſdaining to burthen the public purſe with a payment to him when he had ceaſed to earn it by his ſervices. His death was a great loſs to many within the influence of his extenſive bounty and charity. He was, in very early life, ſo grave, ſo ſtudious, and ſo temperate a character, that, according to a well-known ſtory, his father, a friend of Pope, at a very advanced age, uſed to ſay to his companions in their evening conviviality, ſpeaking of his ſon, who always retired ſoon, "Well, now we will enjoy ourſelves, ſince the old gentleman is gone to bed."

14th. At Paddington, George Colman, Eſq. ſenior, the patentee of the Theatre Royal, Haymarket. A few hours before his death he was ſeized with violent ſpaſms, which were ſucceeded by a fit of melancholy ſtupor, in which he drew his laſt breath. He was buried on the 24th in the vault belonging to his family, at Kenſington, with no abſurd parade of funeral pomp; only a few of his old friends attending, to pay the laſt tribute of reſpect to his memory.—It has often been aſſerted, that Mr. Colman was a natural ſon of the celebrated William Pulteney, afterwards earl of Bath; but he was in reality the ſon of Thomas Colman, Eſq. Britiſh reſident at the court of the grand duke of Tuſcany at Piſa, whoſe wife was a ſiſter of the counteſs of Bath. Mr. George Colman was born at Florence, about 1733, and placed at a very early age in Weſtminſter ſchool, were he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the rapidity of acquiſition,

acquiſition, and the dawning ſplendour of his talents. In 1758 he removed to Chriſt church college, Oxford, and there took a degree of M. A. During his progreſs at Weſtminſter, and whilſt at college, he formed thoſe literary connexions, with whom he remained in friendſhip till they ſeverally dropped off the ſtage of life. Lloyd, Churchill, Bonnel Thornton, and other celebrated wits of a former day, were among the intimate aſſociates of Mr. Colman, and gave eclat to his name, by noticing him in ſome of their compoſitions. Even ſo early as the publication of the Roſciad, Churchill propoſed Mr. Colman as a proper judge to decide on the pretenſions of the ſeveral candidates for the chair of Roſcius, and only complains that he might be thought too juvenile for ſo important an award. Speaking of the propoſed judges who were ſupported by the ſuffrages of the public, he ſays

For Colman many; but the peeviſh tongue
Of prudent age found out that he was young.

When he came to London to ſtudy the Law; he was received with great kindneſs by lord Bath, who ſeemed to mark him for intended patronage; and this circumſtance gave riſe to the ſuſpicion that his lordſhip had a natural bias in favour of young Colman. Mr. C. was admitted into the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and was called to the Bar, where he practiſed a very ſhort time. At this period Lloyd addreſſed to him a very pleaſant poem on the importance of his profeſſion, and the ſeducements to which he was liable on account of his attachment to the Muſes. It was not probable that a genius like that of Mr. Colman could have remained devoted to the dry ſtudy of the law, and therefore when he renounced the bar, and attached himſelf to literary purſuits, and more particularly the drama, he did no more than what the public had long ago expected. Lord Bath left him a very comfortable annuity, but leſs than was expected, owing, it is ſaid, to ſome little difference that prevailed between them juſt before the death of that nobleman. About the year 1768, Mr. Beard, being incapable of bearing any longer the fatigues of a theatrical life, and wiſhing to retire from the management of Covent-garden Theatre, diſpoſed of his property in that houſe to Meſſrs. Colman, Harris, Powell, and Rutherford. Theſe gentlemen carried on the management together; but in a ſhort time, Mr. Colman appearing to aſpire to a greater authority than the other patentees, excepting Mr. Powell, were diſpoſed to grant; and after a ſevere literary conteſt, which was publiſhed, Mr. Colman ſold his ſhare, and retired. Soon after, Mr. Foote, then proprietor of the Haymarket theatre, having been induced to withdraw from the ſtage, diſpoſed of his theatre to Mr. Colman for a handſome annuity, which he did not long enjoy; and on his death Mr. C. obtained the licence, and from that period conducted the theatre with great judgment and aſſiduity, occaſionally ſupplying many dramas from his own fancy, as well as many pleaſant tranſlations from the French. A few years ago he was ſtruck with a palſey, which nearly deprived him of the uſe of

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one side of his body; and in a short time thereafter gave evident signs of mental derangement: in consequence of which he was placed under proper management at Paddington, and the conduct of the theatre was vested in his son, who, besides many proofs of dramatic genius, in deserved esteem with the public, has deported himself, as a manager, with judgment, liberality, and a spirit of industry which is rarely to be found in men of his lively powers. To him, we are happy to add, the patent for the Haymarket theatre has since been allotted. Lord Salisbury in referring this point to his majesty's determination, mentioned Mr. Colman as a person recommended by talents, conduct, and his relation to the deceased manager, as most eligible to the situation; and his majesty was most graciously pleased to sanction the nomination. The late Mr. Colman was one of the chief writers in "The Connoisseur," and has produced a variety of miscellaneous poems and papers, which he collected in three volumes, a year or two before what may be termed his intellectual demise. As a scholar he holds a very respectable rank, as may be seen in his translations of Horace's "Art of Poetry," and of the comedies of Terence. The readers of almost every periodical publication of note, and more especially of "the St. James's Chronicle," have been indebted to him for much information and amusement. His manners were as pleasing as his talents respectable. The following is a list of several works for which the British drama is indebted to Mr. Colman, with the dates of the times when they respectively appeared: 1, Polly Honeycomb, 1760; 2, The Jealous Wife, 1761; 3, The Musical Lady, 1762; 4, Philaster altered, 1763; 5, The Deuce is in him; 6, A Midsummer Night's Dream, altered, 1763; 7, A Fairy Tale, 1764; 8, The Clandestine Marriage, 1766; 9, The English Merchant, 1767; 10, King Lear, altered, 1768; 11, The Oxonian in Town, 1769; 12, Man and Wife, 1769; 13, The Portrait, 1770; 14, The Fairy Prince, 1771; 15, Comus, altered, 1772; 16, Achilles in Petticoats, altered, 1774; 17, The Man of Business, 1774; 18, Epicene, or, the Silent Woman, altered, 1776; 19, The Spleen, or, Islington Spa, 1776; 20, Occasional Prelude, 1776; 21, New Brooms, 1776; 22, The Spanish Barber, 1777; 23, The Female Chevalier, altered, 1778; 24, Bonduca, altered, 1778; 25, The Suicide, 1778; 26, The Separate Maintenance, 1779; 27, The Manager in Distress, a Prelude, 1780.

SEPTEMBER.

2d The corpse of a gentleman, as it was proceeding to the burial ground, was arrested by a sheriff's officer under a warrant granted against *the body*. The friends of the deceased told the officer, he might have the body, but he should neither have *coffin, shroud*, nor any thing belonging to it; and if he took them by force, he should be indicted for a *highway robbery*, as they were the property of the executors; they insisted, at length, still further, that, as the deceased had bequeathed his body to his executors, no *execution* could be against the corpse, but the process must be against them.

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The bailiff at laſt being perſuaded that the *ſpirit* of the law meant a *living*, not a dead body, went off without inſiſting on the lawfulneſs of the caption.

2nd At Lancaſter aſſizes Thomas Dunn was tried for perjury on the trial of Mr. Walker at the preceding aſſizes. Being found guilty he received the judgment of the court, that he ſhould be confined two years in Lancaſter gaol, and ſtand once within that period in the pillory.

4th A court of common council was held at Guildhall, thanks were voted to the lord mayor, the artillery company, the light horſe volunteers, and the London aſſociation, for their able exertion in putting an end to the late alarming riots. A ward rate and a county rate, ſimilar to thoſe in the year 1780, will be levied on the inhabitants of the metropolis, to make good the damages done to the different houſes, &c. occupied as recruiting offices.

6th Before the court of oyer and terminer at Edinburgh, Mr. Robert Watt was tried for high treaſon. The jury retired, at half paſt five in the morning, and in about five minutes returned with a verdict.—*Guilty.* The trial laſted nearly twenty-two hours.

5th Came on the trial of Mr. David Downie, on the ſame charge; and nearly the ſame evidence being produced, he was found guilty; but the jury unanimouſly recommended him to mercy, on account of ſome favourable circumſtances in his caſe.

6th The priſoners being placed at the bar, ſentence was paſſed on them in the uſual form againſt traitors; they were condemned to be taken to the place from whence they came, from thence in a ſledge to the place of execution, on Wedneſday, the 15th of October, there to hang by the neck until they were dead, their bowels to be taken out and caſt in their faces and each body to be cut in four quarters, to be at the diſpoſal of his majeſty.

12th A ſpecial commiſſion, under the great ſeal, for trying the priſoners in the Tower, accuſed of treaſonable practices, was received in town yeſterday from the lord chancellor at Weymouth. The commiſſioners appointed are, the lord chief juſtice of the court of Common Pleas, the lord chief baron, Mr. baron Hotham, Mr. juſtice Buller, Mr. juſtice Groſe, and Mr. juſtice Lawrence.

The order has been iſſued for the ſummoning of the grand jury for the 1ſt of October, the court is expected to ſit on the 2d at Hick's Hall, and then to adjourn to the 16th, when the trials are to commence.

13th A dreadful fire broke out in the new corn mills and drying kiln at Wigan, belonging to Meſſrs. Bevan, Chapman and co. The buildings, which coſt 12,000l. were very large and extenſive, being ſeveral ſtories in height, and were intirely conſumed, as the fire commenced in nearly the attic ſtory, whereby there was no poſſibility of ſaving it. Fortunately it was a very calm morning, or the greater part of the lower end of the town muſt inevitably have been deſtroyed. The fire was not extinguiſhed the next evening.

19th A dreadful fire happened at Boſton, in America, nearly at the ſame time as that at Ratcliffe,

cliffe, and from the ſame cauſe, the boiling over of a pitch kettle. Nearly one fourth of the town was conſumed, and ſeveral wharfs and ſtores of merchandiſe were deſtroyed. The loſs of property is eſtimated at 200,000 l. ſterling, and it is believed that the whole is uninſured.

19th Twelve priſoners were tried at the Old Bailey, one of whom, Patrick Murphy, was capitally convicted, for a rape on Iſabella Mackay, an infant about eight years of age.

20th Anthony Purchaſe and Richard Warneſbeck, were capitally convicted, for riotouſly and feloniouſly aſſembling, together with other perſons, to the number of twelve or more, and unlawfully beginning to pull down the dwelling houſe of Robert Layzell, in Holborn; and Joſeph Strutt for riotous and felonious diſturbance of the peace, at Charingcroſs, and for beginning to pull down the houſe of William Oſtliff.

22d Francis Roſs was capitally convicted, for uttering a forged order, with the name of I. R. Holland, dated at Glouceſter, the 21ſt of March 1794, and directed to ſir Robert Herries and co. bankers, London, for the payment of 10 l. to H. Wilkinſon, Eſq. with intent to defraud Hector Eſſex; John Cattapodi, for having forged a draft of 5 l. puporting to be the draft of I. R. Holland, dated Glouceſter, March 21, 1794, with intent to defraud Hugh Ramſden; and James Biggett, for tumultuouſly and riotouſly aſſembling on the 20th of Auguſt laſt, in Goldenlane, and being concerned with others in feloniouſly beginning to pull down the houſe of Luke Caſe, known by the name of the Black Raven.

23d Diſpatches were received at the Sierra Leone houſe from that ſettlement, dated the 15th of June, the 2d of July, and the 5th of Auguſt, by the Company's ſhips the Ocean and the Amy, which have both arrived at Plymouth with African produce. It appears that the colony was advancing, and the affairs of the company were improving in every reſpect, when a temporary interruption was given to the peace and order of the ſettlement by the turbulence of ſeveral diſaffected Nova Scotia ſettlers, who endeavoured to reſcue ſome refractory perſons of their own body, that had been arreſted for the breach of the peace. Both the individuals whoſe reſcue was attempted, and the ringleaders in the tumult, have been either taken up and ſent to England, or obliged to quit the colony.

The rains had been very ſevere for ſome months, and were beginning to abate; no deaths however; had happened among the whites for many months, nor was any one among them dangerouſly ill, though ſeveral were indiſpoſed.

An expedition of about 450 miles circuit had been made to the interior country by two of the company's ſervants, one of whom, accompanied by a ſervant of another company, encouraged by the ſucceſs of this adventure, was preparing to ſet out on a journey to Tambuctoo, in hopes of being able to penetrate through the continent of Africa.

The laſt diſpatches are dated about three weeks ſince the diſturbance

turbance mentioned, when the peace of the colony ſeemed to have been fully reſtored. All the company's ſhips, which were expected to have reached Sierra Leone, had arrived.

24th The following trial deſerves particular attention, becauſe, excluſively of the atrocious conduct of the proſecutor, it proved to be one of the incentives of the late riots in London: John Kerr, and John Ruggles, having been at large on bail, ſurrendered themſelves in court, ſtanding indicted for a capital offence, in ſtealing from the perſon of Edward Barrett, on the 18th of Auguſt, at the ſign of the White Horſe, in Whitcomb-ſtreet, a ſilver watch, a pair of ſilver buckles, and ſeveral articles of wearing apparel.

Mr. Knapp, counſel for the proſecution, called Edward Barrett, who depoſed, that he had been diſcharged from his majeſty's naval hoſpital at Deal; after having been detained by illneſs on the road, he arrived in town, and was walking over London-bridge, between ſeven and eight o'clock in the evening; he inquired of an old woman where he could get lodgings; ſhe took him to a houſe, but in what part of the town he could not tell, it was a public houſe, and the people in it appeared to be naval officers; he was ſhown up ſtairs into a dark room, the windows of which were barred with iron, and in which he was confined two nights, not being ſuffered to come out after he was firſt brought into the houſe: he was then put into a coach, and carried to the White Horſe in Whitcomb-ſtreet; on his entering the White Horſe, he was dragged up ſtairs by ſix men into a garret, and knocked down, a rope put round his neck, and the articles ſtated in the indictment forcibly taken from him; he was confined in the ſaid houſe a fortnight, during which time he was frequently beat; the priſoner Kerr once beat him, and cut his face; during the fortnight he was allowed nothing but bread and ſmall beer; he was poſitive the priſoners were two of the ſix perſons, who dragged him up ſtairs and robbed him; at the cloſe of his confinement, a man with a wooden arm, who called himſelf a captain of a Weſt Indiaman, put a paper in his hand, and aſked him whether he had rather loſe his life or ſign a paper, which he found to be an atteſtation of his having been atteſted as a ſoldier; and he was then conveyed to Banbury. See Auguſt 20th.

This was the evidence to ſupport the proſecution; when Mr. Fielding, counſel for the priſoners, called Mr. Shepperd, one of the clerks belonging to Queen-ſquare, who proved the atteſtation, and verily believed the proſecutor to be the man atteſted.

Mr. ſerjeant Kirby, a magiſtrate at the above office, confirmed Mr. Shepperd's teſtimony.

Serjeant Watſon and Edward Huckenbottom depoſed, that on the 27th of June laſt, they enliſted the proſecutor Edward Barrett at the Swan in Eaſt Smithfield; where he remained unconfined ſome days, that he was then taken to the houſe of Joſeph Hambledon, the White Horſe, in Whitcomb-ſtreet, but had neither watch nor buckles.

Henry Joel, a Jew clotheſman,

depoſed, that the proſecutor Barrett, after he was enliſted, ſent for him to the White Horſe, where the witneſs bought his jacket, ſhoes, &c. he then being dreſſed in his regimentals.

John Copper and John Ritchie, two recruits, depoſed, that when at Banbury, they were ſworn againſt by the proſecutor, as being acceſſaries in the above robbery, for which they were impriſoned ſeven weeks, but were afterwards admitted evidence for the priſoners; and that Barrett, the whole time he was at the White Horſe, was not at all confined, but was continually in a ſtate of intoxication.

Mary Garland, ſervant to the priſoner Kerr, remembered Barrett being at their houſe, where he had his liberty and was always drunk.

The jury expreſſing themſelves perfectly ſatisfied with the evidence in favour of the priſoners, Mr. Fielding and Mr. Knowlys did not call any more witneſſes, though they informed the court they had fourteen others of great reſpectability.

Judge Aſhhurſt was about to ſum up the evidence, when the jury inſtructed their foreman to acquaint him, that they had long been ſatisfied, and returned a verdict *Not Guilty.*

The judge immediately ordered the proſecutor to be taken into cuſtody, and Kerr and Ruggles bound over to proſecute him for perjury.

Portcheſter, September 26th. A few days ago a brick building, lately erected for a public brewery, and juſt covered in, was blown down from the very foundations, without the leaſt previous warning. It ſtood in the front of the Oxfordſhire encampment, and unfortunately eight men of that regiment were employed in finiſhing a well of large dimenſions in the centre of the building. They were all covered by the ruins, and three of them forced into the well by the fall of the rafters. The water was 12 feet deep, or more, yet one of the poor fellows, miſſing his comrade, actually went under water, by means of the ladder which was in it, and brought him up ſtunned, and nearly lifeleſs, having received ſeveral violent contuſions. This man, from immediate aſſiſtance being at hand, is now in a ſtate of recovery; and the other ſeven, though ſeverely bruiſed and wounded, were taken out of the ruins, and are pronounced free from danger. The building was 70 feet in length, and only one brick thick.

Their majeſties and their royal highneſſes the princeſſes ſet out from Glouceſter-lodge, Weymouth, at five o'clock this morning, and arrived at Windſor at half paſt ſix in the afternoon, in perfect health. Lond. Gaz. 27th

In conſequence of a warrant iſſued by the duke of Portland, Townſend and Jealous, belonging to the Public Office in Bow-ſtreet, apprehended John Pierce Le Maitre, and William Higgins, on a charge of having concerted a plan to aſſaſſinate the king, by blowing a poiſoned dart at him, through a tube reſembling in ſize and appearance a walking-cane. 28th

28th *(Sunday)*. The chapel of the new houſe of correction for the county of Middleſex was opened for Divine Service with great

great ſolemnity, Mr. Mainwaring chairman of the ſeſſions, and a great number of magiſtrates and other reſpectable gentlemen attended on the occaſion. Near 70 priſoners were preſent, who were thoroughly cleanſed and new-clothed, and made a very decent appearance; and their behaviour was extremely proper and ſerious. The ſervice was performed by the reverend magiſtrates for the county, at the requeſt of the court. The prayers were read by Dr. Gabriel; and a ſermon ſuited to the affecting ſituation of the priſoners was preached by Dr. Glaſſe, from Matthew xxv. 26. "I was in priſon, and ye came unto me." The priſoners were fed, on their return from the chapel, with a meſs of good broth; one only excepted, who, for miſbehaviour within the priſon, was in cloſe confinement, on the ordinary priſon allowance.

Paris, September 4. The exploſion of the powder-mills in the Plaine de Grenelle was ſo violent, that there are few houſes of which the windows are not broken. Even at Franciade (Verſailles) which is at the diſtance of three leagues from Grenelle, few windows remained undamaged.

This dreadful accident happened at ſeven o'clock in the morning, when all the workmen were in the mills. Their number amounts to between 2,000 and 3,000. All the adjacent buildings were deſtroyed. The mountain on the Champ de Mars was hurled down. The trees were torn up by the roots, and the ſplinters flew even as far as the Champs Elyſées.

The whole environs were ſtrewed with mangled limbs. The number of the killed and wounded cannot yet be aſcertained. All the adjacent hoſpitals were opened for the reception of the wounded, and all phyſicians and ſurgeons were put in requiſition.

A common hall was held at Guildhall for the choice 29th of the lord mayor, when Thomas Skinner Eſq. was choſen, being next in rotation to Mr. alderman Brook Watſon, abroad in the ſervice of his country.

OCTOBER.

A curious fraud was put in practice at the Stock Exchange 1ſt by Benjamin Lara, a ſtock-jobber, who purchaſed 300 Iriſh lottery tickets of Mr. Dacoſta, and gave him a draft for the amount on Ladbroke and co., who ſaid that Mr. Lara never kept caſh with them. It was ſoon afterwards diſcovered that he had borrowed 2,600l. of a friend, for which he had left the tickets as a collateral ſecurity, and then got the bank notes he received from him, changed into ſmaller ones. The affair being immediately diſcovered, the injured party went to his houſe at Peckham, where a chaiſe and four was waiting at the door; but Lara ſome ſhort time before having been ſeen and ſpoken to concerning the buſineſs, by Mr. Dacoſta's ſon, who was not then apprized of the fraud, he had taken an opportunity of eſcaping by the back way of his houſe. One of the notes of 50l. was found in his houſe.—He was afterwards apprehended by Miller and Kennedy, belonging to the public office, Bow ſtreet; but as the offence had been committed in the city, he was delivered over to the jurisdiction of the lord-mayor.

The first bill sent to the grand jury at Hicks's Hall was found, and delivered at the Old Bailey, this day, to the lords commissioners acting under the special commission, against the following twelve persons. 6th

Thomas Hardy,
John Horne Tooke,
John Augustus Bonney,
Rev. Jeremiah Joyce,
Thomas Holcroft,
Steward Kydd,
John Thelwall,
John Baxter,
Thomas Wardle, not in custody,
Matthew Moore, taylor, not in custody.
Richard Hodgson, not in custody.

The bill presented against John Lovett, hair dresser, was not found.

Mr. Attorney-General, who attended, rose and made the motions usual on such occasions, for assigning counsel to the prisoners, who should have access to them at all proper times; for furnishing their counsel and attorney with a copy of the indictment, and other documents requisite to their defence; and for permitting every other advantage they should themselves deem necessary to a fair, open, and impartial trial. These motions were granted by the court.

9th. This morning at 10 o'clock, pursuant to their last adjournment, the lords commissioners attended at the Sessions house Clerkenwell, when the grand jury presented a true bill against *John Hillier*, for high treason. Hillier is a tallow-chandler, and at the time of his apprehension kept a shop in Bishopsgate street. The charge against him is, for having a pike in his house, and acting as an agent to the London corresponding society.

The privy council, after several adjournments, met at the council office, Whitehall, on the examination of *Le Maitre*, *Higgins*, *Smith*, and *Upton*, who are charged with forming a plot to take away the life of his majesty; and, when the council broke up, they were fully committed to the following prisons for trial; viz. Smith to Newgate; Upton, who pretended to be evidence against the others, to Clerkenwell; Le Maitre to ditto; and Higgins to Tothill-fields. 10th

The society of arts at Paris have discovered a method of producing fixed alkali or pot-ash from the horse-chesnut tree. A decree was in consequence passed, ordering all the citizens to store the fruit of that tree, throughout the whole republic. 10th

Bath, October 10. Yesterday at the quarter sessions for this city, Benjamin Bull was convicted of dispersing seditious pamphlets, entitled Rights of Man. He was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, and to find securities for his good behaviour.

A messenger was sent off from the duke of Portland's office to Edinburgh, with an order to remit that part of Watt's and Downie's sentence which relates to their being quartered, and their bowels thrown into their faces. See September 6th. 10th

Lewes, October 13. The camps suffered greatly in the night of yesterday sen'night, (5th) by the violence of the wind, which stripped a great number of the officers and men

men of their marquées and tents. The meſs-houſe of the Suſſex regiment was blown down.

At Seaford ſcarcely a tent was left ſtanding; the men were obliged to leave the ground, and take ſhelter in the buildings intended for barracks.

At Brighton a chimney was blown down in Caſtle-ſquare; and on the Eaſt Cliff many windows were broken by ſmall pebbles which the wind lifted from the beach, and carried with force againſt them.

The Charlotte cutter foundered off Alderney, eight leagues from the land. The crew, four in number, after being nearly exhauſted by their endeavours to ſave the ſhip, at length finding the deck of their veſſel on a level with the water, launched the boat, and with the greateſt difficulty were able to keep her head up to the weather for eight hours, when, almoſt periſhed with cold and fatigue, they fell in with a Swediſh veſſel lying-to, and on their hoiſting the remnant of an old flag as a ſignal of diſtreſs, the Swediſh crew with great readineſs hove out a rope and hauled the men with their boat aboard. The captain paid great attention to them, and on Thurſday (9th) landed them at Eaſt Bourne, where they ſold their boat for two guineas, all they had to ſubſiſt on.

14th On the 26th of June laſt, the free blacks of the colony of Sierra Leone formed themſelves into a body, with an intention of murdering the governor and council, and taking poſſeſſion of the ſettlement, ſtores, and property; but they had fortunately no guns or ammunition. The riot continued till the 30th, during which time all the white people were under arms in the government-houſe, round which cannon were placed. On that they became more quiet, on account of a proclamation from the governor, aſſuring them that whoever choſe to return to Halifax, might diſpoſe of their property, and that a veſſel ſhould be ready to convey them in one month; that all who choſe to ſtay ſhould have no further cauſe of complaint, as every thing ſhould be altered to their wiſhes.

Their complaint was, that, when they were brought from Halifax they were promiſed that every thing ſhould be made as comfortable to them as poſſible, and that all articles brought out from England, ſhould only have an advance of ten per cent., inſtead of which there was an advance of two hundred, and upon ſome articles, of three hundred per cent.

When the intelligence was brought from the colony, the blacks were at work again, and tolerably quiet.

Edinburgh—October 16. David Downie, convicted of high treaſon, has been reſpited during his majeſty's pleaſure; but yeſterday Robert Watt was executed at the weſt end of the Luckenbooths, purſuant to his ſentence. About half paſt two o'clock, the two junior magiſtrates, and the Rev. principal Baird, walked from the council chamber, to the Caſtle-hill, preceded by the city conſtables, and town officers, the city guard forming a hollow ſquare. When they reached the Waterhouſe (the limits of the burgh) they were met by the proceſſion from

the Caſtle in the following order:

The two head officers of the ſhire of Edinburgh, in black, with batons.—Two county conſtables with batons.

The ſheriff-depute, and ſheriff ſubſtitute, dreſſed in black, with white gloves and white rods.

Six county conſtables, two and two, with batons.

The hurdle, painted black, drawn by a white horſe, in which were ſeated the executioner, dreſſed in black, with the axe in his hand, and the criminal drawn backwards, and tied to the hurdle.

Six under-conſtables on each ſide of the hurdle, twelve on the outſide of them, and twenty in the rear.

Two hundred of the Argyllſhire Fencibles keeping off the mob, walking the dead march from the Caſtle to the Waterhouſe.

Here the ſoldiers went back to the Caſtle, and the proceſſion came down eſcorted by the city guard, the magiſtrates, conſtables, &c. going firſt. Having entered the Tolbooth, the criminal ſoon after, attended by the ſheriff and magiſtrates, came out upon the ſcaffold, where he was aſſiſted in his devotions by principal Baird. About a quarter before three o'clock he aſcended the platform; but craving ſome longer indulgence, he came down, and, kneeling, prayed with much fervency for a ſhort time, when he again mounted, and having dropped a handkerchief as the ſignal, the platform dropped about three o'clock. When the body had hung about 32 minutes, it was cut down completely lifeleſs, and placed on a table. The executioner then came forward with a large axe, and at two ſtrokes ſevered the head from the body. The head having been received in a baſket, prepared for the purpoſe, was afterwards, in the uſual form, held up by the executioner, who pronounced, "This is the head of a traitor!" The remains were then put into a coffin, and conveyed away. This execution was conducted with much regularity, and the proceſſion was ſolemn and impreſſive. Watt himſelf exhibited a picture of the moſt abject dejection. He was wrapt up in a great coat, a red night-cap (which on the platform he exchanged for a white one), with a round hat, his ſtockings hanging looſe, and his whole appearance wretched in the extreme. During the proceſſion his countenance was fixed, his body motionleſs, and he ſeemed altogether regardleſs of the multitude that ſurrounded him. On the ſcaffold he aſſumed a little more animation, and, after finiſhing his devotions, took leave of the clergyman very collectedly; and on the platform converſed with the executioner with much apparent compoſure. He appeared very penitent, acknowledging in general terms the juſtice of his ſentence; but made no particular confeſſion. It is ſaid he has given an account of ſome circumſtances of his life in writing. The crowd on this occaſion was ſlow in collecting; and, though numerous at laſt, ſcarcely amounted to what has appeared on former remarkable executions. When the platform dropped, little agitation was perceptible amongſt the ſpectators; there

there was evidently a becoming acquiescence in the justice of the sentence, accompanied with that silent sympathy, which even the most atrocious criminal never fails to excite. But the appearance of the axe, a sight to which they were totally unaccustomed, produced a shock instantaneous as electricity; and when it was uplifted, such a general shriek or shout of horror burst forth, as made the executioner delay his blow, while numbers rushed off in all directions to avoid the sight.

18th. The grand jury found a bill against Philip Franklow for high treason.

Cork, October 22d. Mr. Raspe, the celebrated mineralogist, has been lately in this city, after having explored the mines in the vicinity of Killarney. His researches have been crowned with the greatest success; among many others, he has discovered the richest cobalt mine in Europe, a ton of the ore of which is computed, at a moderate calculation, to be worth 250 l. sterling; and what renders this ore more precious is, that it is in great demand in China, where the India Company export annually to the amount of 180,000 l. worth, which they principally draw from Saxony at a very heavy expense.

25th. Thomas Hardy, John Horne Took, Thomas Augustus Bonney, Steward Kydd, Jeremiah Joyce, Thomas Wardle, Thomas Holcroft, John Thelwall, John Richter, and John Baxter, being ten of the twelve persons against whom a bill of indictment for treason was found, were put to the bar at the Sessions house and arraigned. They severally pleaded *Not Guilty;* and, Mr. Tooke and others having alleged, that by their sudden removal from the Tower, they had lost the advantage of a day, in consulting with their counsel, and otherwise preparing for their defence, the trials were postponed till the 28th. The prisoners having also requested to be tried separately, it was settled that the trial of Mr. Hardy should be the first, and the others follow as they are named in the indictment.

28th. Hardy's trial began.

NOVEMBER.

1st. A letter from Cork, dated October 23d relates, that on the preceding Saturday (18th), a dispute arose between John Augustus Crosbie, Esq. one of the candidates for the county of Kerry, and sir Barry Denny. The next day, they met at three o'clock in the afternoon, and immediately took their ground, and fired together. Mr. Crosbie's ball entering sir Barry's head over the left eye, killed him almost instantly. Mr. Crosbie was attended to the ground by captain Godfrey, and sir Barry Denny by the knight of Kerry. This melancholy event makes a second vacancy for that county.

5th. Hardy's trial ended, verdict *Not Guilty:* the court adjourned to Monday the 17th of November. (See App. to Chron.)

11th. A fever has carried off a great number of the French prisoners confined in Forton prison within these last few weeks. In September 200 died; in the last month nearly as many; but it is gradually abating.

10th. In many parts of Norfolk,

folk, Suffolk, and Eſſex, the rain during the laſt week was ſo heavy as to overflow the country for many miles together. At Norwich, on Thurſday and Friday, the pariſhes of Heigham, St. Martin's at Oak, Mary, Michael at Coſlany, Swithin, George of Colegate, Edmund, Clement, &c. were flooded to ſuch an exceſs, that boats rowed along the ſeveral ſtreets; much damage had been done, and ſeveral lives loſt. The waters, however, have begun to ſubſide. So high did it riſe in ſome parts of the city of Norwich as to flow into the one pair of ſtairs windows. Subſcriptions have been opened for the relief of the ſufferers. The conduct of the committee of the court of guardians on this diſtreſſing event deſerves particular notice. The poor ſufferers were amply provided with every comfortable neceſſary; proper people were employed to ſeek out thoſe who might require relief, which was extended to every one who ſtood in need of it. By the direction of our worthy mayor the workhouſes were open to receive thoſe whom the waters had deprived of a home, and food was given to all who were prevented by the inundation from providing it.

In many other parts of the country the inundation was ſo great as to render it almoſt dangerous to paſs. The environs of Newport Pagnel preſented an almoſt general ſheet of water; and the deluge has been exceſſive in every quarter.

The journey lately performed by Mr. M'Kenzie of Montreal, acroſs the continent of America, to a place on the weſtern coaſt between Nootka Sound and King George's Iſland, has ſettled many points, which were heretofore matters of uncertainty and diſpute. During this dangerous journey, which he was nearly 15 months in performing, and in which he encountered all the difficulties which may be ſuppoſed to attend ſuch an undertaking, he continued within the 45th and 50th degrees of latitude, and travelled acroſs that immenſe tract between Lake Ounipique and Pike's Lake, and the Pacific Ocean, hitherto conſidered as a ſea, and communicating with the ocean by the ſtreights of Juan de Fuca, and thoſe to the ſouthward, diſcovered by Aguilar. The ſituation of the Weſtern Sea is therefore ſtill matter of conjecture, but muſt be infinitely to the northward of the latitude hitherto aſcribed to it. The object which induced Mr. M'Kenzie to take this journey was to open with the natives of the Weſtern Coaſt a traffick of furs.

Engliſh *v.* Mountain was tried before lord Kenyon at Guildhall, being an action for damage ſuſtained by the plaintiff's ſon, in conſequence of the breaking down of the defendant's ſtage coach; and as it was proved that a greater number of outſide paſſengers were on it than the law allows, the jury gave the plaintiff a verdict for 53 l. the ſum claimed for expenſes. 11th

A reprieve of another month has been ſent to David Downie, at Edinburgh.

Plymouth, November 12th. Mr. Cragg, a gentleman farmer, near Buckland, about four miles hence; having purchaſed ſome hundred weight of damaged powder, which he had depoſited in a room over his

his kitchen: put ſeveral pounds in a bag near a fire to dry. This bag was afterwards taken up and placed on a table, when a candle falling, it blew up, and communicating with the powder above, deſtroyed the inſide of the houſe by the violence of the exploſion. Mrs. Cragg was blown out of the window on fire, and was taken up in flames by a perſon paſſing by, who plunged her into a pond in the court-yard; but it is thought ſhe cannot recover. Mr. Cragg was alſo much hurt. Seven ſervants and apprentices had their arms or legs broke, two of whom moſt likely will not ſurvive.

12th Fourteen priſoners were tried at the Old Bailey, three of whom were capitally convicted; viz. Thomas Booth, for burglary in the houſe of Eſther Carr; George Grover and Charles Porter, for aſſaulting and robbing Jacob Crowder on the highway, of four guineas and a half, fourteen ſhillings and a ſilver watch. Six were convicted of felony, and five were acquitted. Among the convicts for felony was the following curious caſe. Elizabeth Serres was indicted for robbing her ready-furniſhed lodgings. The proſecutrix ſwore to the priſoner's having taken a lodging in her houſe, which ſhe plundered. The priſoner in her defence ſaid, ſhe had a twin ſiſter, ſo like her, that their parents could not diſtinguiſh them aſunder. This was confirmed by Mr. Kirby, who ſaid the ſiſter was in cuſtody for a ſimilar offence; he had ſeen her, and they were ſo much alike, that it was impoſſible to perceive any difference. Under this ſingular dilemma the jury acquitted the priſoner. She was, however convicted on a ſecond indictment for a ſimilar offence; another proſecutrix ſwore poſitively to her identity, ſhe had ſeen the ſiſter, who in order to deceive her changed clothes with the priſoner, but ſtill ſhe pointed her out, and diſtinguiſhed their voices.

John Taylor was indicted 14th for bigamy, of which the following evidence was given: William Beal knew the priſoner was married in 1771, to Sarah Marſhal, at Baldock, in Herts; he was preſent at the marriage; and ſaw the wife the 19th of September laſt. Robert Barnley was preſent at the priſoner's marriage to Sarah Marſhal in 1771: and ſaw her about ten days ago. Mary Sophia Richardſon was married to the priſoner in May 1791, at St. Bride's, London: ſhe knew of his previous marriage, and that his wife was ſtill living: ſhe was forced to this proſecution much againſt her inclination: living in the greateſt amity with the priſoner's former wife. The proſecution ſhe ſaid was inſtituted to impeach his credibility as a witneſs, for he was ſubpœna'd on behalf of the crown on the ſtate trials. John Pearce, clerk to Mr. Martin, produced the regiſters of the two marriages. John Willis ſaw the defendant married to Mary Sophia Richardſon, on the 30th of May 1791. He heard that a prior marriage exiſted and told Miſs Richardſon of it: ſhe ſaid, "Mr. Taylor had a right to marry as much as any ſingle man, and he had convinced her of it."—*Guilty.*

The priſoner had been a witneſs againſt Watt and Downie, and was to be produced at the ſtate trials here, and the object of the preſent pro-

profecution was to get rid of his teſtimony by a conviction. The court ſentenced him to fourteen days impriſonment, and a fine of one ſhilling.

Richard Barrow and Robert Watſon, for having in their cuſtody and poſſeſſion divers falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious printed libels, with intent to publiſh the ſame among the liege ſubjects of our lord the king, and thereby to excite ſedition in the kingdoms, were ſentenced to be impriſoned in Newgate two years, and at the end of that time to find ſureties for their good behaviour for three years more, themſelves in 100l. each, and their ſureties in 50l. each.

14th Mary Brown, an infamous procureſs, of King's Place, ſtood in the pillory in Pall-Mall, from twelve till one o'clock, purſuant to her ſentence, for keeping a diſorderly houſe in that place, for which ſhe was laudably proſecuted by the church-wardens and overſeers of the pariſh of St. James. She met her puniſhment with the impudence of an incorrigible offender. After ſhe had been ſeverely pelted with mud, rotten eggs, &c., and the hour had expired, ſhe deſcended from the pillory, not in the leaſt impreſſed with a ſenſe of ſhame or penitence, amid the hiſſes of the people.

17th The court proceeded on the trial of John Horne Tooke.

19th A treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his majeſty and the united ſtates of America, was ſigned by the right honourable lord Grenville, his majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, being duly authoriſed for that purpoſe on his majeſty's part, and the honourable John Jay, envoy extraordinary from the United States of America, having a like authority on the part of the ſaid ſtates. *London Gazette.*

His majeſty having been pleaſed, by commiſſion under the great ſeal of Great Britain, to appoint the right honourable James lord Malmeſbury, baron of Malmeſbury in the county of Wilts, one of the lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable order of the Bath, to negotiate, conclude, and ſign a treaty of marriage between his royal highneſs the prince of Wales and the princeſs Caroline Amelia Eliſabeth, daughter to his moſt illuſtrious highneſs the duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburgh, his lordſhip will immediately proceed to Brunſwick to execute the ſaid commiſſion. *London Gazette.*

John Horne Tooke's trial ended he was found not guilty.—*For particulars of the trials of Hardy and Tooke, ſee Appendix to the Chronicle.*

Mr. David Dale, of Lanark, in Scotland, in the courſe of ſix years has reared a village on the banks of the Clyde, containing 2000 perſons; and has erected five cotton mills, each containing 6,000 ſpindles; and ten ſchoolmaſters are daily employed in the village.

Edinburgh. Mr. Bell's great brewery, in the Pleaſance, was 23d entirely conſumed by fire, together with the valuable ſtock of grain and utenſils. The Edinburgh Volunteers, fire-men, city guard, and two companies of the Argyllſhire Fencibles rendered eſſential ſervice, by keeping off the mob, and accompanying the property which

which was removed to a place of safety. The whole city and circumjacent rocks were illuminated by the flames. Fortunately the ale vaults were not touched. Bell's ale has been famous all over the world for these thirty years past, and he was always very careful to guard against fire in his premises. This was said to have begun in one of the kilns where the malt was drying.

25th A new-built house, not quite finished, belonging to Mr. Godfall, coachmaker, in Long Acre, fell to the ground. The workmen having previously left off work for the night, no lives were lost; and the wooden fence, placed in the front of the building, prevented any misfortune happening to the people who chanced to be passing at the moment.

26th Mr. Friend's application to the Court of King's Bench for a Mandamus to re-admit him into the University of Cambridge, was rejected. Lord Kenyon said the University had acted according to precedent; in which opinion the other judges concurred.

27th A letter from Whitby, says, "The heavy gale on the 12th has proved destructive to the remains of that beautiful pile the Abbey church at Whitby; at seven in the morning the greatest part of the west end gave way and fell to the ground: the great Gothic window, which has long been admired for the elegance and justness of its proportion, now lies on the ground in shattered fragments."

29th Mr. Hesslop, the messenger, was dispatched with letters to lord Malmesbury at Brunswick. Major Eyre accompanying him, with the picture of his royal highness the prince of Wales for the princess.

Poole, November 30. Arrived in Studland Bay the Maria, captain Randall, from Newfoundland; having some passengers on board besides the crew. The officers of the impress service, expecting to meet some resistance, had called for military aid, and twenty soldiers went on board the tender, and sailed down the harbour to meet the vessel, when coming alongside, and finding the people obstinate, orders were given for the soldiers to fire, which they did. The pilot at the helm and two other men were killed, and seven others dangerously wounded, one of whom is since dead. Lieutenants Phillips and Glover, with all who were on board the tender, are taken into custody, and the whole town is in great commotion. —The coroner's inquest has since brought in the verdict of wilful murder against the two lieutenants.

A statement has lately appeared concerning the house of industry at Shrewsbury, for the last ten years; by which the gentlemen who superintend this excellent institution prove, that the reduction of the expense of maintaining the poor of that place in that period is upwards of 16,000l. besides a balance of 2,475l. now in hand in favour of the house. Before this new system of management was adopted, the poors rates of the united parishes in Shrewsbury amounted to 4,605l. per annum. On its establishment they were immediately reduced to 2,992l.; at which sum they have continued ever since. But another benefit has arisen, of infinitely greater importance

portance than the pecuniary ſavings; which is the wiſe plan adopted for improving the morals of the poor, by training up the children in habits of cleanlineſs, induſtry, and virtue. The beſt families are now ſolicitous to obtain ſervants from the houſe of induſtry; and as ſoon as the children grow up fit for places, they find a preference to any other ſervants that are to be hired.

DIED, at the advanced age of 112, Mrs. Warren, of Tollagh, in the county of Dublin. She had a grandſon and grandaughter, who are grandfather and grandmother to children upwards of 20 years of age. Her brother died two years ago at the age of 120. He ploughed the eaſt ſide of Grafton ſtreet, and ſowed wheat in it; which he held for 2s. 6d. per acre, and had 6 or 700 acres at the ſame rent. He was, on the day of the battle of the Boyne, conducting ſome farm carts of his father's, which were impreſſed by the army of king William, to carry luggage into the camp.

DECEMBER.

1ſt The court met again at the Old Bailey; when John Auguſtus Bonney, Jeremiah Joyce, Stewart Kyd, and Thomas Holcroft, were brought to the bar; and the jury being ſworn, and the priſoners arraigned in due form,

The Attorney-General ſaid, that on the laſt trials, he had addreſſed the jury, in order to ſtate the grounds of the proſecution, and they had found a verdict of Not Guilty. It then became his duty to conſider what was proper for him to do in reſpect to the public and the priſoners at the bar. The reſult of the conſideration was that as the evidence adduced on thoſe trials, and that which applied to the priſoners were the ſame, and as, after the beſt conſideration, the perſons had been acquitted, he would ſubmit to the jury and court, whether the priſoners ſhould not be acquitted, and for that purpoſe would not trouble them by going into evidence.

The jury then pronounced a verdict of Not Guilty, and by direction of the court, the priſoners were diſcharged. Meſſrs. Bonney, Joyce, and Kydd, bowing, retired; but Mr. Holcroft drew from his pocket a paper, and begged to ſpeak a few words to the court and jury; notwithſtanding the refuſal of the lord preſident to hear him, he perſiſted in urging his requeſt, and when finally prevented from delivering his ſpeech, retired, threatening to print and publiſh it.

John Thelwall was then brought to the bar and arraigned. The trial continued from day to day by adjournments, until December 5th, when the jury after being withdrawn one hour and fifty minutes pronounced this priſoner alſo—*Not Guilty.*

6th Lord Abingdon was convicted of a libel on Mr. Sermon, attorney, of Gray's Inn, being a parliamentary ſpeech of the noble lord, conveyed by him to the public through the channel of a newſpaper.

Extract of a letter from an officer at Kells, Ireland, December 8th.

This morning a letter was read to lieutenant colonel Clements's regiment

regiment on the parade, the ſubſtance of which was, that a ſerjeant's guard of the Wexford militia, on duty at the gaol of Cavan, had been poiſoned on Friday night (5th), with a view to favour the eſcape of the defenders confined in that gaol; and that in conſequence of the effects of the poiſon (adminiſtered in whiſkey, which they were invited in a moſt friendly manner to drink) four of the privates died at eleven o'clock the following morning.

8th A reſpite for a month arrived at Edinburgh for David Downie, ſentenced to be executed for high treaſon.

A dreadful conflagration took place at Berlin, in the night of the 27th ult. which laid in aſhes the whole pile of building called the Palace of Werther; very little has been ſaved of the papers depoſited there, and of the library belonging to the public School. Several perſons have been killed and wounded by the falling in of a ſtrong wall. Count Wartenſleben, a young nobleman of diſtinction, was taken from under the ruins, much wounded, and expired the ſame night.

10th At Gunby, Lincolnſhire, Edmund Froſt, junior, gamekeeper to ſir Peter Burrel, bart. ſhot an eagle, whoſe wings when extended, meaſured nine feet, and from the back to the end of the tail three feet four inches, and the talons are very thick and long. This bird had been ſeen about Gunby for ſeveral nights before, but could not be come at till the above night, when it was watched to the tree where it perched, and was ſhot by moonlight.—About the ſame time another large eagle was ſhot in a wood belonging to Arthur Vanſittart, Eſq. at Shottesbrook. It weighed upwards of nine pounds, and meaſured upwards of ſeven feet two inches from the tips of the wings when extended. Upon taking out the entrails, the leg of a hare was found in them; the bone was entire and quite perfect, with a little fleſh and ſkin upon it.

A fire broke out at Ceſu, the reſidence of Roger Kenyon, Eſq. which extended ſo rapidly through the interior parts of the houſe, that the family, who were all in bed, had ſcarcely time to eſcape the dreadful ravages of the flames. The alarm being given, a great number of perſons ſoon collected, by whoſe exertions, aſſiſted by the Wrexham engines, the fire was prevented from communicating to any of the adjacent buildings, which in all probability would have been demoliſhed. The inſide of the houſe ſuffered conſiderably, and a great part of the furniture is deſtroyed. Fortunately no lives were loſt. 13th

15th The court met again at the Old Bailey; when John Richter and John Baxter being arraigned in the uſual form, the Attorney-General ſaid, he thought himſelf juſtified in forbearing to bring forward any evidence againſt the priſoners at the bar, upon which the lord chief baron directed the jury to find them Not Guilty, and the court adjourned to Friday the 26th of December.

17th The merchants trading to North America gave a ſplendid entertainment to Mr. Jay, envoy extraordinary from the United States, at Free Maſons Tavern. The company was numerous and reſpectable; the lord chancellor, Mr. Pitt,

Mr. Pitt, the duke of Portland, lord Grenville, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Pinckney, Mr. Hope of Amſterdam, &c. &c.; Mr. Sanſom, chairman of the committee, preſident. The toaſts were received with loud acclamations. Among others, "the king and conſtitution;" "prince of Wales;" "queen and royal family;" "preſident of the United States." "May the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, between Great Britain, and the United States of America, be the baſis of permanent friendſhip between the two countries!" "May Britons and Americans never forget that they are of one family!" and, Mr. Jay being given, "an honourable peace to the belligerent powers of Europe!" the following was given in return: "may the united exertions of England and America, induce the Indian nations to *bury the hatchet* for ever!"

Glaſgow, December 18th. On Monday the 1ſt inſtant, a ſoldier of the Breadalbane Fencibles, having been confined in the guard-houſe, a party of the regiment, with loaded muſkets and fixed bayonets, aſſembled and obliged their officers to ſet him at liberty. After this outrage they became quiet and orderly in their duty again, though the ſame ſpirit of mutiny ſubſiſted to ſuch a degree, that the ſoldiers would neither give up the offender, whom they releaſed, nor the ringleaders in the mutiny to be tried for their crimes.

Lord Adam Gordon, commander in chief for Scotland, immediately collected round Glaſgow all the troops that could be ſpared for that ſervice; and general Leſlie, ſir James Stewart, and colonel Montgomery came down to take the command of them, with a determination to ſeize the offenders by force if they were not delivered up by the regiment. But it was thought proper, on conſulting, before they proceeded to coercion, to give the regiment a ſhort time to reflect on their conduct, and the danger in which they ſtood. The experiment fully ſucceeded, four of the ringleaders having voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves to lord Breadalbane on the 16th inſtant; who were immediately marched off priſoners to Edinburgh, under a ſtrong guard of their own regiment. The honourable major Leſlie, and Mr. M'Lean, adjutant of the regiment, having accompanied the party a ſhort way on their march, were upon their return to the town groſsly inſulted by a number of riotous inhabitants, who after upbraiding them for being active in ſending off the mutineers to be puniſhed, aſſaulted them with ſtones, by one of which major Leſlie was knocked down; and he and Mr. M'Lean were forced to take ſhelter in a houſe, where they ſecured themſelves from the mob, till the lord provoſt, magiſtrates and peace officers, and a company of the Breadalbane regiment, who were on duty at the guard-houſe, arrived and relieved them.

Before the magiſtrates arrived the mob had diſperſed. The party of the Breadalbane regiment, who were called to their aſſiſtance, behaved with the greateſt alacrity and propriety, and received the thanks of the lord provoſt for their good conduct. Yeſterday, the other principal ringleader in the mutiny, whom it had been determined to apprehend, ſurrendered himſelf,

himſelf, and was ſent off priſoner to Edinburgh.

26th The court met at the Old Bailey, and without proceeding to buſineſs, adjourned to January 14. The priſoners yet remaining in cuſtody on privy-council commitment are, Stone, Rouſſel, Smith, Higgins, Le Maitre, Upton, (none of whom are indicted,) and Martin, whoſe trial is expected to come on on the 14th of January.

29th The prince of Wales returned to town from Sheerneſs, where he had been to ſee the nobility with their attendants embark, to bring over the princeſs of Wales.

31ſt Two ſtore-houſes at the powder mills belonging to Meſſrs. Pigue and Andrews, at Dartford, in which were about 2,600 pounds of gunpowder, blew up, by which accident eleven workmen loſt their lives. The exploſion ſhook moſt of the buildings in the town, and the concuſſion was felt more than fifteen miles round; and the adjoining fields were covered with fragments of the building, conſiſting of large beams of timber ſhivered into thouſands of ſplinters, ſprinkled with blood, and interſperſed with mangled limbs. Fragments of nine bodies were collected, and interred in the upper burial ground at Dartford, and a trunk of another body was found at a greater diſtance than could have been expected, as alſo part of a foot ſuſpended on a tree. The concuſſion was the greater from the cakes being under the preſs, and but a ſhort time before upwards of 45 barrels of powder had been removed.

DIED of an inflammation on the lungs, brought on by a cold caught on Windſor terrace, Mr. Thomas Pote, bookſeller and printer at Eton. He has left a widow and four young children. Mr. P. was univerſally known to be the printer of the Eton ſchool-books. In ſociety he was very generally eſteemed as a cheerful, lively companion, and an open-hearted obliging friend. It is not doubted but the heads of that great ſeminary will continue their protection to a reſpectable family, which has enjoyed their patronage the greater part of the preſent century.

BIRTHS for the Year 1794.

Jan. 9. THE lady of ſir Charles Watſon, bart. a daughter.

14. Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a daughter.

15. The hon. Mrs. Tober, a daughter.

20. Hon. Mrs. Watſon, of Lees-court, Kent, a ſon.

22. Lady of the hon. Edward Monckton, a daughter.

26. Lady Balgonie, a daughter.

— Lady of the hon. and Rev. Mr. Martham, a ſon.

— At Caſtle Bernard, county of Cork, lady Bandon, a daughter.

29. Lady Grantley, a ſon.

Lately, Lady Apſley, a ſon.

Counteſs of Granard, a ſon.

Counteſs of Ancram, a ſon and heir.

Lady Margaret Cameron, a daughter.

Lady

Lady of ſir John Stirling, bart. a ſon and a daughter.
Lady Maſſey, a ſon.
Feb. 4. Lady of col. Glyn, of the 1ſt regiment of foot-guards, a ſon.
— Lady of col. Lowther, M. P. for Weſtmoreland, a ſon.
— Lady of ſir John Rous, bart. M. P. for Suffolk, a ſon.
26. Hon. Mrs. Spencer Perceval, a daughter.
Lately, Lady of ſir Walter Blount, a ſon and heir.
Lady of ſir John Dryden, bart. a ſon.
Lady of ſir William Wake, bart. a daughter.
Mar. 6. Hon. Mrs. Townſhend, a daughter.
9. Counteſs of Beverley, a ſon.
10. Her catholic majeſty, a prince.
14. Lady Arden, a ſon.
20. Counteſs of Glaſgow, a daughter.
22. Lady of ſir William Scott, a daughter.
— Right hon. lady Elizabeth Fane, a daughter.
26. Lady Mary Stopford, a ſon.
April 8. Lady Charlotte Aynſley, a daughter.
23. Lady of the Maſter of the Rolls, a daughter.
25. Counteſs of Aylesford, a daughter.
— Counteſs of Winterton, a daughter.
May 10. Lady Bruce, two daughters.
12. Lady Cathcart, a ſon.
24. Lady Suſan Thorpe, a ſon.
June 3. Lady Lucy Bridgeman, a daughter.
5. Lady Mary Fludyer, a daughter.
8. At Vienna, the empreſs of Germany, a princeſs.
21. Marchioneſs of Tweedale, a ſon.
Lately, At Florence, lady Webſter, a daughter.
July 16. Marchioneſs of Downſhire, a daughter.
22. Counteſs Camden, a daughter.
27. Lady of ſir Hugh Rourk at Southampton, two ſons, and two daughters.
— Counteſs of Breadalbane, a daughter.
— Lady Strathaven, a ſon.
28. Lady Mary Drummond, a ſon.
Aug. 13. Counteſs Spencer, a daughter.
25. Viſcounteſs Mountſtuart, a ſon.
27. Lady Elizabeth Ricketts, a daughter.
29. Lady Harriet Sullivan, a daughter.
Sept. 8. Lady Auguſta Clavering, a ſon.
Oct. 5. Lady Coſby, a daughter.
8. Lady of ſir Alexander Munro, a daughter.
15. Counteſs of Hardwicke, a daughter.
24. Lady Napier, a ſon.
26. Lady Cliefden, a daughter.
— Lady of ſir James Tylney Long, a ſon.
30. Conſort of prince Lewis, ſecond ſon of the king of Pruſſia, a ſon, named Frederick William Lewis.
Nov. 3. Lady Helen Hall, a daughter.

8. Lady

8. Lady of ſir H. Gought Calthorp, a daughter.
— Lady of ſir William Manners, bart. a ſon.
Dec. 10. Marchioneſs of Blandford, a ſon.
13. Hon. Mrs. Butler, daughter of ſir John Danvers, bart. a ſon.
21. Lady of ſir Thomas Whichcote, bart. a ſon.

MARRIAGES for the Year 1794.

Jan. 2. The Rev. Thomas Barnard, to Miſs Everilda Martin, ſecond daughter of ſir Mordaunt Martin.
4. William Scrope, eſq. Caſtle Cumbe, Wilts, to Miſs Long, niece of ſir James Tylney Long, bart.
— Lawrence Langley, eſq. to Miſs Ann Moore, niece to the earl of Bective.
7. R. Caldwell, eſq. of Clapham, to Miſs Gardiner, daughter of admiral Gardiner.
— Charles Garnier, eſq. of the royal navy, to lady Elizabeth Delme.
26. William Currie, eſq. of Eaſt Horſley, Surrey, M. P. for Gatton, to Miſs Piercy Gore, youngeſt daughter of the late col. Gore, lieutenant governor of Grenada.
Feb. 6. Thomas Manſel Talbot, eſq. of Glamorganſhire, to lady Mary Strangways, ſecond daughter of the earl of Ilcheſter.
— Francis Bradſhaw, eſq. to Miſs Eliza Wilmot, daughter of the late ſir R. Wilmot, of Gaddeſden.
— John Lee, eſq. of Burley, county of York, to Miſs Maria Mainwaring, ſecond daughter of lady Kaye.
18. John Minet Fector, eſq. of Updown, Kent, eldeſt ſon of Peter Fector, eſq. of Dover, to Miſs Laurie, only daughter of ſir Robert Laurie, of Maxwelton, M. P. for the county of Dumfries.
— Mr. Newbold, to Miſs Julia Digby, maid of honour to her majeſty.
25. James H. Blake, eſq. of the prince of Wales's regiment of light dragoons, and brother to ſir Patrick Blake, bart. to Miſs Gage, ſiſter of lord Gage.
— William Wyndham, eſq. of Dinton, Wilts, to Miſs Popham, daughter of Alexander Popham, eſq. M. P.
March 3. Edward earl of Oxford, to Miſs Scot, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Scot, of Itchin, near Southampton.
— George Langton, eſq. of Langton, county of Lincoln, to Miſs Elizabeth Mainwaring, youngeſt daughter of lady Kaye.
6. J. G. Lemaiſtre, eſq. only ſon of the late hon. C. T. Lemaiſtre,

T. Lemaiſtre, one of the judges of the ſupreme court of judicature at Bengal, to Miſs Vaſſal, eldeſt daughter of John Vaſſal, eſq. of Chatley-lodge, Wilts.

11. Lord Belmore, to Miſs Caldwall.

— John, duke of Athol, to lady Macleod, relict of the late lord Macleod.

29. Sir Charles Style, of Wateringbury, in Kent, bart. to the eldeſt daughter of James Whatman, eſq.

April 24. Thomas viſcount Weymouth, to the hon. Miſs Byng, third daughter of viſcount Torrington.

28. Viſcount Belgrave, to the hon. Miſs Egerton, daughter of lord Grey de Wilton.

May 7. Major-general Bertie, to Mrs. Scrope of Colby, county of Lincoln.

20. John Cotes, eſq. of Woodcote, county of Salop, to lady Maria Grey.

22. Rev. George Talbot, to the hon. Miſs Anne Beauclerk, of Banſtead, Surrey.

— James Godfrey Lill, eſq. to Miſs De Burgh, only daughter of Fyſh De Burgh, eſq. of Weſt Drayton, Middleſex.

27. Hon. Mr. Bingham, eldeſt ſon of lord Lucan, to lady Elizabeth Bellafyſe (late Howard.)

31. Hon. Francis Charteris, only ſon of lord Elcho, to Miſs Margaret Campbell, fourth daughter of Walter Campbell, eſq. of Shawfield.

June 9. Hon. Mr. Stewart, eldeſt ſon of lord Londonderry, to lady Amelia Hobart.

July 5. Viſcount Conyngham, to Miſs Deniſon, daughter of Joſeph Deniſon, eſq. of Denbighs, Surrey.

23. Sir James Murray, bart. M. P. to Henrietta Laura baroneſs Bath, only daughter of William Pulteney, eſq. M. P.—ſir James Murray has taken the name and arms of Pulteney.

Aug. 28. Henry-Thomas earl of Ilcheſter, to Miſs Maria Digby, third daughter of the dean of Durham.

Sept. 1. William Stephen Poyntz, eſq. to the hon. Elizabeth Mary Brown, ſiſter and heireſs of George Samuel viſcount Montacute.

8. Lord Say and Sele, to the hon. Miſs Eardley.

15. Thomas Anſon, eſq. of Shugborough, county of Stafford, to Miſs Ann Coke, youngeſt daughter of Thomas William Coke, eſq. M. P. for Norfolk.

23. Captain Williams, of the foot-guards, to the counteſs of Barrymore.

Oct. 13.

Oct. 13. Captain Gill, of the life-guards, to lady Harriet Fleming.

20. Lord Dynevor, to the hon. Miſs Harriot Townſhend, daughter of viſcount Sydney.

Nov. 18. Charles Grey, eſq. M. P. for Northumberland, to Miſs Ponſonby, daughter of the right hon. William Brabazon Ponſonby, M. P. for Kilkenny.

27. John Clavering, eſq. of Callaly, county of Northumberland, to Miſs Swinburne, only daughter of the late ſir Edward Swinburne, bart.

29. Right hon. Richard earl of Mornington, to madame H. Rolland.

Dec. 13. Peter Murray, eſq. eldeſt ſon of ſir William Murray, bart. of Ochtertyre, to lady Mary-Anne Hope, daughter of the late and ſiſter of the preſent earl of Hopetoun.

20. W. P. Pigott, eſq. high ſheriff for the county of Wexford, in Ireland, to Miſs Houghton, eldeſt daughter of Henry T. H. Houghton, eſq. of Kilmarnock.

26. Lord Gormanſtown, to the hon. Miſs Southwell.

— Lord Sheffield, to the hon. Miſs Lucy Pelham.

Principal PROMOTIONS for the Year 1794, from the London *Gazette*.

Jan. 1. IRELAND. Edward, viſcount Mountgarret, to be earl of Kilkenny.—Arthur, viſcount Valentia, to be earl of Mountmorris.—Otway, viſcount Deſart, to be earl of Deſart.—Alice, viſcounteſs dowager Wicklow, to be counteſs of Wicklow.—John, viſcount Clonmell, to be earl of Clonmell.—Robert lord Leitrim, to be viſcount Leitrim.—Francis lord Landaff, to be viſcount Landaff.—Cornwallis lord de Montalt, to be viſcount Hawarden.—John lord Fitz-gibbon, to be viſcount Fitz-Gibbon.—Tankerville Chamberlain, eſq. to be a juſtice of the Iriſh court of common pleas.—The right hon. Richard, earl of Shannon, ſir John Parnell, bart. John Beresford, ſir Henry Cavendiſh, bart. William Conyngham, and Robert Hobart, commonly called lord Hobart, to be his majeſty's commiſſioners for executing the office of treaſurer of his majeſty's exchequer.—The right hon. Henry Theophilus Clements, to be receiver-general, and paymaſter-general of all revenues.

11. Sir John Dick, and John Martin Leake, to be comptrollers of army accounts.

25. Richard Byron, eſq. gent. uſher of the privy chamber.—Edmund Armſtrong, eſq. groom of the privy chamber.

— Colonel Oliver de Lancey, to be barrack-maſter-general to his majeſty's forces.

— Hon. William Frederick Wyndham to be envoy extraordinary to the court of Florence.

Feb. Sir Lucas Pepys, to be phyſician-general to his majeſty's forces, vice Wintringham deceaſed.

6. Right Rev. Spencer Madan, D. D. biſhop of Briſtol, tranſlated to the ſee of Peterborough, vice Hinchcliffe, deceaſed.

— Right Rev. Charles Manners Sutton, biſhop of Norwich, to be dean of his majeſty's chapel royal, in the caſtle of Windſor, and dean of Wolverhampton, and regiſter of the knights of the moſt noble order of the Garter, vice Cornwallis reſigned.

8. Right Rev. James Cornwallis, D. D. biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, to be dean of the cathedral church of Durham, vice Hinchcliffe deceaſed.

— Lieutenant-colonel his royal highneſs prince William to be colonel in the army.

— William Jackſon, eſq. to be one of the commiſſioners of the exciſe, vice Buller deceaſed.

— John Hunter, eſq. to be captain-general and governor in chief of the territory of New South Wales, vice Philip, reſigned.

— Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Roſs, of the 76th foot, to be aid-du-camp to the king.

— George Poyntz Ricketts, eſq. to be captain-general and governor in chief of the Iſland of Barbadoes, vice Parry deceaſed.

— Rev. Samuel Gauntlet, fellow of Wincheſter-college, admitted D. D. and elected warden of New College, Oxford, vice Oglander deceaſed.

— Henry Gwillim, eſq. to be chief juſtice of the iſle of Ely, vice Yorke reſigned.

— Vickery Gibbs, eſq. barriſter at law, elected recorder of Briſtol, vice Burke deceaſed.

Mar. 5. George viſcount Macartney, K. B. to be earl of Macartney, in the county of Antrim, and kingdom of Ireland.

— Charles viſcount Loftus, to be earl of Ely in the kingdom of Ireland.

12. Soulden Lawrence, eſq. one of his majeſty's ſerjeants at law, knighted, and appointed one of the juſtices in the court of Common Pleas, vice Gould, deceaſed.

— George earl of Pembroke, to be lord-lieutenant of Wilts.

15. Sir Morton Eden, K. B. ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his catholic majeſty.

April 1. William Waldegrave, Thomas Pringle, eſq. and ſir Roger Curtis, knt. to be colonels in his majeſty's marine forces, vice George Murray, eſq. Robert Linzee, eſq. and ſir James Wallace, knt. appointed flag-officers of his majeſty's fleet.

— Sir Peter Parker, bart. hon. Samuel Barrington, and Robert Roddam, eſq. admirals of the Blue, to be admirals of the White.—Nicholas Vincent, eſq. ſir Edward Vernon, knt. Richard Edwards, eſq. Thomas Graves, eſq. Robert Digby, eſq. Benjamin Marlow, eſq. ſir Alexander Hood, K. B. ſir Chaloner Ogle, knt. and the right hon. Samuel lord Hood, vice-admirals of the Red, to be admirals of the Blue.—Sir Richard Hughes, bart. John Elliott, eſq. William Hotham, eſq. Joſeph Peyton, eſq. John Carter Allen, eſq. ſir Charles Middleton, bart. ſir John Laforey, bart. and John Dalrymple, eſq. vice-admirals of the White, to be vice-admirals of the Red.—Herbert Sawyer, eſq. ſir Richard King, bart. Jonathan Faulknor, eſq. Philip Affleck,

Affleck, esq. sir John Jervis, K. B. Adam Duncan, esq. Richard Brathwaite, esq. and Philip Cosbie, esq. vice-admirals of the Blue, to be vice-admirals of the White.—Thomas Fitzherbert, esq. Samuel Cornish, esq. John Brisbane, esq. Charles Wolfely, esq. Samuel Cranston Goodall, esq. hon. Keith Stewart, and his royal highness the duke of Clarence, rear-admirals of the Red, to be vice-admirals of the blue.—Richard Onslow, esq. Robert Kingsmill, esq. sir George Collier, knt. George Bowyer, esq. sir Hyde Parker, knt. Rowland Cotton, esq. Benjamin Caldwell, esq. and the hon. William Cornwallis, rear-admirals of the White; William Allen, esq. John Macbride, esq. and George Vandeput, esq. rear-admirals of the Blue, to be rear-admirals of the Red.—Captains John Lewis-Gidoin, esq. George Gayton, esq. George Murray, esq. Robert Linzee, esq. sir James Wallace, knt. William Peere Williams, esq. and Thomas Pasley, esq. to be rear-admirals of the White.—John Symons, esq. sir Thomas Rich, bart. Charles Thompson, esq. James Cumming, esq. John Ford, esq. John Colpoys, esq. Skeffington Lutwidge, esq. Archibald Dickson, esq. George Montagu, esq. Thomas Dumaresque, esq. and the hon. George Keith Elphinstone, to be rear-admirals of the Blue.

8. Rev. Reginald Courtenay, LL. D. appointed bishop of Bristol, vice Madan, translated to the see of Peterborough.

30. Thomas Pelham duke of Newcastle, to be lord-lieutenant of the county of Nottingham, vice his father, deceased.

May. 2. Colonel his royal highness prince William of Gloucester, to be colonel of a regiment of infantry, to be forthwith raised.

12. Earl of Euston to be ranger and keeper of St. James's and Hyde parks, vice lord Grenville.

23. Henry Hamilton, esq. to be captain-general and governor in chief of the island of Dominica, vice Orde.

29. Hon. rear-admiral sir Keith Elphinstone, and captain sir John Borlase Warren, bart. created knights of the Bath.

— Henry duke of Buccleuch, created knight of the Garter.

June. Marquis of Buckingham, to be high steward of Westminster, vice the duke of Newcastle.

27. Earl of Carhampton, to be lieutenant-general of the Staff of Ireland.

July 4. Herbert Sawyer, esq. sir Richard King, bart. Jonathan Faulknor, and Philip Affleck, esqrs. vice-admirals of the White, to be vice-admirals of the Red.

— Thomas Fitzherbert, Samuel Cornish, John Brisbane, Charles Wolfely, Samuel Cranston Goodall, esqrs. hon. Keith Stewart, and the duke of Clarence, vice-admirals of the Blue, to be vice-admirals of the White.

— Richard Onslow, and Robert Kingsmill, esqrs. rear-admirals of the Red, to be vice-admirals of the White.

— Sir George Collier, knt. George Bowyer, esq. sir Hyde Parker, knt. Rowland Cotton, and Benjamin Caldwell, esqrs. hon. William Cornwallis, William Allen, John Macbride, and George Vandeput, esqrs. rear-admirals of the Red, to be vice-admirals of the Blue.

— Charles Buckner, John Gell,

William Dickſon, and Alan Gardner, eſqrs. rear-admirals of the White, to be vice-admirals of the Blue.

— John Lewis Gidoin, George Gayton, George Murray, and Robert Linzee, eſqrs. ſir James Wallace, knt. William Peere Williams, and Thomas Paſley, eſqrs. rear-admirals of the White, to be rear-admirals of the Red.

— John Symons, eſq. and ſir Thomas Rich, bart. rear-admirals of the Blue, to be rear-admirals of the Red.

— Charles Thompſon, James Cumming, John Ford, John Colpoys, Skeffington Lutwidge, Archibald Dickſon, George Montagu, and Thomas Dumareſque, eſqrs. and hon. ſir George Keith Elphinſtone, K. B. rear-admirals of the Blue, to be rear-admirals of the White.

— Captains James Pigott, hon. William Waldegrave, Thomas Mackenzie, Thomas Pringle, hon. William Clement Finch, ſir Roger Curtis, knt. Henry Harvey, Robert Mun, and William Parker, to be rear-admirals of the Blue.

— William Young and James Gambier, eſqrs. and lord Hugh Seymour, to be colonels in the marine forces.

11. William earl Fitzwilliam, to be a privy-councillor, and lord-preſident of the council.

— George-John earl Spencer, to be a privy-councillor, and lord-privy-ſeal.

— William-Henry Cavendiſh, duke of Portland, to be ſecretary of ſtate for the home department.

— Right hon. William Wyndham, to be ſecretary at War, and a privy-councillor.

— Alexander, duke of Gordon, to be keeper of the great ſeal of Scotland.

19. General ſir Henry Clinton, K. B. to be governor of Gibraltar.

23. Evan Nepean, Stephen Cottrell, and James Bland Burges, eſqrs. to be commiſſioners for executing the office of keeper of the privy ſeal.

— General George marquis Townſhend, to be governor of Hull.

Aug. Dr. William Bennet, biſhop of Cork and Roſs, to be biſhop of Cloyne.

— Hon. and Rev. Thomas Stopford, dean of Ferns, to be biſhop of Cork and Roſs.

— Edward lord Clive, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be baron Clive, of Walcot, in the county of Salop.

— Henry lord Mulgrave, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be baron Mulgrave, of Mulgrave, in Yorkſhire.

— William lord Weſtcote, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be lord Lyttelton, baron Frankley, in Worceſterſhire.

— Right hon. Welbore Ellis, to be baron Mendip, of Mendip, county of Somerſet.

— John earl of Upper Oſſory, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be baron Upper Oſſory of Ampthill, in Bedfordſhire.

— Sir Henry Bridgeman, bart. to be baron Bradford, of Bradford, in the county of Salop.

— Sir James Peachy, bart. to be baron Selſey, of Selſey, in Suſſex.

— Sir Thomas Dundas, bart. to be baron Dundas, of Aſke, in Yorkſhire.

— Aſheton Curzon, eſq. to be

be baron Curzon, of Penn, county of Buckingham.

— Charles Anderſon Pelham, eſq. to be baron Yarborough, of Yarborough, county of Lincoln.

— Vice-admiral George Bowyer, vice-admiral Alan Gardner, rear-admiral Thomas Paſley, and rear-admiral ſir Roger Curtis, knt. to be baronets.

11. Major-general Charles Leigh, to be captain-general and governor in chief over the iſlands of Nevis, St. Chriſtopher, Montſerrat, Antigua, Barbuda, Anquilla, and all other iſlands, commonly called the Charibbee iſlands.

— James Crawfurd, eſq. to be governor and commander in chief of the Bermuda or Somers iſlands.

Sept. 8. Major-general Lake, to be governor of Limerick.

— Earls of Cheſterfield and Leiceſter, to be poſtmaſters-generals.

Oct. 4. Colonels Edmund Fanning, Francis R. Humphreys, of the late 79th foot; John Hughes, Horatio Spry, William Souter, and Harrie Innes of the marines; William Fawcett, inſpector-general of recruits in Ireland: Robert Donkin of the late garriſon battalion; James Balfour, of the 77th foot; James Francis Perkins of the marines; Norman Macleod, of the 73d foot; Francis D'Oyley, of the 1ſt foot-guards; William Croſbie of the 89th foot; ſir James Duff, knt. of the 1ſt foot-guards; Henry lord Mulgrave of the 31ſt foot; Grice Blackney of the 24th dragoons; Paulus Æ. Irving, of the 47th foot; John Small, lieutenant-governor of Guernſey; George Harris, of the 76th foot; Richard Vyſe, of the 1ſt dragoon guards; William lord Cathcart, of the 29th foot; Maurice Wemyſs, of the marines; Robert Maſon Lewis, captain of Cariſbrooke-caſtle; Banaſtre Tarleton, of the late American dragoons; ſir Hugh Dalrymple, knt. of the 1ſt foot-guards; Gordon Forbes, of the 105th foot; Andrew Gordon, of the 26th foot; John Floyd, of the 19th dragoons; Oliver de Lancey, barrack-maſter-general; John Graves Simcoe, of the queen's-rangers; Robert Johnſtone, of the 3d foot-guards; and James Henry Craig, of the 16th foot, to be major-generals.

24. Major-general Adam Williamſon, to be governor of that part of St. Domingo, which belongs to his majeſty.

— Earl of Balcarras, to be lieutenant-governor of Jamaica.

Nov. Captains Charles Holmes, Everitt Calmady, John Bourmaſter, ſir George Young, knt. John Henry, and Richard Rodney Bligh, to be rear-admirals of the Blue.

12. Sir Morton Eden, K. B. to be envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna.

14. Admiral Thomas Graves to be lord Graves of Ireland.

— Admiral ſir Alexander Hood, K. B. to be lord Bridport of Ireland.

28. Sir James Sanderſon, knt. of London; Chriſtopher Willoughby, eſq. of Baldon houſe, county of Oxford; and George William Preſcott, eſq. of Theobald's Park, Herts, to be baronets.

Dec. 10. Right hon. William earl Fitzwilliam, to be lord-lieutenant of Ireland, vice earl of Weſtmoreland, reſigned.

17. Right hon. David earl of Mansfield, to be lord preſident of

the privy council, vice earl Fitzwilliam.

— Right hon. John earl of Chatham to be keeper of the privy ſeal, vice marquis of Stafford, reſigned.

20. Right hon. George-John earl Spencer, to be firſt lord-commiſſioner of the admiralty, vice earl of Chatham.

DEATHS for the Year 1794.

Jan. Hon. Charles De Ginkel, ſecond ſon of the earl of Athlone.

— At Snareſton-hall, county of Leiceſter, in her 63d year, Mrs. Alicia Dorothea Charnell, a maiden lady, and the laſt ſurvivor of a name which has been of celebrity throughout that county from the time of the conqueſt. There is ſcarcely a church with painted glaſs, which does not bear the arms of this family.

— Dr. Ruſſel, author of the hiſtory of modern Europe.

10. At the age of 84, ſir Cliſton Wintringham, bart. M. D. F. R. S. fellow of the royal colleges of phyſicians in London and Paris, phyſician extraordinary 1759, phyſician-general to the army, and phyſician in ordinary to his majeſty 1762.

In his 87th year, the right hon. Hugh Hume Campbell, earl of Marchmont, viſcount Blaſſonbury, lord Polwarth, Red Braes, and Greenlaw in the county of Berwick, and a baronet. His lordſhip, by his firſt marriage with Miſs Anne Weſtern, had iſſue, Patrick, who died an infant; Anne, married to ſir John Paterſon, bart. of Eccles Berwickſhire; Margaret, married to col. James Stuart; Diana, married to Walter Scot, eſq. of Harden. The counteſs their mother dying in 1747, his lordſhip married the following year, Miſs Crompton, by whom he had a ſon, Alexander lord Polwarth, born in July 1750, married in July 1772, Annabella, daughter of the marchioneſs Grey, and was created in 1770, baron Hume, in England; but dying without iſſue, the title of baron Hume became extinct.—The earl dying without male iſſue, all the titles become extinct, but his eſtates deſcend to his three daughters. This peer was the laſt of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the houſe of commons during the adminiſtration of ſir Robert Walpole. He was choſen a member of that houſe in the ſame year with the late lord Chatham, and the firſt lord Lyttelton, and ſoon became a conſpicuous ſpeaker.

When Mr. Pulteney ſeceded, on the occaſion of the convention, in 1739, the earl of Marchmont, then lord Polwarth, led the oppoſition; but, very ſoon after that, his ſucceſſion to the Scots earldom put an end, for a time, to his parliamentary career. It may be judged how formidable an opponent ſir Robert Walpole found him, by his ſaying, "There were few things he wiſhed more, than to ſee that young man at the head of his family." He lived long in habits of the greateſt intimacy with lord Cobham, ſir William Wyndham, lord Bolingbroke, the duchеſs of Marlborough, Mr. Pope, and other eminent perſons of their time. The firſt of theſe placed his buſt in the temple of worthies at

Stowe,

Stowe, and he was executor to the two laſt. For that trouble, the poet left him a large-paper edition of Thuanus, and a portrait of lord Bolingbroke, by Richardſon. He was made firſt lord of police, in Mr. Pelham's adminiſtration; and promoted to be keeper of the great ſeal of Scotland in 1764, which place he held till his death. In the year 1750, he was choſen one of the 16 peers, and from that time till 1784, when he ceaſed to be one of the number, was a conſtant attendant at the Houſe, and took an active part in all buſineſs of importance.

11. At her houſe at Peterſham, aged 77, Carolina Campbell, baroneſs Greenwich. This lady, who was the eldeſt of the five daughters of the celebrated John duke of Argyll and Greenwich, by his ſecond wife, was firſt married, 1742, to Francis, late earl of Dalkeith, by whom ſhe was the mother of the preſent duke of Buccleugh; and afterwards, 1755, to the late hon. Charles Townſhend, who died 1767, to whom ſhe bore two ſons, who both died ſome years ago. Of courſe her title, which ſtands limited to her iſſue male of the laſt marriage, becomes extinct. The king granted to her the dignity of baroneſs of Greenwich, Auguſt 28, 1767, in conſideration of her ladyſhip's noble deſcent, and the extraordinary merits of her conſort.

— Aged 65, the right Rev. Dr. John Hinchcliffe, biſhop of Peterborough, and dean of Durham. The promotion of this learned prelate, affords a moſt ſtriking example, of what may be effected by merit alone.

13. The infant ſon of the marquis of Worceſter.

15. After being ſafely delivered of a daughter, the hon. Mrs. Tober.

16. In his 57th year, Edward Gibbon, eſq. the celebrated author of "The Hiſtory of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire." He was the laſt of an antient and honourable family, long reſident in the Weald of Kent. Under the adminiſtration of his friend lord North, he was choſen a member of parliament, and appointed a lord of trade, but upon that miniſter's reſignation he returned to Switzerland, but about three years ſince, he paid a viſit to London. The greateſt part of that time which he ſpent in England for the laſt twenty-five years, he paſſed at Sheffield-Place. He has left a very ſelect library at his houſe at Lauſanne, which it was ſuppoſed he would bequeath to lord Spencer, or lord Sheffield, but he has left all his effects to a young Swiſs gentleman, who accompanied him to England laſt year.

17. Peniſton-Portlock Powney, eſq. M. P. for Windſor, lieutenant-col. of the Berks militia, and ranger of Windſor Little Park.

20. In conſequence of a fall from his horſe, John, viſcount Mountſtuart, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Bute, lord lieutenant, and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Glamorgan, col. of its militia, repreſentative in Parliament of the borough of Cardiff, in that county. He was born Sep. 25, 1768, on the 12th of Oct. 1792, he married lady Elizabeth Penelope Crichton, ſole daughter and heireſs to the earl

earl of Dumfries, by whom he has left one ſon.

23. At Vienna, aged 66, prince Anthony D'Eſterhazy Galantha, field marſhal, lieutenant-captain of the Hungarian guard of nobles, privy councillor of ſtate, grand croſs of the order of St. Stephen, and knight of the golden fleece, &c.

25. Sir Charles Hotham, bart. general in the army, and K. B.

26. Sir Edward Boughton, of Poſton Court, Herefordſhire, bart.

27. At Wilton, of a paralytic ſtroke, aged 60, Henry Herbert, tenth earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, a lieutenant-general in the army, and colonel of the 1ſt regiment of dragoons, high ſteward of Saliſbury, lord of the bed chamber, and governor of Portſmouth. He married in 1756, lady Elizabeth, ſecond daughter of Charles Spencer, late duke of Marlborough.

28. At the Hot-wells, Briſtol, lady Elizabeth King, eldeſt daughter of the earl of Erne.

— Charlotte, counteſs of Abingdon, daughter of the late admiral ſir Peter Warren, K. B.

30. Lady Eden, relict of the late ſir John Eden, bart. and mother of lord Auckland.

31. In his 83d year, Marriot Arbuthnot, admiral of the Blue.

— In Merrion ſtreet, Dublin, lady Ann Daly, relict of Dennis Daly, eſq. ſiſter of the late earl, and aunt of the preſent marquis of Clanricarde.

Feb. Captain Seymour Finch, brother to the earl of Aylesford.

14. At Eaſt Dereham, Norfolk, aged 55, ſir John Fenn, knt. M. A. F. S. A. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf early, by his application to the ſtudy of our national hiſtory, and antiquities, for which he had made great collections. Among them was a great number of original letters, written during the reigns of Henry VI. Edward IV. Richard III. and Henry VII. by ſuch of the Paſton family, and others, who were perſonally preſent in court and camp, and were in thoſe times, perſons of great conſequence in the county of Norfolk.

19. Sir William Chaloner Burnaby, bart. of Broughton-hall, in the county of Oxford, captain in the royal navy.

— Sir Francis Henry Drake, bart. The title deſcends to his nephew Francis Henry Drake, eſq. only ſon of the late vice-admiral Drake.

21. Her royal highneſs, the princeſs de Savoie-Carignan.

22. At his houſe in Palace-yard, Weſtminſter, the moſt noble Henry Fiennes Pelham Clinton, duke of Newcaſtle under Line, in the county of Stafford, earl of Lincoln, baron Say and Clinton, lord-lieutenant and cuſtos-rotulorum of the county of Nottingham, ſteward, keeper, and guardian of the foreſt of Sherwood, and park of Folewood, in the ſame county, high ſteward of Eaſt Retford, auditor of the exchequer, comptroller of the cuſtoms in the port of London, high ſteward of Weſtminſter, preſident of the Weſtminſter-hoſpital, knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, LL. D. and F. R. S. His Grace was born April 20, 1720; ſucceeded his brother George, as earl of Lincoln, April 30, 1730, and his uncle Thomas Holles Pelham, as duke of Newcaſtle, November 17, 1768.

He

He married October 3, 1744, his couſin Catharine, eldeſt daughter to his uncle Henry Pelham; and by her, who died in 1760, had iſſue, 1ſt George, born in 1745, who died in 1752; 2d Henry, earl of Lincoln, born in 1750, who died in 1768; 3d Thomas, the preſent earl of Lincoln, now duke of Newcaſtle, born 1752, and 4th John, born 1755.

23. Sir John Sebright, bart. of Beach-wood, Herts, a general in the army, and col. of the 18th regiment of foot.

26. Mary, counteſs dowager Digby, daughter and heireſs of John Knowles, eſq. of Canterbury.

Lately, at Liſbon, hon. Henry Fitzroy, third ſon of lord Southampton.

28. Charles Ambler, eſq. attorney-general to her majeſty.

— Lady Catharine Rodney, wife of the eldeſt ſon, by the ſecond marriage, of the late earl of Rodney, and ſiſter of the preſent earl of Weſtmeath, of the kingdom of Ireland.

Mar. 1. At Madrid, his royal highneſs, the Infant Don Philip, youngeſt ſon of their Catholic majeſties.

— At Shellingford, county of Berks, Miſs Sophia Flower, youngeſt ſiſter of lord viſcount Aſhbrooke.

— At his lordſhip's houſe in Arlington-ſtreet, Piccadilly, Mary-Marow lady Eardley, wife of lord Eardley, and eldeſt daughter of ſir John Eardley Wilmot, knt. late lord chief juſtice of the court of Common Pleas. She was born in 1743, and married in 1766.

3. Lady Mary Weſtley, ſiſter to the earl of Mornington.

5. In her 75th year, lady Jane Buller, relict of James Buller, eſq. of Morval, formerly M. P. for the county of Cornwall, daughter of Allen late earl of Bathurſt, ſiſter to the preſent earl, and mother of Judge Buller.

8. Miſs Hobart, youngeſt daughter to the hon. Henry Hobart, and niece to the preſent earl of Buckinghamſhire.

9. At Conſtance, the prince biſhop of Baſle.

11. Lady Charlotte Madan, wife of the biſhop of Peterborough, and ſiſter to the marquis Cornwallis.

— William Brummell, eſq. private ſecretary to the earl of Guilford, during the whole of his adminiſtration.

19. Sir William Johnſtone of Caſkieben, bart.

— At his houſe in Great George ſtreet, Weſtminſter, aged 72, the hon. James Murray, a major-general in the army, colonel of the 72d regiment of foot, governor of Fort William in Scotland, uncle to the duke of Athol, and member of the houſe of Commons for Perthſhire. The family eſtate and lordſhips, at Strowan and in Perthſhire, revert to the duke of Athol. On his body being opened for embalmment, ſeveral bullets, which he received in Germany, and in America, were found lodged therein. His remains were privately interred in Weſtminſter Abbey.

— General Lambton, colonel of the 68th regiment of foot.

25. At Dublin, the right hon. Hercules Langford Rowley, knight of the ſhire for the county of Meath. He has left a clear landed eſtate of 18,000l. a year. His lady was created a peereſs, by the title of viſcounteſs Langford, in 1766.

April

April 3. At Barrow-hall, county of Lancaſter, Thomas Fenwick, eſq. formerly a barriſter at law, and M. P. for the county of Weſtmoreland.

7. Aged 70, Mary, viſcounteſs Warburton.

8. Martha, dowager-lady Vernon, relict and third wife of the late lord, and ſiſter of Simon, late earl of Harcourt. She was married to lord Vernon in 1744, and had by him three ſons and four daughters.

13. The lady of the hon. Mr. Juſtice Groſe.

18. At his houſe in Hill-ſtreet, Berkeley-ſquare, the right hon. Charles Pratt, earl Camden, viſcount Bayham, and lord Camden, lord preſident of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, a governor of the Charter-houſe, recorder of the city of Bath, and F. R. S. He was the third ſon of ſir John Pratt, one of the juſtices of the King's Bench, 1714, by his ſecond wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh Wilſon, canon of Bangor. He was born in 1713; choſen for the borough of Downton, Wilts, in 1759; recorder of Bath in 1759, and the ſame year appointed attorney-general; in 1762 he was called to the degree of ſerjeant at Law, appointed chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, and knighted. In 1765 he was created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of lord Camden, baron Camden, in the county of Kent; and in 1766, on the reſignation of Robert, earl of Northington, he was appointed lord high chancellor of Great Britain; he was removed from his ſtation in 1770; appointed preſident of the council in 1782, and reſigned that office in 1783. In 1786, he was created viſcount Bayham, of Bayham-Abbey, Kent; and earl Camden. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Jefferys, eſq. by whom he had iſſue John Jefferys Pratt, (now Lord Camden,) born 1759, M. P. for Bath, and commiſſioner of the admiralty, in 1782, reſigned, and re-appointed in 1783; and four daughters. His ſeat at Camden-place, Chiſelhurſt, was the reſidence of the great William Camden; on whoſe death it came by ſeveral intermediate owners, to Weſton, Spencer, and Pratt, and was much improved by his lordſhip. His remains were interred in the family burying-place at Seal, in Kent.

24. The counteſs of Guilford, daughter of the earl and counteſs of Buckinghamſhire.

— General Robert Dalrymple Horn Elphinſtone, colonel of the 53d regiment.

30. At Great Yarmouth, at the age of 25, lady Caroline Home, ſiſter of the preſent, and eldeſt daughter of the late earl of Home.

— At Madrid, in his 21ſt year, the duke of Berwick, ſon to the princeſs of Sangro, and laſt male iſſue of marſhal Berwick, natural ſon of James II. king of England.

— Sir Thomas Allin, bart. of Somerley-hall, county of Suffolk.

— Right Rev. Dr. Woodward, biſhop of Cloyne, in Ireland.

May 2. In the 67th year of his age, the right hon. lord George Cavendiſh, uncle to the duke of Devonſhire, one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, M. P. for the county of Derby, and the oldeſt member in the houſe of Commons.

— At his ſeat at Higham, county

county of Glouceſter, ſir John Guiſe, bart.

7. At lord Rodney's houſe in Hanover-ſquare, David Murray, eſq. brother to lord Elibank, and M. P. for New Radnor.

10. Guillotined at Paris, Madame Elizabeth, ſiſter of the late king of France. (See Appendix to the Chronicle.)

14. At the earl of Beaulieu's houſe in Dover-ſtreet, in her 84th year, hon. Mrs. Huſſey, ſiſter to his lordſhip.

17. At his houſe in St. James's-ſquare, ſir Thomas Dyke Acland, bart. of Killerton, county of Devon.

— In her 15th year, lady Georgina Ramſay, third daughter of the late earl of Dalhouſie.

— At his houſe in Upper Wimpole-ſtreet, lieutenant-general Townſhend.

23. — Tufton, eſq. brother to the earl of Thanet.

26. Miſs Elizabeth Cavendiſh, daughter of lord G. H. Cavendiſh.

— Thomas, earl of Haddington.

— Hon. Miſs Mary Pelham.

Lately, at Gibraltar, ſir Robert Boyd, K. B. governor of that fortreſs, and colonel of the 39th regiment of foot.

— Sir William Mayne, lord Newhaven.

June 1. Counteſs of Egremont, one of the ladies of the bed-chamber to the queen, and lady of count Bruhl, the Saxon envoy.

2. Aged 56, Adolphus Frederick IV. duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, brother of her majeſty.

3. The moſt noble Dorothy ducheſs of Portland, daughter of the late, and ſiſter of the preſent duke of Devonſhire.

— Right hon. lady viſcounteſs Mayo, widow of the late John lord viſcount Mayo, of Caſtle Bourke, in the kingdom of Ireland.

6. Counteſs Deloraine, mother of the preſent earl.

7. Rev. ſir Henry Vane, bart.

— John lord Kilmaine, of the kingdom of Ireland.

— At Beaufort-houſe, Suſſex, general James Murray, colonel of the Royal North Britiſh Fuſileers, and governor of Hull garriſon.

12. In her 82d year, lady Ravenſworth.

14. In the 75th year of his age, Francis Seymour Conway, marquis Hertford, earl of Yarmouth, viſcount Beauchamp, knight of the garter.

— In the Weſt Indies, general Thomas Dundas.

23. At his houſe, in Mortimer-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare, aged 68, ſir Archibald Murray, bart.

26. At Brayton-hall, county of Cumberland, in his 85th year, ſir Gilfrid Lawſon, bart.

28. Rear-admiral Balfour.

29. In his tenth year, William earl of Waldegrave, born July 19, 1784. He was drowned in attempting to ſwim acroſs the Thames, from Brocks field, near Eton. He was the only ſon of George the late and fourth earl, (who died October 17, 1789) by Elizabeth Laura, eldeſt daughter of his uncle and predeceſſor, James, third earl, and the ducheſs of Glouceſter. His lordſhip leaving only a ſiſter, one year older than himſelf, the title devolves on his uncle William, a captain in the royal navy, and juſt made a rear-admiral in the promotions which took place on the king's viſit to Portſmouth.

29. At

29. At Portſmouth, aged 53, of the wounds he received in the victory of the 1ſt of June, captain John Harvey, late commander of the Brunſwick; alſo of wounds received in the ſame engagement captain Hutt, of the Queen. The houſe of commons have voted a monument to be erected to their memory in Weſtminſter-abbey.

30. At Peterſburg, count Anhalt, adjutant-general to the empreſs, lieutenant-general of the army, and chief of the corps of cadets.

July 1. In her 76th year, Gertrude, ducheſs-dowager of Bedford, eldeſt daughter of John earl of Gower, by his firſt wife, daughter of Evelyn duke of Kingſton. She was ſecond wife of John, fourth duke of Bedford; to whom ſhe was married 1737, and by whom ſhe had iſſue Francis, marquis of Taviſtock, died 1767; John, who died an infant; and Caroline, married to George duke of Marlborough.

2. Sir Hugh Craufurd, bart.

— Right hon. Trevor-Charles lord Dacre.

4. Henry Drummond, eſq. M. P. for Caſtle Riſing, Norfolk.

— Right hon. and right rev. Dr. William-Cecil Pezy, baron Glentworth, and biſhop of Limerick.

5. Sir Veſey Colclough, bart.

10. Sir Archibald Hope, bart. of Craighall.

31. Frances, baroneſs dowager Annaly.

Lately at Berne, the celebrated Madame Necker.

Aug. 1. Sir Henry Martin, bart. comptroller of his majeſty's navy, and M. P. for Southampton.

10. At Weymouth, the lady of Richard Gamon, eſq. ſiſter to the duke of Grafton.

13. John Tempeſt, eſq. M. P. for the city of Durham.

— At Tuam, Dr. Joſeph-Dean Bourne, archbiſhop of Tuam, primate of Connaught, biſhop of Ardagh, and earl of Mayo.

19. At Cumbernauld-houſe in Dunbartonſhire, John lord Elphinſtone, lord-lieutenant of that county, lieutenant-governor of Edinburgh Caſtle, and one of the 16 peers of Scotland.

Lately, at Rome, cardinal de Bernis, formerly embaſſador from the king of France at that city.

25. His excellency the count de Merci Argenteau, lately arrived in London on a private embaſſy, from the emperor of Germany.

Sep. 3. Heſter viſcounteſs Malpas, relict of George viſcount Malpas.

4. Sir James Johnſtone, bart. M. P. for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis.

5. In Dublin, aged 79, right hon. John Hely Hutchinſon, principal ſecretary of ſtate for Ireland, one of the moſt honourable privy council of that kingdom, M. P. for the city of Cork, provoſt of Trinity-college, Dublin, and LL.D. He was alſo major of the 4th regiment of horſe, and ſearcher, packer, and gauger of the port of Strangford.

10. Dowager lady Rous, mother of ſir John Rous, bart.

— Major-general John Campbell.

12. At his ſeat, the Gnoll, county of Glamorgan, ſir Robert Mackworth, bart.

— Princeſs Chriſtiana of Mecklenburg, ſiſter to the queen.

— At Warſaw, prince Michael Poniatowſki, brother to the king of

of Poland, archbiſhop of Gneſna, primate of Poland, and Lithuania, ſovereign of the principality of Lowitz, abbott of Czerwin, and knight of the orders of the White Eagle, Saint Staniſlaus and Malta. This prince was in London in 1791, and during his reſidence there was elected a Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, and aſſiſted at ſeveral of their meetings.

— Lieutenant-general Henry Smith, colonel-commandant of his majeſty's marine forces.

— The moſt rev. Richard Robinſon, D. D. archbiſhop of Armagh, primate of all Ireland, and baron Rokeby.

Oct. 14. Sir Thomas Clavering, bart. M. P. for the county of Durham.

17. Dame Elizabeth Harrington, relict of ſir James Harrington, bart. father of the preſent ſir John Harrington.

— Lady Helen Douglas, relict of the late admiral ſir James Douglas, and aunt to the earl of Glaſgow.

18. Lady King, relict of vice-admiral ſir Richard King.

21. The counteſs of Howth.

24. Hon. Miſs Cathcart, ſiſter to lord Cathcart and the counteſs of Mansfield, and one of her majeſty's maids of honour.

30. Right hon. William Brownlow, father-in-law to the preſent lord Darnley. He repreſented his native county in the Iriſh Parliament near 40 years.

— Lord Daer, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Selkirk.

— Hon. Miſs Barbara Grey, ſiſter to lord Grey de Wilton.

— Major-general Allan Campbell.

— Elizabeth baroneſs-dowager of Colville of Cullroſs.

— Major-general Robert Johnſton, of the 3d regiment of foot-guards.

Nov. 1. Hon. Mr. Curzon, ſon of lord Scarſdale.

2. At Madrid, the Infanta Maria-Thereſa, daughter of his catholic majeſty.

6. In her 77th year, Mary Wortley Montague Stuart, counteſs dowager of Bute, and in her own right baroneſs Mountſtuart.

15. Lady Barbara Stewart, daughter of Charles, fourth earl of Traquair, and aunt of the preſent earl.

— His ſerene highneſs, the reigning duke of Holſtein Auguſtenburg.

17. In his 86th year, the Rev. James Bentham, M. A. and F. A. S. Prebendary of Ely.

20. Aged 89, Juliana ducheſs-dowager of Leeds, third wife of Peregrine Hyde, third duke of Leeds, who ſucceeded his father 1729, and died 1731, grandfather of the preſent duke. Her grace was daughter and coheir of Roger Hele, eſq. of Halewell, county of Devon, and married in 1732, to Charles, earl of Portmore, who died in 1785, by whom ſhe had David lord Milſington, who died in 1755; Caroline, married in 1750, to the preſent lord Scarſdale; Juliana, married to Henry Dawkins, eſq. of Standlynch, Wilts; Charles-William, married in 1770, to Miſs Laſcelles, who ſucceeded his father.

24. Sir John Stanley, bart.

28. Sir James Tylney Long, bart. M. P. for Wiltſhire.

29. At Copenhagen, in her 36th year, her royal highneſs Sophia Frederica,

Frederica, conſort of his Daniſh majeſty's half-brother. She was deſcended from the houſe of Mecklenburgh, and a diſtant relation to the queen of England.

— Sarah lady Ballenden.

Lately, at Bengal, ſir William Jones, one of the judges of the ſupreme court.

— John lord Coleraine.

Dec. 1. Lieutenant-general Joſeph Gabbot, colonel of the 66th regiment of foot.

— Robiniana, counteſs dowager of Peterborough.

9. Lady of ſir Edward Winnington, bart.

— Major-general Alexander Stewart, colonel of the queen's royal regiment of foot, and M. P. for the ſtewartry of Kircudbright.

— Hon. Miſs Eliza Saville, youngeſt daughter of the earl of Mexborough.

25. In his 75th year, the moſt noble Harry, ſixth duke of Bolton, ſeventh marquis of Wincheſter, premier marquis of England, vice-admiral of Hampſhire and Dorſetſhire, and vice-admiral of the White, 1760; M. P. for Lymington, in 1754; and in the ſucceeding parliament for Wincheſter. He married firſt, 1752, Henrietta, daughter of — Nunn, of Eltham, Kent, eſq. and by her had iſſue, Mary, born 1753, and married 1772, to the preſent earl of Sandwich. His grace ſucceeded to the title and eſtates in 1765, and his firſt wife having died in 1764, he married the following year, Catharine Lowther, ſiſter to the earl of Lonſdale, the preſent ducheſs; by whom he had iſſue, Catharine, now counteſs of Darlington, and lady Amelia Powlet. There being no male iſſue, the title of duke of Bolton is extinct; that of marquis of Wincheſter devolves on George Powlet, eſq.

27. Lieutenant-general hon. Alexander Leſlie, colonel of the 9th regiment of foot.

28. In his 85th year, George Gordon, fourth earl of Aboyne.

30. Archibald, lord Kennedy, and eleventh earl of Caſſilis.

31. Lady Harriett Pleydell Bouverie, eldeſt daughter of the earl of Radnor.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council for the Year* 1794.

Berks. Edward Stephenſon, of Farleyhill, eſq.

Bedfordſhire. Edward Nicholl, of Studham, eſq.

Bucks. Charles Clowes, of Iver, eſq.

Cumberland. William Henry Milbourne, of Armathwaite Caſtle, eſq.

Cheſhire. Dumville Poole, of Lymm, eſq.

Cambridgeſhire and *Huntingdonſhire.* John Richards of Brampton, eſq.

Devonſhire. John Spurrell Pode, of Stoke Damerell, eſq.

Dorſetſhire. Edward Buckley Batſon, of Six-penny Handley, eſq.

Derbyſhire. Sir Henry Harpur, of Caulk, bart.

Eſſex. James Hatch, of Claybury, eſq.

Glouceſterſhire. Iſaac Elton, of Stapleton, eſq.

Hertfordſhire.

Hertfordſhire. Samuel Leightonhouſe, of Orford-houſe, eſq.

Herefordſhire. John Miles, of Ledbury, eſq.

Kent. Richard Carew, of Orpington, eſq.

Leiceſterſhire. George Moore, of Appleby, eſq.

Lincolnſhire. Sir Joſeph Banks, bart.

Monmouthſhire. John Roſe, of Duffrain, eſq.

Norfolk. John Richard Daſhwood, of Cockley Clay, eſq.

Northumberland. Charles John Clavering, of Bitchfield, eſq.

Northamptonſhire. Richard Booth, of Glendon, eſq.

Nottinghamſhire. John Simpſon, of Babworth, eſq.

Oxfordſhire. Samuel Gardner, of Hardwick, eſq.

Rutlandſhire. Thomas Forſyth, of Empingham, eſq.

Shropſhire. William Yelverton Davenport, of Davenport-houſe, eſq.

Somerſetſhire. Charles Knatchbull, of Babington, eſq.

Southampton. Henry Bonham, of Petersfield, eſq.

Staffordſhire. Matthew Boulton, of Soho, eſq.

Suffolk. Charles Purvis, of Darſham, eſq.

Surrey. Charles Bowles, of Eaſt Sheen, eſq.

Suſſex. Samuel Twyford, of Trotton, eſq.

Warwickſhire. Richard Hill, of Kineton, eſq.

Wiltſhire. Richard Long, of Weſt Aſhton, eſq.

Worceſterſhire. Thomas Farley, of Halton, eſq.

Yorkſhire. Thomas Liſter, of Guiſbourn Park, eſq.

SOUTH-WALES.

Brecon. Richard Wellington, of Hay-caſtle, eſq.

Cardiganſhire. William Owen Brigſtock, of Blaenypant, eſq.

Carmarthen. William Clayton, of Alltycadno, eſq.

Glamorganſhire. Henry Knight, of Tythegſtone, eſq.

Pembrokeſhire. John Phelps, of Withybuſh-houſe, eſq.

Radnorſhire. Richard Price, of Knighton, eſq.

NORTH-WALES.

Angleſea. Hugh Jones, of Carrog, eſq.

Carnarvonſhire. Richard Lloyd, of Treſbedlig, eſq.

Denbighſhire. Bryan Cooke, of Havodywern, eſq.

Flintſhire. Daniel Leo, of Gwaſaney, eſq.

Merioneth ſhire. Owen Ormſby, of Glynn, eſq.

Montgomeryſhire. John James, of Caſtle Caerinion, eſq.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales in Council, for the year* 1794.

County of Cornwall. Edward Archer, of Trelaſk, eſq.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

GAZETTES *relative to the* EVACUATION *of* TOULON.

London Gazette Extraordinary,
FRIDAY, *Jan.* 17.
WHITEHALL, *Jan.* 15.

CAPTAIN HILL, Aide-de-Camp to Major-General Dundas, arrived, on the 13th inſtant, at the office of the right hon. Henry Dundas, his Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, with diſpatches from Vice-Admiral Lord Hood, and the Major-General; of which the following are copies and extracts.

Victory, Toulon Road, Dec. 13, 1793.

SIR,

Nothing very material has happened here ſince the 30th of laſt month, when I had the honour of writing to you, except that the enemy has made approaches nearer to us by ſome new-erected batteries; one againſt Malbouſquet, another againſt Le Brun, and a third againſt the Hauteur de Graſſe. The ſhells from two of them did us ſome miſchief on the 9th and 10th; ſince which they have been perfectly ſilent.

The enemy is reported to be 50,000, but I cannot credit their being much beyond half that number. By various deſerters that have come in, which in this reſpect perfectly agree, we are ſoon to be attacked on all ſides at once. From the numerous and important poſts we have to occupy, the troops are at very hard duty; and without relief ſome way or other, we ſhall ſoon have more men in the hoſpital than are fit for ſervice.

I have the honour to be, &c.
HOOD.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c.

SIR, *Toulon, Dec.* 12, 1793.

Since the affair of the 30th ult. no conſiderable event has taken place. By the repeated accounts of deſerters, the enemy are very much increaſed in numbers: none ſtate them lower than 30 or 40,000 men.

They have fired of late little from the battery we were in poſſeſſion of. Four of its guns were certainly diſabled. They have increaſed the number of their mortars, which have much annoyed our two poſts of Cape Brun and Fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Balaguier. We have loſt ſome men at each, from the effect of ſhells, which, in ſuch temporary

expoſed

expoſed ſituations, cannot be ſufficiently guarded from.—Againſt each of theſe poſts they have opened a new battery of cannon and mortars, but at the other points they have worked little. We continue ſtrengthening our poſition, though we cannot expect to give it any much more ſubſtantial form.

We have in all 11,000 men bearing muſkets, and 4,000 ſick. Deſerters all report the intention of a ſpeedy general attack.

This will be delivered by Capt. Hill, a very deſerving young man, who has been aide de camp to lord Mulgrave, lieutenant-general O'Hara, and myſelf. The opportunity of his departure is ſudden, and therefore I am to beg you will excuſe the ſhortneſs of this letter.

I am, &c.

DAVID DUNDAS.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c.

WHITEHALL, *January* 15, 1794.

This morning Sir Sidney Smith and Major Moncrief arrived at the office of the right hon. Henry Dundas, his Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, with diſpatches from Vice-Admiral Lord Hood and Major-General David Dundas, of which the following are copies and extracts.

Victory, Hieres Bay, Dec. 20, 1793.

It is my duty to acquaint you, that I have been obliged to evacuate Toulon, and to retire from the harbour to this anchorage.

It became unavoidably neceſſary that the retreat ſhould not be deferred beyond that night, as the enemy commanded the town and ſhips by their ſhot and ſhells; I therefore, agreeably to the governor's plan, directed the boats of the fleet to aſſemble by eleven o'clock, near Fort la Malgue; and am happy to ſay the whole of the troops were brought off, to the number of near 8,000, without the loſs of a man; and in the execution of this ſervice I have infinite pleaſure in acknowledging my very great obligations to Captain Elphinſtone, for his unremitting zeal and exertion, who ſaw the laſt man off; and it is a very comfortable ſatisfaction to me, that ſeveral thouſands of the meritorious inhabitants of Toulon were ſheltered in his Majeſty's ſhips.

I propoſe ſending the vice-admirals Hotham and Coſby, with ſome other ſhips, to Leghorn or Porto Ferrara, to complete their wine and proviſions, which run very ſhort, having many mouths to feed, and to remain with the reſt to block up the ports of Toulon and Marſeilles. Circumſtances which had taken place made the retreat abſolutely neceſſary to be effected as ſoon as poſſible, and prevented the execution of a ſettled arrangement for deſtroying the French ſhips and arſenal. I ordered the Vulcan fire-ſhip to be primed, and ſir Sidney Smith, who joined me from Smyrna about a fortnight ago, having offered his ſervice to burn the ſhips, I put capt. Hare under his orders, with the lieutenants Tupper and Gore, of the Victory, lieutenant Pater of the Britannia, and lieutenant R. W. Miller of the Windſor-Caſtle. Ten of the enemy's ſhips of the line in the arſenal, with the maſt-houſe, great ſtore-houſe, hemp-houſe, and other buildings, were totally deſtroyed, and before day-

light all his Majesty's ships, with those of Spain and the Two Sicilies, were out of the reach of the enemy's shot and shells, except the Robust, which was to receive captain Elphinstone, and she followed very soon after without a shot striking her. I have under my orders rear-admiral Trogoff, in the Commerce de Marseilles, Fuillant, and Pompée of the line, the Pearl, Arethusa, and Topaze frigates, and several large corvettes, which I have manned, and employed in collecting wine and provisions from the different ports in Spain and Italy, having been constantly in want of one species or another, and am now at short allowance.

Don Langara undertook to destroy the ships in the Bason, but, I am informed, found it not practicable; and as the Spanish troops had the guarding the powder-vessels, which contained the powder of the ships I ordered into the bason and arsenal on my first coming here, as well as that from the distant magazines, within the enemy's reach, I requested the Spanish admiral would be pleased to give orders for their being scuttled and sunk; but, instead of doing that, the officer to whom that duty was intrusted, blew them up, by which two fine gun-boats, which I had ordered to attend sir Sidney Smith, were shook to pieces. The lieutenant commanding one of them was killed, and several seamen badly wounded. I am sorry to add, that lieutenant Goddard, of the Victory, who commanded the seamen on the heights of Grasse, was wounded, but I hope and trust not dangerously.

I beg to refer you for further particulars to general Dundas, respecting the evacuation of Toulon, and to sir Sidney Smith as to the burning the enemy's ships, &c. on which service he very much distinguished himself; and he gives great praise to captain Hare, of the fire-ship, as well as to all the lieutenants employed under him.

It is with peculiar satisfaction I have the honour to acquaint you, that the utmost harmony and most cordial understanding has happily subsisted in his Majesty's army and fleet, not only between the officers of all ranks, but between the seamen and soldiers also.

I herewith transmit a copy of sir Sidney Smith's letter to me, with a list of the officers employed under him, and also a return of officers and seamen killed and wounded at Fort Mulgrave on the 17th. I have the honour, &c.

HOOD.

P. S. The list of the ships at Toulon that were burnt, and those remaining, has been received since writing my letter.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

Toulon, Dec. 18, 1793.

My Lord,

Agreeably to your lordship's order, I proceeded with the Swallow tender, three English and three Spanish gun-boats, to the arsenal, and immediately began making the necessary preparations for burning the French ships and stores therein. We found the dock-gates well secured by the judicious arrangements of the governor, although the dock-yard people had already substituted the three-coloured cockade for the white one. I did not think it safe to attempt the

the ſecuring any of them, conſidering the ſmall force I had with me, and conſidering that conteſt of any kind would occupy our whole attention, and prevent us from accompliſhing our purpoſe.

The galley-ſlaves, to the number of at leaſt 600, ſhewed themſelves jealous ſpectators of our operations. Their diſpoſition to oppoſe us was evident; and being unchained, which was unuſual, rendered it neceſſary to keep a watchful eye on them on board the galleys, by pointing the guns of the Swallow tender and one of the gun-boats on them, in ſuch a manner as to enfilade the quay on which they muſt have landed to come to us, and aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that no harm ſhould happen to them if they remained quiet. The enemy kept up a croſs fire of ſhot and ſhells on the ſpot, from Malbouſquet, and the neighbouring hills, which contributed to keep the galley-ſlaves in ſubjection, and operated, in every reſpect, favourably for us, by keeping the Republican party in the town, within their houſes, while it occaſioned little interruption to our work of preparing and placing combuſtible matter in the different ſtore-houſes, and on board the ſhips; ſuch was the ſteadineſs of the few brave ſeamen I had under my command. A great multitude of the enemy continued to draw down the hill towards the dock-yard wall; and as the night cloſed in, they came near enough to pour in an irregular though quick fire of muſquetry on us from the Boulangerie, and of cannon from the Height which overlooks it. We kept them at bay by diſcharges of grape-ſhot from time to time, which prevented their coming ſo near as to diſcover the inſufficiency of our force to repel a cloſer attack. A gun-boat was ſtationed to flank the wall on the outſide, and two field-pieces were placed within againſt the wicket uſually frequented by the workmen, of whom we were particularly apprehenſive. About eight o'clock I had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing lieutenant Gore towing in the Vulcan fire-ſhip. Capt. Hare, her commander, placed her, agreeably to my directions, in a moſt maſterly manner, acroſs the tier of men of war, and the additional force of her guns and men diminiſhed my apprehenſions of the galley-ſlaves riſing on us, as their manner and occaſional tumultuous debates ceaſed entirely on her appearance. The only noiſe heard among them was the hammer knocking off their fetters, which humanity forbade my oppoſing, as they might thereby be more at liberty to ſave themſelves on the conflagration taking place around them. In this ſituation we continued to wait moſt anxiouſly for the hour concerted with the governor for the inflammation of the trains. The moment the ſignal was made, we had the ſatisfaction to ſee the flames riſe in every quarter. Lieut. Tupper was charged with the burning of the general magazine, the pitch, tar, tallow, and oil ſtore-houſes, and ſucceeded moſt perfectly; the hemp magazine was included in this blaze: its being nearly calm was unfortunate to the ſpreading of the flames; but 250 barrels of tar, divided among the deals and other timber, inſured the rapid ignition of that whole quarter which lieutenant Tupper had undertaken.

The maſt-houſe was equally well ſet on fire by lieutenant Middleton, of the Britannia. Lieutenant Pater, of the Britannia, continued in the moſt daring manner to brave the flames, in order to complete the work where the fire ſeemed to have caught imperfectly. I was obliged to call him off, leſt his retreat ſhould become impracticable: his ſituation was the more perilous, as the enemy's fire redoubled as ſoon as the amazing blaze of light rendered us diſtinct objects of their aim. Lieutenant Ironmonger, of the Royals, remained with the guard at the gate till the laſt, long after the Spaniſh guard was withdrawn, and was brought ſafely off by captain Edge, of the Alert, to whom I had confided the important ſervice of cloſing our retreat, and bringing off our detached parties, which were ſaved to a man. I was ſorry to find myſelf deprived of the further ſervices of captain Hare: he had performed that of placing his fire-ſhip to admiration, but was blown into the water, and much ſcorched by the exploſion of her priming, when in the act of putting the match to it. Lieutenant Gore was alſo much burnt, and I was conſequently deprived of him alſo, which I regretted the more, from the recollection of his bravery and activity in the warm ſervice of Fort Mulgrave. Mr. Eales, midſhipman, who was alſo with him on this occaſion, deſerves my praiſe for his conduct throughout this ſervice. The guns of the fire-ſhip going off on both ſides as they heated, in the direction that was given them, towards thoſe quarters from whence we were moſt apprehenſive of the enemy forcing their way in upon us, checked their career. Their ſhouts and Republican ſongs, which we could hear diſtinctly, continued till they, as well as ourſelves, were in a manner thunderſtruck by the exploſion of ſome thouſand barrels of powder on board the Iris frigate, lying in the Inner Road, without us, and which had been injudiciouſly ſet on fire by the Spaniſh boats, in going off, inſtead of being ſunk as ordered. The concuſſion of air, and the ſhower of falling timber on fire, was ſuch as nearly to deſtroy the whole of us. Lieutenant Patey, of the Terrible, with his whole boat's crew, nearly periſhed, the boat was blown to pieces, but the men were picked up alive. The Union gun-boat, which was neareſt to the Iris, ſuffered conſiderably, Mr. Young being killed, with three men, and the veſſel ſhaken to pieces. I had given it in charge to the Spaniſh officers to fire the ſhips in the baſon before the town, but they returned, and reported that various obſtacles had prevented their entering it. We attempted it together as ſoon as we had completed the buſineſs in the arſenal, but were repulſed in our attempt to cut the boom, by repeated volleys of muſquetry from the flag-ſhip and the wall of the Battery Royale. The cannon of this battery had been ſpiked by the judicious precaution taken by the governor previouſly to the evacuation of the town.

The failure of our attempt on the ſhips in the baſon before the town, owing to the inſufficiency of our force, made me regret that the Spaniſh gun-boats had been withdrawn from me to perform other ſervice. The adjutant Don Pedro

Pedro Cotiella, Don Francifco Riguelme, and Don Francifco Truxillo, remained with me to the laft; and I feel bound to bear teftimony of the zeal and activity with which they performed the moft eflential fervices during the whole of this bufinefs, as far as the infufficiency of their force allowed it, being reduced, by the retreat of the gunboats, to a fingle felucca, and a mortar-boat, which had expended its ammunition, but contained 30 men, with cutlaffes.

We now proceeded to burn the Hero and Themiftocles, two 74-gun fhips, lying in the Inner Road. Our approach to them had hitherto been impracticable in boats, as the French prifoners who had been left in the latter fhip were ftill in poffeffion of her, and had fhewn a determination to refift our attempt to come on board. The fcene of conflagration around them, heightened by the late tremendous explofion, had, however, awakened their fears for their lives. Thinking this to be the cafe, I addreffed them, expreffing my readinefs to land them in a place of fafety, if they would fubmit; and they thankfully accepted the offer, fhewing themfelves to be completely intimidated, and very grateful for our humane intentions towards them, in not attempting to burn them with the fhip. It was neceffary to proceed with precaution, as they were more numerous than ourfelves. We at length completed their difembarkation, and then fet her on fire. On this occafion I had nearly loft my valuable friend and affiftant, lieutenant Miller, of the Windfor-Caftle, who had ftaid fo long on board to infure the fire taking, that it gained on him fuddenly, and it was not without being very much fcorched, and the rifk of being fuffocated, that we could approach the fhip to take him in. The lofs to the fervice would have been very great, had we not fucceeded in our endeavours to fave him. Mr. Knight, midfhipman of the Windfor Caftle, who was in the boat with me, fhewed much activity and addrefs on the occafion, as well as firmnefs throughout the day.

The explofion of a fecond powder veffel, equally unexpected, and with a fhock even greater than the firft, again put us in the moft imminent danger of perifhing: and when it is confidered that we were within the fphere of the falling timber, it is next to miraculous that no one piece, of the many which made the water foam round us, happened to touch either the Swallow or the three boats with me.

Having now fet fire to every thing within our reach, exhaufted our combuftible preparations and our ftrength, to fuch a degree, that the men abfolutely dropped on the oars, we directed our courfe to join the fleet, running the gauntlet under a few ill-directed fhot from the forts of Balaguier and Aiguillette, now occupied by the enemy; but, fortunately, without lofs of any kind, we proceeded to the place appointed for the embarkation of the troops, and took off as many as we could carry. It would be injuftice to thofe officers whom I have omitted to name, for their not having been fo immediately under my eye, if I did not acknowledge myfelf indebted to them all for their extraordinary

exertions in the execution of this great national object. The quickneſs with which the inflammation took effect on my ſignal, its extent and duration, are the beſt evidences that every officer and man was ready at his poſt, and firm under moſt perilous circumſtances; I therefore ſubjoin a liſt of the whole who were employed on this ſervice.

We can aſcertain that the fire extended to at leaſt ten ſail of the line; how much further, we cannot ſay. The loſs of the general magazine, and of the quantity of pitch, tar, roſin, hemp, timber, cordage, and gunpowder, muſt conſiderably impede the equipment of the few ſhips that remain. I am ſorry to have been obliged to leave any, but I hope your lordſhip will be ſatisfied that we did as much as our circumſcribed means enabled us to do in limited time, preſſed as we were by a force ſo much ſuperior to us.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. SYDNEY SMITH.

Right Hon. Lord Hood, &c. &c.

A liſt of the officers employed under the orders of Sir Sydney Smith, Commander, Grand Croſs of the Royal Military Order of the Sword, in the ſervice of burning the French ſhips and arſenal of Toulon, in the night of the 18th of December, 1793.

Captain Hare, Vulcan fire-ſhip.

Captain Edge, Alert ſloop.

Don Pedro de Cotiella, adjutant, and Don Franciſco Riguielme, lieutenants, Spaniſh navy.

Don Franciſco Truxillo, commanding a mortar-boat.

Lieutenants C. Tupper, John Gore, Mr. Eales, midſhipman, Victory's boats.

Lieutenants Melhuiſh and Holloway, Alert ſloop.

Lieutenants Mathew Wrench and Thomas F. Richmond; Mr. Andrews, maſter; Mr. Jones, ſurgeon; and Mr. Mather, gunner, Vulcan fire-ſhip.

Lieutenants Ralph W. Miller and John Stiles, Mr. Richard Hawkins, Mr. Thomas Cowan, and Mr. William Knight, Windſor-Caſtle's boats.

Lieutenants Pater and Middleton, Mr. Matſon and Mr. Vaillant, midſhipmen, Britannia.

Lieutenant Hill, Swallow tender.

Lieutenant Prieſt, Waſp gun-boat.

Lieutenant Morgan, Petite Victorie gun-boat.

Lieutenant Cox, Jean Bart gun-boat.

Mr. Young, Union gun boat, killed.

Enſign Ironmonger, of the Royals.

John Skrimger, boatſwain's mate, James Young, gunner's mate, Thomas Knight, quarter-maſter, and Thomas Clarke, carpenter's mate, of the Swallow tender, and who performed the ſervice of preparing combuſtibles.

John Wilſon, advanced centinel.

An abſtract of the return of Officers and Seamen belonging to the ſhips undermentioned, who were killed, wounded, and miſſing, on the 17th day of December, 1793, at Fort Mulgrave.

Victory. One lieutenant, 1 midſhipman, 2 ſeamen, wounded; 8 ſeamen miſſing.

Britannia. Eight ſeamen killed.

Windſor Caſtle. Two ſeamen killed; 2 ſeamen wounded; 2 ſeamen miſſing.

Princeſs Royal. One midſhipman, 8 ſeamen, miſſing.

Lieutenant

Lieutenant Goddard, of the Victory, wounded.
Mr. J. W. Loring, midſhipman of the Victory, wounded.
Mr. A. Wilkie, midſhipman of the Princeſs Royal, miſſing.

[Then follows a liſt of the ſhips of the line, frigates, and ſloops, of the department of Toulon, which is the ſame as in Vol. xxxv. of this work, except ſome difference in the arrangement, and a few inſtances of incorrectneſs.]

On board the Victory, Hieres Bay, Dec. 21, 1793.

SIR,

In my letter of the 12th inſtant I had the honour to acquaint you, that from the 30th of November to that time no particular event had taken place, and that the fire of the enemy was leſs frequent. During this period they were daily receiving reinforcements from every quarter, and both ſides were buſily employed; we in ſtrengthening our poſts, and the enemy in eſtabliſhing new batteries againſt Cape Brun and Malbouſquet, but principally againſt Fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Balaguier.

From all concurring accounts of deſerters, and others, the enemy's army was now between 30,000 and 40,000 men, and an attack upon our poſts was to be daily expected. Theſe, from their eſſential though detached ſituations, had been ſeverally ſtrengthened, in the proportion their circumſtances required, having ſuch central force in the town as was deemed neceſſary for its immediate guard, and for affording a degree of ſuccour to any point that might be more particularly attacked.

For the complete defence of the town and its extenſive harbour, we had long been obliged to occupy a circumference of at leaſt fifteen miles, by eight principal poſts, with their ſeveral intermediate dependent ones; the greateſt part of theſe were merely of a temporary nature, ſuch as our means allowed us to conſtruct; and of our force, which never exceeded 12,000 men bearing firelocks, and compoſed of five different nations and languages, near 9,000 were placed in or ſupporting thoſe poſts, and about 3,000 remained in the town.

On the 16th, at half paſt two o'clock in the morning, the enemy, who had before fired from three batteries on Fort Mulgrave, now opened two new ones, and continued a very heavy cannonade and bombardment on that poſt till next morning. The works ſuffered much. The number of men killed and diſabled was conſiderable. The weather was rainy, and the conſequent fatigue great.

At two o'clock on the morning of the 17th, the enemy, who had every advantage in aſſembling and ſuddenly advancing, attacked the fort in great force. Although no part of this temporary poſt was ſuch as could well reſiſt determined troops, yet, for a conſiderable time it was defended; but, on the enemy entering on the Spaniſh ſide, the Britiſh quarter, commanded by Capt. Conolly of the 18th regiment, could not be much longer maintained, notwithſtanding ſeveral gallant efforts were made for that purpoſe. It was, therefore, at laſt carried, and the remains of the garriſon of 700 men retired towards the ſhore of Balaguier,

guier, under the protection of the other posts established on those heights, and which continued to be faintly attacked by the enemy. As this position of Balaguier was a most essential one for the preservation of the harbour, and as we had no communication with it but by water, 2,200 men had been placed there for some time past. On the night preceding the attack, 300 more men had been sent over, and on the morning of the 17th 400 were embarked still further to support it.

When the firing at Balaguier ceased, we remained in anxious suspence as to the event till a little before day-light, when a new scene opened by an attack on all our posts on the mountain of Pharon. The enemy were repulsed on the East side, where was our principal force of about 700 men, commanded by a most distinguished officer, the Piedmontese colonel de Jermagnan, whose loss we deeply lament; but on the back of the mountain, near 1800 feet high, steep, rocky, deemed almost inaccessible, and which he had laboured much to make so, they found means, once more, to penetrate between our posts, which occupied an extent of above two miles, guarded by 450 men, and, in a very short space of time, we saw, that with great numbers of men, they crowded all that side of the mountain which overlooks Toulon. The particulars of this event I am not yet enabled to ascertain, but I have every reason to think that they did not enter a British post.

Our line of defence, which, as I have mentioned, occupied a circumference of at least 15 miles, and with points of which we had only a water communication, being thus broken in upon in its two most essential posts, it became necessary to adopt decisive measures, arising from the knowledge of the whole of our actual situation. A council of the flag and general officers assembled. They determined on the impracticability of restoring the posts we had lost, and on the consequent propriety of the speediest evacuation of the town, evidently, and by the report of the engineers and artillery officers, declared untenable. Measures of execution were taken from that moment. The troops were withdrawn from the heights of Balaguier, without much interruption from the enemy, and in the evening such posts as necessarily depended on the possession of Pharon, were successively evacuated, and the troops drawn in towards Toulon. The forts D'Artigues and St. Catherine, still remained, together with the posts of Sablettes, Cape Brun, and Malbousquet, from which last the Spaniards withdrew in the night, in consequence of the supporting post of Neapolitans at Micisfey having left the battery there established, and abandoned it without orders. Every attention was also given to ensure the tranquillity of the town. In the night the combined fleets took a new station in the Outer Road.

Early in the morning of the 18th, the sick and wounded, and the British field-artillery were sent off. In the course of the day the post of Cape Brun was withdrawn into La Malgue, the post of Sablettes was also retired, and the men were put on board. Measures were arranged for the final embarkation,

embarkation, during the night, of the Britiſh, Piedmonteſe, and Spaniards, who occupied the town, and of the troops of the ſame nations who were now at La Malgue, amounting in all to about 7000 men; for the Neapolitans had, by mid-day, embarked.

Having determined with lieutenant-general Gravina, commanding the Spaniſh troops, that, inſtead of embarking at the quays, and in the arſenal of the town, our whole force ſhould aſſemble near Fort La Malgue, and form on the peninſula which from thence extends into the harbour, every previous diſpoſition was made, and every care taken to conceal our intention. The arſenal and dock-yard were ſtrictly guarded. The troops were arranged accordingly on the ramparts, and the tranquillity of the town was much enſured from the time the enemy began to throw ſhells and ſhot into it; which they did from our late batteries at Miciſſey and Malbouſquet.

About ten o'clock at night, fire was ſet to the ſhips and arſenal. We immediately began our march, and the evacuation of the town, which it was neceſſary ſhould be made with ſecrecy and expedition. The Fort of St. Catherine having, without orders, been quitted in the courſe of the day, and poſſeſſed by the enemy, the conſequent early knowledge of our march, had we taken the common route, through the Gate of Italy, and within muſquet-ſhot of that fort, might have produced great inconvenience; we therefore, by a ſally-poſt, gained an advanced part of the road, and without accident were enabled to quit the town, arrive at Fort La Malgue, and form on the riſing ground immediately above the ſhore. The boats were ready, the weather and the ſea in the higheſt degree favourable; the embarkation began about eleven o'clock, and by day-break on the 19th, the whole, without interruption, or the loſs of a man, were on board ſhip.

The great fire in the arſenal, the blowing up of the powder ſhips, and other ſimilar events which took place in the night, certainly tended to keep the enemy in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe and uncertainty.

As the ſecurity of this operation depended much on the protection afforded from the happy ſituation of Fort La Malgue, which ſo effectually commands the neck of the peninſula, and the judicious uſe that ſhould be made of its artillery, this important ſervice was allotted to major Kochler, with 200 men, who, after ſeeing the laſt man off the ſhore, and ſpiking all the guns, effected, from his activity and intelligence, his own retreat without loſs.

Captains Elphinſtone, Hallowell, and Mathews, ſuperintended the embarkation, and to their indefatigable attention and good diſpoſitions we are indebted for the happy ſucceſs of ſo important an operation. Captain Elphinſtone, as governor of Fort La Malgue, has ably afforded me the moſt eſſential aſſiſtance, in his command and arrangement of the ſeveral important poſts included in that diſtrict.

It is impoſſible for me to expreſs but in general terms, the approbation that is due to the conduct and merits of the ſeveral commanding officers, and indeed of every

every officer in every rank and ſituation. Troops have ſeldom experienced, for ſo long a time, a ſervice more harraſſing, diſtreſſing, and ſevere; and the officers and men of the regiments and marines have gone through it with that exertion, ſpirit, and good-will, which peculiarly diſtinguiſh the Britiſh ſoldier. At Fort Mulgrave, lieutenant Duncan, of the royal artillery, was ſo eſſentially uſeful, that to his exertions and abilities that poſt was much indebted for its preſervation for ſo long a time.

The general ſervice has been carried on with the moſt perfect harmony and zeal of the navy and army. From our deficiency in artillery-men, many of our batteries were worked by ſeamen: they, in part, guarded ſome of our poſts, and their aid was particularly uſeful in duties of fatigue and labour. In all theſe we found the influence of the ſuperior activity and exertions of the Britiſh ſailors.

It was the conſtant attention of lord Hood to relieve our wants and alleviate our difficulties.

The Sardinian troops we have always conſidered as part of ourſelves. We have experienced their attachment and good behaviour, and I have found much aſſiſtance from the ability and conduct of the chevalier de Revel, and from brigadier-general Richler, who commands them.

Notwithſtanding the undefined ſituation of command, I found every diſpoſition and acquieſcence in lieutenant-general Gravina, commanding the Spaniſh troops, to execute every propoſed meaſure which the common cauſe required.

The loſs of the Britiſh, on the 17th, at Fort Mulgrave, and on the heights of Pharon, amounts to about 300 men; of which, during the laſt four days no exact account could be procured: and as the troops in embarking were put on board the neareſt and moſt convenient ſhips, till they are again united in corps, I cannot have the honour of tranſmitting particular returns, nor even knowing the detail of circumſtances that attended the attack of thoſe poſts.

It is now about three weeks that, from the unfortunate accident of general O'Hara being made priſoner, the government of Toulon devolved on me; my beſt exertions have not been wanting in that ſituation, and I humbly hope that his Majeſty may be pleaſed to look upon them in a favourable light.

I beg leave to add, that the battalion of Royal Louis, and two independent companies of French chaſſeurs, raiſed at Toulon, have behaved, on every occaſion, with fidelity and ſpirit. They embarked at La Malgue, to the number of about 600 men, and are now with us.

I have the honour to be,
With the moſt profound reſpect,
SIR,
Your moſt faithful and
obedient humble ſervant,
DAVID DUNDAS, Lieut. Gen.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

SIR, *December* 21, 1793.

After every enquiry, the incloſed is the moſt diſtinct report that can be obtained of the loſs of the Britiſh troops on the 17th of December; that of the other troops in the ſame poſts, who greatly exceeded

ceeded them in number, I do not know, but I have reaſon to think was infinitely ſmaller in proportion.

D. DUNDAS, Lieut. Gen.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

Return of the miſſing of the Britiſh forces, on the morning of the 17th of December, 1793.

Attack of Fort Mulgrave.

Royal Artificers. 3 rank and file and ſeamen.

Royal Artillery. 25 rank and file and ſeamen.

2d Battalion of Royals. 1 ſerjeant, 1 drummer, 18 rank and file and ſeamen.

18th, or *Royal Iriſh Regiment.* 1 enſign, 2 rank and file and ſeamen.

30th Regiment. 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 5 ſerjeants, 3 drummers, 140 rank and file and ſeamen.

Marines. 2 lieutenants, 2 ſerjeants, 2 drummers, 56 rank and file and ſeamen.

Royal Navy. 1 midſhipman, 28 ſeamen.

Attack of the Heights of Pharon.

11th Regiment. 1 lieutenant, 1 ſerjeant, 15 rank and file and ſeamen.

18th, or *Royal Iriſh Regiment.* 1 ſerjeant, 5 rank and file and ſeamen.

Marines. 1 lieutenant, 15 rank and file and ſeamen.

Officers' names miſſing.

11th Regiment. Lieut. Knight.

18th, or *Royal Iriſh.* Enſign Minchin.

30th Regiment. Captain de Vaumorel, lieutenat Cuyler.

Marines. Lieutenants Williams, Barry, and Lynn.

Royal Navy. Mr. Alexander Wilkie, midſhipman.

Officers' names wounded and preſent.

Royal Artillery. Lieutenant Duncan, ſen.

Royal Navy. Lieutenant Goddard, Mr. J. W. Loring, midſhipman.

(Signed) THO. HISLOP, D.A.G.

The fate of the above officers and men, returned miſſing, is not, nor cannot be known; but, from all the intelligence that can be gained, it is much to be apprehended that they fell before daybreak, gallantly defending the poſt they were entruſted with, when abandoned by other troops.

D. DUNDAS, Lieut. Gen.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, *Feb.* 18.

A letter, of which the following is a copy, from the right hon. lord Hood, vice-admiral of the Red, and commander in chief of his Majeſty's ſhips in the Mediterranean, was this day received at this office.

Victory, Hieres-Bay,
Jan. 22, 1794.

SIR,

I herewith have the honour to tranſmit you, for the information of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, a narrative of the fortunate preſervation of his Majeſty's ſhip Juno, owing to the great preſence of mind and zealous exertion of captain Hood, his officers, and ſhip's company.

I am, SIR,
Your moſt obedient
humble ſervant, HOOD.

Philip Stephens, eſq.

Juno, Hieres-Bay, Jan. 13, 1794.

On the 3d inſt. I left the iſland of Malta, having on board 150 ſupernumeraries, 46 of whom are the officers and private marines of his

his Majeſty's ſhip Romney, the remainder Malteſe, intended for the fleet. On the night of the 7th, paſſed the S. W. point of Sardinia, and ſteered a courſe for Toulon. On the 9th, about eleven A. M. made Cape Sicie, but found a current had ſet us ſome leagues to the weſtward of our expectation: hauled our wind, but it blowing hard from the eaſtward, with a ſtrong lee current, we could but juſt fetch to the weſtward of the above Cape. The wind and current continuing, we could not, till the evening of the 11th, get as far to windward as Cape Sepet: having that evening, a little before ten o'clock, found the ſhip would be able to fetch into Toulon if I wiſhed it, I did not like to wait till morning, as we had been thrown to leeward, and, having ſo many men on board, I thought it my indiſpenſible duty to get in as faſt as poſſible. At ten I ordered the hands to be turned up to bring the ſhip to anchor, being then abreaſt of Cape Sepet, entering the Outer Harbour. Not having a pilot on board, or any perſon acquainted with the port, I placed two midſhipmen to look out with night-glaſſes for the fleet; but not diſcovering any ſhips till we got near the entrance of the Inner Harbour, I ſuppoſed they had moored up there in the eaſtern gale; at the ſame time ſeeing one veſſel, with ſeveral other lights, which I imagined to be the fleet's, I entered the Inner Harbour under the top-ſails only; but finding I could not weather the brig, which lay a little above the point called the Grand Tour, I ordered the fore-ſail and driver to be ſet, to be ready to tack when we were on the other ſide the brig. Soon after the brig hailed us, but I could not make out in what language: I ſuppoſed they wanted to know what ſhip it was. I told them it was an Engliſh frigate called the Juno. They anſwered, viva; and after aſking, in Engliſh and French, for ſome time, what brig ſhe was, and where the Britiſh admiral lay, they appeared not to underſtand me, but called out, as we paſſed under their ſtern, Luff, which made me ſuppoſe there was ſhoal water near. The helm was inſtantly put a-lee, but we found the ſhip was on ſhore before we got head to wind. There being very little wind, and perfectly ſmooth, I ordered the ſails to be clewed up and handed: at this time a boat went from the brig towards the town. Before the people were all off the yards, we found the ſhip went aſtern very faſt by a flaw of wind that came down the harbour: we hoiſted the driver and the mizen ſtay-ſail, keeping the ſheets to windward to give her ſtern-way as long as poſſible, that ſhe might get further from the ſhoal. The inſtant ſhe loſt her way, we let go the beſt bower anchor, when ſhe tended head to wind, the after-part of the keel was aground, and we could not move the rudder. I ordered the launch and cutter to be hoiſted out, and put the ketch anchor, with two hawſers in them, to warp the ſhip further off. By the time the boats came out, a boat came along-ſide, after having been hailed, and we thought anſwered as if an officer had been in her; the people were all anxious to get out of her, two of which appeared to be the officers: one of them ſaid, he came to inform me,

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it was the regulation of the port, and the commanding-officer's orders, that I muſt go into another branch of the harbour to perform ten days quarantine. I kept aſking him where lord Hood's ſhip lay; but his not giving me any ſatisfactory anſwer, and, one of the midſhipmen having at the ſame inſtant ſaid, "they wear national cockades." I looked at one of their hats more ſteadfaſtly, and, by the moon-light, clearly diſtinguiſhed the three colours. Perceiving they were ſuſpected, and on my queſtioning them again about lord Hood, one of them replied, "Soyez tranquille; les Anglois ſont de braves gens, nous les traitons bien; l'admiral Anglois eſt forti il y a quelque tems." It may be more eaſily conceived than any words can expreſs what I felt at the moment. The circumſtances of our ſituation, of courſe, was known throughout the ſhip in an inſtant, and ſaying we were all priſoners, the officers ſoon got near me, to know our ſituation. At the ſame time a flaw of wind coming down the harbour, lieutenant Webly, the third lieutenant of the ſhip, ſaid to me, "I believe, ſir, we ſhall be able to fetch out, if we can get her under ſail." I immediately perceived we ſhould have a chance of ſaving the ſhip: at leaſt, if we did not, we ought not to loſe his Majeſty's ſhip without ſome contention. I ordered every perſon to their reſpective ſtations, and the Frenchmen to be ſent below: they perceiving ſome buſtle, two or three of them began to draw their ſabres; on which I ordered ſome of the marines to take the halfpikes, and force them below, which was ſoon done: I then ordered all the Malteſe between decks, that we might not have confuſion with too many men. I believe in an inſtant ſuch a change in people was never ſeen; every officer and man was at his duty, and I do believe within three minutes every ſail in the ſhip was ſet, and the yards braced ready for caſting. The ſteady and active aſſiſtance of lieutenant Turner, and all the officers, prevented any confuſion from ariſing in our critical ſituation. As ſoon as the cable was tort, I ordered it to be cut, and had the good fortune to ſee the ſhip ſtart from the ſhore; the head-ſails were filled; a favourable flaw of wind coming at the ſame time, got good way on her, and we had then every proſpect of getting out, if the forts did not diſable us. To prevent our being retarded by the boats, I ordered them to be cut adrift, as alſo the French boat. The moment the brig ſaw us begin to looſe ſails, we could plainly perceive ſhe was getting her guns ready, and we alſo ſaw lights on all the batteries. When we had ſhot far enough for the brig's guns to bear on us, which was not more than three ſhips lengths, ſhe began to fire, alſo a fort a little on the ſtarboard bow, and ſoon after all of them, on both ſides, as they could bring their guns to bear. As ſoon as the ſails were well trimmed, I beat to quarters to get our guns ready, but not with an intention of firing till we were ſure of getting out. When we got abreaſt of the centre part of the land of Cape Sepet, I was afraid we ſhould have been obliged to make a tack, but as we drew near the ſhore, and were

were ready, she came up two points, and just weathered the Cape. As we passed very close along that shore, the batteries kept up as brisk a fire as the wetness of the weather would admit. When I could afford to keep the ship a little from the wind, I ordered some guns to be fired at a battery that had just opened abreast of us, which quieted them a little. We then stopped firing till we could keep her away, with the wind abaft the beam, when, for a few minutes, we kept up a very brisk fire on the last battery we had to pass, and which, I believe, must otherwise have done us great damage. At half past twelve, being out of reach of their shot, the firing ceased: fortunately we had no person hurt. Some shot passed through the sails, part of the standing and running rigging shot away, and two French 36-pound shot, that struck the hull, was all the damage we received.

SAM. HOOD.

GAZETTES *relative to* CORSICA.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, *March* 15, 1794.

WHITEHALL, *March* 11.

DISPATCHES, of which the following are copies, were yesterday received at the office of the right hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, from vice-admiral lord Hood and lieutenant-general David Dundas.

Victory, St. Fiorenzo,
Feb. 22, 1794.

SIR,

Having received repeated information how much the French were straitened for provisions in Corsica, I had, for a considerable time past, kept ships constantly cruizing between Cape Corse and Calvi; and, after my leaving the road of Toulon, I judged it more necessary to prevent succours being thrown in as much as possible, my mind being impressed with the importance the island must be of to the French, in the state the ships and arsenal of Toulon were, and that it was very much so to Great-Britain, and that of St. Fiorenzo a very good one for the reception of his Majesty's fleet in this part of the Mediterranean. I therefore made an attempt to drive the French out of it, so soon as I could get a sufficient supply of provisions and wine, being in daily expectation of the former from Gibraltar, and the latter from Port Mahon and Alicant; and in the mean time I signified to general Dundas, my intention of sending lieutenant-general major Koehler to Corsica, and requested he would give them proper instructions for informing themselves of general Paoli's real situation, and that of the French; and after they had been there a week, I received, in the afternoon of the 23d. of last month, a very encouraging report, and at the same time certain information that the French had actually embarked at Nice 8,000 troops, which were, at all risque, to push for the island, under convoy of two frigates, a corvette, xebeck, and other armed vessels. That same evening I detached three more frigates to the senior officer, the more effectually to line the coast, and to guard Bastia also; at the same I ordered the Ardent, and a sloop of Villa Franca; and, in case he found the French frigates there, captain Sut-

ton

ton was directed to call to him the Diadem, and other cruizers from before Genoa, and cruize from Villa Franca to Antibes; but if he found the French frigate failed, he was to proceed and join me off St. Fiorenzo, as I intended to put to sea the next morning. I could not however get away until the afternoon for want of wind. At four o'clock I weighed anchor, accompanied by sixty sail of ships and vessels, including army victuallers, horse transports, and others, having 1,800 unfortunate Toulonese on board, and the Victory and Princess Royal had 400 more. I gave the convoy in charge of the Gorgon, with three gunboats to bring up the rear. Just at sun-set next evening I was within three miles of the Isle Rousia, where lieutenant-colonel Moore was waiting, but having no frigate or cutter with me, I was unable to send for him; but observing the Juno at some little distance, I made her captain's signal, and directed him to stand in, and fetch the colonel off in the night, which he fortunately effected. Towards day-light it blew very strong, and before ten o'clock quite a storm, which made it prudent for me to bear up to Porto Ferrara, which I had a fair prospect of getting to before night; but in the afternoon, when we were within five leagues of Elba, the weather was so extremely thick, that the pilot declined the charge of the ship; consequently I was driven to leeward of the island, where I passed three very disagreeable nights, having had two main-top-sails blown to rags, and the top-sail yard rendered totally unserviceable. However we got safe to Porto Ferrara on the 29th; and having got all the ships set to rights, and sent for bread and wine from Leghorn, I put to sea again on the 6th instant; commodore Linzee, with most of the transports, got out the evening before. On the 7th, the commodore having the direction of disembarking the troops at the time, and in the manner lieutenant-general Dundas should desire, anchored in the bay to the westward of Mortella Point, with the several ships and transports under his command. The troops were mostly landed that evening, and possession taken of a height which overlooks the tower of Mortella.

The next day the general and the commodore being of opinion that it was advisable to attack the tower from the bay, the Fortitude and Juno were ordered against it, without making the least impression by a continued cannonade of two hours and a half; and the former ship being very much damaged by red-hot shot, both hauled off. The walls of the tower were of a prodigious thickness, and the parapet, where there were two eighteen pounders, was lined with bass junk, five feet from the walls, and filled up with sand; and, although it was cannonaded from the height for two days, within one hundred and fifty yards, and appeared in a very shattered state, the enemy still held out; but a few shot setting fire to the bass, made them call for quarter. The number of men in the tower were 33; only two were wounded, and those mortally.

On the 11th I was again forced from the gulph by a strong westerly gale, and took shelter under Cape

Corſe; and, upon the wind abating, it fell at once calm, which prevented my return off St. Fiorenzo until the morning of the 17th. At nine that evening the enemy's works were ſtormed and taken, with inconſiderable loſs on the part of his Majeſty, but the French ſuffered much; and on the 19th in the evening, the empty town of Fiorenzo was taken poſſeſſion of, the whole of the garriſon having gone off towards Baſtia in the two preceding days. I herewith tranſmit you the copy of a letter from commodore Linzee to me, and one from captain Young to him, with the ſtate of his Majeſty's ſhip Fortitude under his command; and an account of the killed and wounded.

The cool and intrepid conduct of captain Young cannot be too much admired, or that of captain Woodley of the Alcide, who, from having a correct knowledge of the bay, nobly offered his ſervice to place the Fortitude, which he did with the greateſt judgment; and the handſome teſtimony captain Young bears of it, makes it unneceſſary for me to ſay a word in his praiſe; but I felt it very much my duty to write commodore Linzee the letter I alſo herewith tranſmit a copy of, as well as copies of letters the commodore and I have been honoured with from lieutenant-general Dundas, which will ſhew that exertions were not wanting in the officers and ſeamen of his Majeſty's navy.

I ſhould be wanting in gratitude as well as juſtice to lieutenant-colonel Moore, and major Koehler, was I to omit acquainting you how much I feel myſelf indebted for their very great zeal and exertion in informing themſelves of the ſtate of the country in the neighbourhood of Fornelli, and cannot help attributing much to both for our ſucceſs. With reſpect to their conduct in the field, I leave lieutenant-general Dundas to ſpeak of it; but I underſtand that it has been highly meritorious, as has that of the whole of the troops. Captain Woodley will be the bearer of this letter, to whom I beg to refer you for ſuch particulars as you wiſh to be informed of, as he is perfectly well acquainted with every tranſaction from the landing of the troops to this hour.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HOOD.

The Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

Alcide, in the Bay to the weſtward of Mortella, Feb. 9, 1794.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordſhip, that it being the opinion of lieutenant-general Dundas, as well as my own, that an attack, both by ſea and land, ſhould be made as ſpeedily as poſſible on the tower of Mortella, in order to ſecure the anchorage in that bay for his Majeſty's ſhips, and to have eaſy communication with the troops on ſhore. I immediately directed his Majeſty's ſhips Fortitude and Juno for that ſervice. The land wind in the morning was too faint for them to weigh; at one o'clock P. M. the ſea breeze came in, and they immediately got under ſail, and both ſhips (with the aſſiſtance of captain Woodley, who, with great zeal and activity, voluntarily undertook to aſſiſt captain Young in placing the ſhips againſt the tower, he

he having a very good knowledge of the bay, and which he executed with great ſkill and judgment) when a very ſevere and well directed fire was kept up by both ſhips for two hours and a half, Captain Young, whoſe cool, ſteady, and gallant conduct was very conſpicuous, deſerves the higheſt encomiums, as by his exertion the flames, which at ſeveral times broke out by the red-hot ſhot lodged in the ſhip's ſide, were extinguiſhed, which would otherwiſe have inevitably deſtroyed her: his officers and ſhip's company have their ſhare of merit on the occaſion.

Captain Hood of the Juno, who fortunately received no damage, did every thing that his ſituation could admit of, and conducted himſelf like an experienced and good officer.

I herewith tranſmit, for your lordſhip's information, captain Young's report of the damages ſuſtained on board the Fortitude; alſo the report of the carpenters who have been ordered to ſurvey her. I have the honour, &c.

ROBERT LINZEE.

Right Hon. Lord Hood.

SIR, *Fortitude, Feb. 9*, 1794.

In obedience to your orders, I went yeſterday in his Majeſty's ſhip Fortitude, which I command, againſt the tower of Mortella, where I remained two hours and a half; when finding that neither the fire of the Fortitude nor that of the Juno (who was extremely well placed to batter the tower), had made any material impreſſion; and the main-maſt of the ſhip being much wounded, many of the ſhrouds cut away, three of the lower-deck guns diſmounted, ſeveral hot ſhot in the hull, and many men blown up by the exploſion of powder from a powder-box which was ſtruck by a hot ſhot; and being ſo near the tower and the rocks, that if the wind ſhould die away it would be difficult, and if it ſhould change ſo as to blow on ſhore, it might be impoſſible to get away, I thought it prudent to haul off. Soon after I had done ſo, the ſhip was perceived to be on fire from the main-deck to the upper part of the quick work on the quarter-deck, occaſioned by a hot ſhot that had lodged in the ſide; but after cutting out the ſhot, and opening the ſide in different places, the fire was extinguiſhed without having done any material damage.

I had infinite pleaſure in obſerving, during the whole of the action, the moſt cool intrepid courage in all the officers and men of the Fortitude; and I am particularly pleaſed to have this opportunity of doing them juſtice, by ſaying, that I do not think any men could do their duty better; and I have only to regret with them, that their exertions were not attended with better ſucceſs.

And if captain Woodley will allow me, I ſhall be happy alſo in having this opportunity of thanking him for the very great aſſiſtance I received in placing the ſhip, from his knowledge of the place, and from the coolneſs and clearneſs with which he gave his directions, as well as for the advantages I reaped from his ſkill and preſence of mind during the whole of the action.

I encloſe a report of the ſtate of the ſhip, and of the killed and wounded, and am, Sir, &c.

WILLIAM YOUNG.

Com. Robert Linzee.

Report of the ſtate of his Majeſty's Ship Fortitude, Feb. 9, 1794.

Two 18-pound ſhots through the centre of the main-maſt, and nine main ſhrouds ſhot away. One of the lower deck port timbers cut through, and all the cell of the port carried away; one of the quarter-deck ports cut down to the deck; the heel of the fore-top-gallant-maſt, fore-top-maſt, cap, and croſs-trees ſhot away; the ſpare main-top-maſt and jib-boom ſhot; ſome ſhot in the hull, but none under water; a great part of the running rigging and blocks ſhot away, and moſt of the top-maſt back-ſtays, and three lower deck guns diſabled.

Killed - - - 6
Wounded - - 56
Of whom 8 are very dangerouſly wounded.

WILLIAM YOUNG.

St. Fiorenzo, Feb. 21, 1794.

SIR,

I had the honour of informing you from Porto Ferrara, on the 4th inſtant, of our intention to ſail for the Gulph of St. Fiorenzo, in Corſica. The diſlodging of the French from Baſtia, St. Fiorenzo, and Calvi, the three principal poſts they held in Corſica, and the attaining of ſo ſecure a harbour as St. Fiorenzo for our own fleet, appeared ſo important an object, that although our military force was but ſmall, deficient in many of the moſt eſſential points of equipment, and the ſeaſon of the year was far from encouraging, I was induced to acquieſce in an attempt that ſhould appear to promiſe the moſt diſtant hopes of ſucceſs. Two intelligent and experienced officers were ſent to confer with general Paoli, to examine local ſituations, and to report on the whole of the circumſtances, which they did favourably; the fleet therefore ſailed from the Bay of Hieres (where we had laid ſince the 19th of December) on the 24th of January, and proceeded towards St. Fiorenzo; but the following day a very violent gale of wind, which laſted for three days, diſperſed and endangered the fleet, and obliged us, with great difficulty, to gain Porto Ferrara, in the river Elba, where we remained ſome days making preparation.

On the 5th of February we again ſailed; but as the three-decked ſhips were not ſo well qualified for theſe narrow ſeas and dangerous coaſts, at this ſeaſon of the year, commodore Linzee, with three ſhips of the line, and two frigates, was detached with the troops in tranſports; and on the 7th inſtant, in the morning, we anchored in an open and expoſed bay adjoining to that of Mortella, which we wiſhed to occupy, as it affords the beſt anchorage in the gulph of Fiorenzo. The ſame evening the troops were landed, conſiſting of the ſecond battalion of the Royals, 11th, 25th, 30th, 50th, 51ſt, and 69th regiments, amounting to about 1,400 men bearing arms.

As the enemy, beſide the town of Fiorenzo, poſſeſſed ſeveral heights and points, in order to command the anchorage of the weſt ſide of the gulph, it was neceſſary to diſlodge them before the ſquadron could anchor in ſecurity; and theſe points in ſucceſſion, on entering the gulph, were the tower of Mortella, the redoubt and batteries of the Convention, and the tower of Fornelli, with two conſiderable

ſiderable ſea batteries depended upon it.

Expecting little oppoſition from Mortella tower, and truſting from intelligence, that we could approach near enough to that of Fornelli, to attack it with light artillery, lieutenant-colonel Moore was detached on the 8th with the Royals and 51ſt regiment, a ſmall howitzer, and a ſix-pounder, to effect this purpoſe; but after a march of ſeven or eight miles, through a rocky, deſert, and mountainous country, deſtitute of roads, and where the artillery was carried by a detachment of ſailors, under captain Cook, he arrived on the heights immediately above Fornelli, and then found that the diſtance was too great to hope for any effect from his ſmall guns. The ſame day we began from a commanding height, within 150 yards, to batter the tower of Mortella; but it was not till the 10th, after the attack made by the Fortitude and Juno, and after eſtabliſhing an eighteen pounder, two nine pounders, and a carronade againſt it, that we were enabled to reduce it, and take an officer and 32 men priſoners.

During this time, having been enabled to examine the mountains that ſkirted the weſtern part of the gulph, and which overlooked the enemy's poſts (particularly the principal one, the redoubt of the Convention, which originally was, and by us was expected to be found, an open battery, but which, by indefatigable labour, they had now converted into a cloſe work, mounted with twenty-one pieces of heavy ordnance, and which, from intercepted letters, they conſidered as the key of the whole, and of great ſtrength), it appeared, that if heavy cannon could be eſtabliſhed on points where the enemy had deemed it impoſſible to place them, that their works might be ruined, and then attacked to advantage.

This operation the officers of the navy cheerfully undertook: and, by the moſt ſurpriſing exertions of ſcience and labour, from the 12th to the 16th, placed four eighteen pounders, a large howitzer, and a ten-inch mortar in battery, on ground elevated at leaſt 700 feet above the ſea, and where every difficulty of aſcent and ſurface had oppoſed the undertaking.

On the 16th in the morning we opened with two batteries of three pieces of artillery each. One of theſe, at the diſtance of 1000 yards, enfiladed the redoubt of the Convention, and the other, at the diſtance of 800 yards, took it in reverſe. The redoubt itſelf was of a long narrow form, occupying the ſummit of a detached height, and about 250 feet above the ſea.

Our fire was heavy and unremitting during the 16th and 17th; and, notwithſtanding the gallantry of the enemy, both in ſerving their guns, and in repairing their works, their fire was nearly overpowered. On the evening of the 17th, a fifth eighteen pounder was brought up by the ſeamen, and a ſixth was alſo placed on an advanced point near the ſhore, to prevent the two French frigates in the bay from placing themſelves in a ſituation to enfilade our purpoſed attack.

On the 17th, meaſures having been concerted, the ſecond battalion of the Royals, 25th, 50th, and 51ſt regiments, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Moore,

were deſtined for the attempt, whſle the 11th, 30th, and 69th, remained in reſerve. The troops marched in three columns, and having nearly equal diſtances to go over, moved at the ſame hour (half paſt eight o'clock), in order to arrive at the enemy's works a little after the riſing of the moon. Lieutenant-colonel Moore, on the right, with the ſecond battalion of the Royals, commanded by capt. M'Kenzie, and the 51ſt regiment, came down on the advanced point of the redoubt: lieutenant-colonel Wauchope, with the 50th, advanced towards its centre; and captain Stewart, with the 25th, keeping cloſe to the ſea ſhore, was directed to enter on the left and moſt commanding part of the work.

Notwithſtanding the whole of the ground over which the troops marched was rocky, rough, and covered with thick myrtle buſhes, they approached the redoubt without the enemy being certain of their progreſs, and, under a very heavy fire, they arrived very nearly at the ſame time at their points, ruſhed into their works, prevented more than two or three diſcharges of cannon being given, and, with their bayonets, drove the enemy down the ſteep hill which formed the rear of the work.

The judicious fire kept up from our batteries by captain Wilkes and lieutenant Duncan, jun. of the royal artillery, till the very moment of the attack, facilitated much the approach of the troops; and a falſe attack made by the Corſicans on lieutenant-colonel Moore's right, ſerved alſo to engage and diſtract the attention of the enemy, who were not aware of the extent of their danger.

The loſs of the enemy on the 16th and 17th, amount to upwards of 100 men killed and wounded, and 10 officers, (amongſt whom was the commandant) and 60 men made priſoners, out of 550 men that occupied the work.

The conduct of lieutenant-colonel Moore, of the ſeveral commanding officers, and of all the officers and ſoldiers under his orders, was firm and judicious, and merits every commendation.

The enemy being now reduced to their laſt poſts on the height of Fornelli, at about 400 yards diſtance, from which we were ſeparated by a ſtrong and deep ravine, fearing that their retreat would be cut off, abandoned them about midnight, croſſed over to Fiorenzo, hauled off their frigates, and left us in poſſeſſion of the tower and batteries of Fornelli, againſt which we otherwiſe muſt have placed cannon, and, in a delay of two or three days, probably have loſt a number of men.

On the 18th the ſquadron anchored in perfect ſecurity in Mortella Bay.

On the 19th, after taking meaſures for the march of the troops to the other ſide of the town, to cut off the enemy's communication with Baſtia, a ſummons was ſent to Fiorenzo to ſurrender. In the afternoon a negative anſwer was received: but during the day ſtrong ſymptoms of a ſpeedy evacuation were perceived.

One of the frigates having been ſunk by our ſhot, the other was ſet on fire about four in the afternoon, when a boat came off to announce that the enemy had quitted the town. It was immediately taken poſſeſſion of.

On

On the 20th, by a party ſent out, we found that the enemy had evacuated ſeveral ſtrong poſts with cannon, which kept up their communication with Baſtia, towards which place they have retired as far as the tower of Tichime, on a very high mountain, half way to that place, under which the road paſſes, and where they have cannon.

In this manner are we now the maſters of the fortreſs and gulph of Fiorenzo, which is the moſt important ſtation in Corſica; divides the French poſts, affords a ſafe harbour for a numerous fleet, and, from its commanding ſituation, with reſpect to the coaſt of France and Italy, is at this moment of peculiar importance. The weather during the whole time has been moſt remarkably propitious; had it been otherwiſe, we could not have accompliſhed our undertaking.

The perſeverance, ſpirit, and gallantry of the officers and men of every denomination, merit the higheſt praiſe. Unprovided as we are with many neceſſary articles of preparation, the ſervice, at this ſeaſon of the year, has been ſevere, but undergone with the greateſt cheerfulneſs and good-will. To ſir James S. Erſkine, and all the officers of the ſtaff, I am much indebted.

On this occaſion ſucceſs has crowned the joint endeavours of the Britiſh arms. From the navy we have received the moſt effectual and eſſential aſſiſtance; their exertions have been wonderful and unparalleled. Commodore Linzee afforded us every ſupport, and to the captains Dickſon, Young, Wolſeley, Hood, Woodley, and Cook, and to the officers and men who ſo zealouſly acted under their command, we feel every ſenſe of their efficacious aid.

In the courſe of the ſervice we have derived eſſential aſſiſtance from the Corſicans aſſembled near us by general Paoli, to the number of about 1200. They have occupied advanced poſts, and covered our flanks.

I have the honour to incloſe returns of the killed and wounded (the loſs has fallen chiefly on the brave grenadiers and light infantry of the Royals and 51ſt regiment, who were the firſt that entered the enemy's works); and alſo returns of the ordnance and ſtores taken in the town and ſeveral out-poſts.

This letter will be delivered by captain Hiſlop, deputy adjutant-general; an officer from whom I have received the moſt eſſential aſſiſtance, and whom I humbly beg leave to recommend, as peculiarly deſerving of any mark of the royal favour which his Majeſty may be graciouſly pleaſed to confer upon him.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

D. DUNDAS, lieut.-gen.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

[Then follow a return of ordnance, &c. found in the tower of Mortella, taken on the 10th of February, 1794: and an abſtract of ordnance, ammunition, and ſtores, taken in the town of San Fiorenzo, the 19th of February, 1794: alſo, returns of the French priſoners taken: and put on board his Majeſty's ſhips of war, between the 10th and 18th of February, 1794: and of the killed and wounded of the Britiſh

tiſh troops, in the different attacks upon the French poſts, near San Fiorenzo, from the 7th to the 18th of February, 1794.]

(Signed) JA. ST. CLAIR ERSKINE, adjutant-general.

From the London Gazette, June 10.

WHITEHALL, *June 10.*

The diſpatch, of which the following is a copy, was received on Sunday laſt from admiral lord Hood, by the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State.

Victory, off Baſtia, May 24, 1794.

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that the town and citadel of Baſtia, with the ſeveral poſts upon the heights, ſurrendered to the arms of his Majeſty on the 22d. On the 19th I received a meſſage, that the garriſon was deſirous of capitulating upon honourable terms; in conſequence of which I ſent the incloſed note on ſhore. This brought on board the Victory three officers, who informed me that Gentili, the commandant would aſſemble the officers of the ſeveral corps, and of the municipality, if a truce took place, which I agreed to, a little before ſun-ſet. The next day I received a note from Gentili, which I alſo incloſe, and ſent captain Young on ſhore, on the morning of the 21ſt, who ſoon returned to the Victory, with two officers, and two of the adminiſtrative bodies, which, with vice-admiral Goodall, captain Young, captain Inglefield, and my ſecretary, Mr. M'Arthur, ſettled the articles of capitulation, which were ſigned the following morning, when his Majeſty's troops took poſſeſſion of all the poſts above the town, the troops in each retiring to the citadel, from whence they marched to the Mole Head, where they grounded their arms and were embarked. You will receive herewith the articles of capitulation, which I hope his Majeſty will approve.

I am unable to give due praiſe to the unremitting zeal, exertion, and judicious conduct of lieutenant-colonel Villettes, who had the honour of commanding his Majeſty's troops; never was either more conſpicuous. Major Brereton, and every officer and ſoldier under the lieutenant-colonel's orders, are juſtly entitled to my warmeſt acknowledgments; their perſevering ardour and deſire to diſtinguiſh themſelves cannot be too highly ſpoken of, and which it will be my pride to remember to the lateſt period of my life.

Captain Nelſon, of his Majeſty's ſhip Agamemnon, who had the command and directions of the ſeamen, in landing the guns, mortars, and ſtores, and capt. Hunt, who commanded at the batteries, very ably aſſiſted by capt. Buller and capt. Serocold, and the lieutenants Gore, Hotham, Stiles, Andrews, and Briſbane, have an equal claim to my gratitude, as the ſeamen under their management worked the guns with great judgment and alacrity. Never was an higher ſpirit or greater perſeverance exhibited, and, I am happy to ſay, that no other contention was at any time known, than who ſhould be moſt forward and indefatigable for promoting his Majeſty's ſervice; for, although the difficulties they had to ſtruggle with were many and various, the

perfect

perfect harmony and good humour that univerſally prevailed throughout the ſiege overcame them all.

I cannot but expreſs, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the meritorious conduct of capt. Duncan and lieutenant Alexander Duncan, of the royal artillery, and lieutenant De Butts, of the royal engineers; but my obligation is particularly great to captain Duncan, as more true ability and judgment was never ſhewn by an officer, than was diſplayed by him; and I take the liberty of mentioning him as an officer highly entitled to his Majeſty's notice. I feel myſelf very much indebted to the vigilance and attention of captain Wolfeley, of the Imperieuſe, and of captain Hallowell, who became a volunteer wherever he could be uſeful, after being ſuperſeded in the command of the Courageux by captain Waldegrave. The former kept a diligent watch upon the iſland of Capraia, where the enemy have magazines of proviſions and ſtores, and the latter did the ſame, by guarding the harbour's mouth of Baſtia with gun-boats and launches well armed, the whole of every night, whilſt the ſmaller boats were very judiciouſly placed in the intervals between, and rather without the ſhips, (which were moored in a creſcent juſt out of reach of the enemy's guns) by captain Young, of the Fortitude, the centre ſhip, on board of which every boat aſſembled at ſun-ſet for orders; and the cheerfulneſs with which the officers and men performed this nightly duty, is very much to be admired, and afforded me the moſt heartfelt ſatisfaction and pleaſure.

The very great and effectual aſſiſtance I received from vice-admiral Goodall, captain Inglefield, and captain Knight, as well as from every captain and officer of his Majeſty's ſhips under my command, have a juſt claim to my moſt particular thanks, not only in carrying into execution my orders afloat, but in attending to and ſupplying the wants of the little army on ſhore: it is to the very cordial and decided ſupport alone I had the honour to receive from the whole, that the innumerable difficulties we had to contend with were ſo happily ſurmounted.

Major Smith and enſign Vigoureux, of the 25th regiment, and captain Radſdale, and lieutenant St. George, of the 11th, not embarking with their reſpective regiments, having civil employments on ſhore; it is to their honour I mention, that they relinquiſhed thoſe employments, and joined their corps ſoon after the troops were landed.

It is very much my duty to inform you, that I am extremely obliged to general Petrecono, Mr. Frediani, and all the officers of the Corſicans, ſerving with the army, for their great zeal, ardour, and attention, in forwarding the reduction of Baſtia by every means in their power, who were of infinite ſervice by preſerving good order in the troops.

I tranſmit an account of the loſs on the part of his Majeſty, in killed and wounded, which, I am happy to ſay, is inconſiderable; but the enemy ſuffered much, their hoſpitals being full.

At the commencement of the ſiege, the number of the enemy, bearing arms, was 3000.

By the firſt ſhip that ſails for England, I ſhall have the honour of ſending, to be laid at his Majeſty's

jesty's feet, the several stand of colours taken at Bastia.

Captain Hunt, who was on shore, in the command of the batteries from the hour the troops landed to the surrender of the town, will be the bearer of this dispatch, and can give any further information you may wish to know respecting the siege.

I have the honour, &c.

HOOD.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

His Britannic Majesty's ship Victory, off Bastia, May 19, 1794.

In consideration of the very gallant defence the garrison of Bastia has made, and from the principles of humanity which ever govern British officers, I am disposed to give you terms; and if you will send on board two or three officers, properly authorized to treat, I trust a capitulation will be soon settled, as honourable to the inhabitants as can in any reason be expected.

(Signed) HOOD.

To the Commandant of the garrison, and Mayor of the town of Bastia.

TRANSLATION.

Bastia, the 2d Prairal, 2d year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

The general of division, commander in chief of the army of the French Republic in Corsica, to admiral Hood, commander in chief of the squadron of the King of Great-Britain, before Bastia.

My Lord,

In consequence of the proposal which you did me the honour of making in your dispatch of the 18th May (Old Style) I have the honour of sending to you two adjutants-general of the army, and two members of the administrative corps of this town, who are commissioned to present to you the plan of a capitulation between the garrison and inhabitants of Bastia, and you, my lord, in the name of the King of Great Britain.

These four commissioners, who equally possess my confidence, and that of the garrison and of the citizens, have instructions to arrange with you, the settlement of all matters relative to this capitulation. I hope that you will be satisfied, and that they will enable you to fulfil the views you have signified to me, of putting an end to the unavoidable consequences of the calamities of war. Captain Young has had a long conference with me: I was of opinion that a reciprocal understanding might co-operate in the success of the negotiation which occupied our attention, and I have requested him to acquaint you with my ingenuous and loyal intentions.

Greeting or health,

(Signed) GENTILI,

Commander in Chief.

Articles of capitulation of the garrison and town of Bastia, in Corsica.

On the 21st day of May, 1794, by order of the right hon. lord Hood, admiral of the Blue, and commander in chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels employed in the Mediterranean; vice admiral Goodall; captain Young, of the Fortitude; captain J. N. Inglefield, adjutant-general to the fleet; and John M'Arthur, secretary to his excellency the commander in chief, met on board the Victory, to receive propositals of capitulation for

Bastia,

Baſtia, from Meſſrs. Etienne Monty, preſident of the department of Corſica; John Baptiſte Galeazzini, mayor of Baſtia; Charles Francis Emanuel Couthaud; and John Baptiſte Franceſchi, adjutant-generals of the French army.

The following articles were propoſed, diſcuſſed, and modified as follows, viz.

Art. I. The garriſon ſhall march out with all the honours of war, together with all thoſe attached to the army.

Anſwer. Granted.

Art. II. The garriſon ſhall embark as ſoon as poſſible after ſigning theſe articles, at the Great Mole of the Port, preceded by the field-artillery, with arms, baggage, drums beating, matches lighted at both ends, colours flying. To be tranſported immediately to the Port of the Mountain (Toulon) and no where elſe.

Anſwer. In conſideration of the gallant defence made, the garriſon ſhall march to the Molehead, preceded by two field-pieces, with their arms, baggage, &c. and ſhall lay down their arms at the place appointed for their embarkation; they ſhall, as ſoon as poſſible, be tranſported to the Port of the Mountain (Toulon.)

Art. III. All ammunition, artillery, military ſtores, and every thing which compoſes and makes a part of the army, both by ſea and land, ſhall alſo be tranſported to the Port of the Mountain.

Anſwer. Refuſed.

Art. IV. The corvette La Fleche ſhall be fitted out as a tranſport to carry the garriſon and citizens who wiſh to follow it, together with the Pink La Marie Victoire; and that loaded with ſhip-timber, which are now at the diſpoſal of the adminiſtrator of the marine, ſhall be employed for this tranſport; but this not being ſufficient, the neceſſary number ſhall be furniſhed by the admiral, four of which ſhall not be viſited. The above mentioned corvette and pink loaded with timber, ſhall be kept by the Republic.

Anſwer. The troops of the garriſon and citizens who wiſh to depart, ſhall be conveyed to Toulon, the Port of the Mountain, by veſſels appointed by his excellency the commander in chief.

The French corvette La Fleche, and all veſſels in the harbour, muſt be delivered up to his Britannic Majeſty's officers. Such fiſhing boats as are neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants, proving their property, ſhall remain in their poſſeſſion.

The reſt of this article is inadmiſſible.

Art. V. The ſick, who are not able to bear the voyage, ſhall remain in the hoſpitals which they occupy at preſent, at the expence of the Republic, by officers of health, who ſhall be appointed under the ſuperintendance of a commiſſary of war, and, when they are able to ſupport the voyage, veſſels ſhall be furniſhed to tranſport them by the Engliſh commander.

Anſwer. Granted.

Art. VI. The members of the conſtituent bodies, and all perſons attached to the ſervice of the Republic, or any denomination whatever, or penſioners, ſhall participate in this capitulation with the military, and ſhall enjoy the ſame conditions.

Anſwer. Granted.

Art. VII.

Art. VII. All papers concerning public accounts, thofe of the artillery, engineers, marine, military tribunal, military chefts, both of this place and all others, fhall be tranfported to France; the fame fhall be done with all papers and plans of the country, as well of the old as new adminiftration, as civil and military, and thofe belonging to the communities.

Anfwer. Granted, except fuch as are neceffary for the fecurity of property; the archives, and other public papers and plans of the iftand, fhall remain, but copies of them fhall be allowed to be taken.

Art. VIII. The inhabitants of both fexes which are now in the town, or that have taken refuge there, fhall have their lives, their honour, and their property faved and guaranteed, with liberty to retire, when and whither they pleafe, with their families and fervants, furniture, effects, and merchandize; and the power of difpofing of whatever effects they may chufe to leave behind, or to receive their rents by agents.

Anfwer. Granted.

Art. IX. No troops nor armed men, except thofe of the Britifh government, fhall, on any account, be brought into the town.

Anfwer. The Britifh government will take care that no armed men fhall be brought into the town, in any manner that may give the inhabitants any caufe of uneafinefs or apprehenfion.

Art. X. The community in general, nor any individual in particular, fhall be fubjected to any tax or contribution whatever, on account of the events which have preceded or accompanied the fiege.

Anfwer. Granted.

Art. XI. No perfon fhall be troubled on account of his religion or political opinions, nor for any thing he may have faid before or during the fiege.

Anfwer. Granted.

Art. XII. The inhabitants fhall not be fubject to have foldiers billetted in their houfes; they fhall not be forced to any military fervice or work.

Anfwer. Soldiers fhall never be billetted on the inhabitants, except in cafes of abfolute neceffity.

Art. XIII. The prefent money of the Republic, particularly affignats, fhall continue to pafs current.

Anfwer. The French money and affignats fhall be allowed to pafs; but no perfon fhall be compelled to take them.

Art. XIV. The national domains, fold agreeable to the exifting laws, fhall be kept by the purchafers; the leafes of national property not fold, which have been granted till this time, fhall remain in force.

Anfwer. We do not feel ourfelves authorized to decide on this article; it muft be left to the decifion of his Britannic Majefty, the purchafers enjoying the poffeffion of the national domains till his Majefty's pleafure fhall be known: and all leafes granted before the arrival of the Britifh fleet at St. Fiorenzo, fhall remain in force.

Art. XV. The community fhall be maintained in the poffeffion of the moveables and immoveables belonging to it; the fame fhall be done with the town hofpital.

Anfwer. Granted.

Art. XVI. Deferters fhall not be demanded on one fide or the other.

Anfwer. Granted.

Art. XVII.

Art. XVII. The prisoners that have been taken during the siege, shall be set at liberty, and shall be allowed to retire to Bastia or to France; those which have been taken since the beginning of the war, and have been given up to the Corsicans, shall be joined to those who were taken at Fornelli, to be exchanged when an opportunity offers.

Answer. Granted.

Art. XVIII. Necessary passports shall be furnished to two feluccas, to go immediately after signing of this capitulation, one to Calvi, and the other to the Port of the Mountain, to carry the dispatches of the general of division, Gentili.

Answer. Granted, with regard to Toulon, (Port of the Mountain.) Refused, with regard to Calvi.

Art. XIX. If any difficulty should arise respecting the terms or conditions of the capitulation, they shall be in all cases interpreted in favour of the garrison, the inhabitants of Bastia, and the refugees.

Answer. If any difficulty shall, at any time, arise in the interpretation of this capitulation, it shall be decided with the strictest justice to both parties.

Art. XX. The British government shall be the only guarantee of the present capitulation.

Answer. Granted.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES.

Art. I. All the out-posts and forts, and the gate of the citadel, shall be put in possession of his Britannic Majesty's troops at twelve o'clock to-morrow; the troops in the forts and out-posts are to retire to the citadel, from whence they are to march at ten o'clock the next morning, to the place appointed for each corps by the commissioners who have managed the present capitulation; and they are to lay down their arms at the place of their embarkation. Commissaries of artillery and stores will remain in the citadel, to take inventories of all the artillery, ammunition, and stores, and proper officers are to be appointed to shew the mines, magazines, and stores of every description.

Art. II. The town of Bastia, the citadel, and all the forts, outworks and posts, and every thing contained in them, that is not the private property of the garrison or inhabitants, together with the ships of war, and all vessels lying in the port, shall be delivered up to his Britannic Majesty in the present state, without any deterioration of the batteries, artillery, mines, magazines of ammunition, provisions, or any sort of stores.

(Signed)

ETIENNE MONTY, Presidt. du Department.
J. B. FRANCHESCHI, Adj. Gen.
C. F. E. COUTHAUD, Adj. Gen.
GALEAZZINI, Mayor of Bastia.

Approuve par moi,

GENTILI.

S. GOODALL,
WM. YOUNG.
J. N. INGLEFIELD.
J. M'ARTHUR.

Approved by me,

HOOD.

Then follow returns of killed, wounded, missing, and dead of their wounds, of the troops encamped before Bastia, from the 4th of April to the 21st of May, 1794, amounting to 3 rank and file killed, 2 captains, and 19 rank and

and file wounded, 4 rank and file dead of their wounds, and 6 miſſing. Captain Rudſdale, of 11th regiment wounded. Capt. Clarke, of 69th regiment, wounded.

(Signed) W. BATLEY,
Acting B. Major.

Alſo, of the killed and wounded ſeamen between the 11th of April and the 19th of May, 1794, amounting to 7 killed, 13 wounded, and 2 miſſing. Lieutenant Tupper, of the Victory, killed. Lieutenant George Andrews, of the Agamemnon, wounded.

HOOD.

(Signed) HORATIO NELSON.

From the London Gazette, Sept. 2.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, *Sept.* 1.

Letters from the right hon. lord Hood, commander in chief of his Majeſty's fleet in the Mediterranean, to Mr. Stephens, of which the following are extracts, were laſt night received at this office.

Victory, Martello Bay, Auguſt 5, 1794.

My letter of the 15th of June would inform you, that having forced the French ſhips on the 11th, which ſailed from Toulon on the 5th, to ſeek their ſafety within the ſhoals in the Bay of Gourjean, and under the protection of the batteries of the iſlands of St. Honora and St. Margaretta, and on Cape Garoupe; that I had left vice-admiral Hotham to watch them; and that I was returning to Corſica, to join lieutenant-general Stuart, for the reduction of Calvi, which I have the honour to acquaint you is now, I believe, on the point of ſurrendering to the arms of his Majeſty.

Upon my junction with vice-admiral Hotham off this port on the 9th, I detached captain Nelſon in the Agamemnon to Baſtia, with orders to embark the troops, and proceed with them to Martello Bay, where lieutenant-general Stuart embarked on the 15th; and expreſſing a wiſh to proceed to the attack of Calvi immediately, capt. Nelſon complied with it, and on the 19th all the troops were landed, under the direction of captain Cooke, in a ſmall cove about three miles from Calvi.

I anchored in Martello Bay on the 19th; and ſo ſoon as I had embarked the ordnance and other ſtores the general had deſired, which the boiſterous weather for ſome days prevented, and had forced the Agamemnon and ſeveral of the tranſports from their anchors; but his Majeſty's ſmaller ſhips and the reſt of the tranſports which were cloſe under the land, and had not room to get under ſail, very fortunately rode the gale out, without an accident to either, the wind not blowing home to the ſhore with ſo much violence.

On the 26th I ſailed, having previouſly ſent captain Hallowell and captain Serocold (who were eager volunteers for the ſervice, as were alſo the lieutenants Perriers and Morgan) with as many able ſeamen as the Victory could then ſpare, to aſſiſt in dragging up the ordnance, and ſerving the batteries.

The journal I herewith tranſmit from captain Nelſon, who had the command of the ſeamen, will ſhew the daily occurrences of the ſiege, and whoſe unremitting zeal and exertion I cannot ſufficiently expreſs, or that of captain Hallowell, who

who took it by turns to command in the advanced battery twenty-four hours at a time; and I flatter myself they, as well as the other officers and seamen, will have full justice done them by the general; it is therefore unnecessary for me to say more upon the subject: but I have to lament, and which I do most sincerely, the loss of a very able and valuable officer, captain Serocold, who was killed by a grape-shot, whilst getting the last gun in its place, soon after the enemy had discovered our battery. The king has not a more meritorious young captain in his Majesty's navy: he commanded the floating battery, which was burnt by red-hot shot, before Bastia, and afterwards served, with infinite reputation, at the batteries on shore. Independent of my regard and esteem for him, I feel his loss to be a public one.

Much credit is due to the captains Wolseley, Hood, sir Charles Hamilton, sir Harry Burrard Cunningham, Macnamara and Robinson, for their vigilance in keeping succours out, by a steady perseverance in preserving their respective stations, under manifest difficulties; and I ought not to omit to mention my tribute of praise to Mr. Gibson, commanding the Fox hired cutter, of whom all the captains speak in the handsomest manner for his diligence and punctual obedience to orders. For near two months they did not receive at Calvi any intelligence from the continent, until the night of the 29th, when four boats got in, the port not being then so well and closely guarded, having been obliged to send off three frigates to Naples and other places for stores, which the general pressed for, and the night's being dark.

On the 27th I arrived off Calvi, and have kept close off the port ever since, in order to relieve the wants of the army every morning, having stationed a frigate at anchor off Cape Revalata, and another off point D'Espana. I have landed from this ship seven of her lower-deck guns; and, from time to time, all requisitions, for various other stores as well as for men, the general has made, have been complied with, under great inconvenience, that the operations of the army should not stand still.

On the 29th of last month I had the honour of a visit from general Stuart, who brought letters that had passed between him and the commandant of the French troops relative to a truce for twenty-five days, which appearing to be inadmissible, in the afternoon of the 30th of July, our batteries were opened; and on the morning of the 1st instant, the white flag was displayed on the citadel, under the national one, and the firing ceased.

Victory, off Calvi, Aug. 9, 1794.

I herewith have the honour to transmit, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, duplicates of my dispatches of the 5th, from Martello Bay.

I sailed on the 7th, and got off here the next morning; and herewith transmit a copy of captain Nelson's journal from the 28th of last month to the 8th of the present one; also the copy of a letter I have received from him, highly creditable to lieutenant Harrison, a transport agent, as well as to Mr. William Harrington, master of

of the Willington, and the transport's men, who were all anxiously eager, either to serve on shore, or on board his Majesty's ships.

I have ordered captain Wolseley to take possession of the Melpomene and Mignonne frigates, the former is one of the finest ever built in France, carries 40 guns, the other only 32; and I have received an account from the consul at Zante, that his Majesty's frigates which I sent into the Levant, under the command of captain Montgomery, have taken the Sibelle, twin sister to the Melpomene.

Captain Cunningham, who has cruised with infinite diligence, zeal, and perseverance, under many difficulties, for three months past, off Calvi, charged with my dispatches, is competent to give any information their lordships may wish to have; and I beg to recommend him as an officer of great merit, and highly deserving any favour that can be shewn him.

Victory, off Calvi, Aug. 10, 1794.

Having received from lieutenant-general Stuart the articles of capitulation he made with Casabianca, the commandant of the French troops at Calvi, I have the honour herewith to transmit a copy thereof.

Articles of capitulation of the garrison of Calvi, in Corsica.

I. The garrison and all persons attached to it in a military capacity, shall march out of the town with all the honours of war.—A. The garrison, and all persons attached to it in a military capacity, shall march out of Calvi with all the honours of war, and shall deposit their arms, colours, and cannons, at a place that shall be pointed out to them for this purpose; but in consideration of their gallant defence, they shall be allowed to preserve their swords.

II. The garrison shall embark on the 10th of August, at the Quay of the Lower Town, preceded by its field-train, arms, and baggage, drums beating, matches lighted, colours flying, and shall be conveyed to the Port of the Mountain and to no other place.—A. The garrison shall embark on the 10th of August, and be conveyed to Toulon in transports, which shall be provided for this service.

III. The frigates la Melpomene and la Mignonne shall be employed to convey the garrison, and such of the inhabitants as are disposed to accompany it: the remainder of the shipping necessary for this service shall be provided by the English.—A. Refused.

IV. An inventory shall be taken of all the artillery and ammunition: officers shall be named on both sides to inspect the magazines and stores, and every thing which belongs to the French Republic; all which shall be delivered up to the commissary of his Britannic Majesty in their present state; an attested copy of the inventory to be kept by each party.—A. Granted.

V. The national commissioner, the municipal officers, and all persons in the service of the republic, as well as the Corsican refugees, shall be included in the present capitulation.—A. Granted.

VI. The inhabitants of Calvi, and the Corsican refugees of both sexes, shall be protected in their lives, their honour, and their property; shall be at liberty to embark for France immediately with the garrison, or to retire to such other places as they may think proper, with

with their effects, and ſhall retain the power to diſpoſe of their real eſtates, or to manage them by their agents.—A. Granted.

VII. The refugees who may be deſirous of returning, or of ſending their families into the interior of the iſland, ſhall be at liberty ſo to do; and the Britiſh government ſhall cauſe their property to be reſtored to them, and ſhall protect them againſt all perſecution on account of any religious or political opinions which they may have manifeſted prior to this capitulation.—A. This article muſt be referred to his Britannic Majeſty, being of a nature not immediately connected with the authority of the general.

VIII. All papers which concern the reſponſibility of the paymaſters of the army, of the artillery, of the engineers, of the navy, or of any other branch of adminiſtration, ſhall be removed to France.—A. Granted.

IX. The ſick ſhall be conveyed to France as ſoon as poſſible, and thoſe who may be unable to bear the voyage, ſhall remain in the hoſpital of the Lower Town, under the care of ſuch perſons as ſhall be left for this purpoſe, and at the expence of the republic; and ſhall alſo be ſent to France, as ſoon as they are in a condition to be removed.—A. Granted.

X. The municipality of Calvi ſhall preſerve all its poſſeſſions, and ſhall be at liberty to diſpoſe of them, in conformity to the eſtabliſhed regulations.—A. Granted.

XI. Neither the municipality or any individual ſhall be called upon to pay any tax or contribution, on account of any events which have preceded or accompanied the ſiege, or on account of their religious or political opinions; and no one ſhall be moleſted in the exerciſe of his religious duties.—A. Granted.

XII. The inhabitants ſhall not be liable to have the ſoldiers billeted upon them, nor be ſubject to any military duty.—A. Granted for the preſent, and for the future, except in caſes of urgent neceſſity.

XIII. The purchaſers of national lands, or thoſe who hold them on leaſe, ſhall continue in the poſſeſſion of them.—A. Reſerved for the conſideration of his Majeſty, for the reaſons ſtated in the anſwer to the 7th article.

XIV. The inſcription upon the gates of the citadel, "Civitas Calvi ſemper fidelis," ſhall remain as an honourable teſtimony of the conduct, the character, and the virtues of the inhabitants of Calvi.—A. Granted.

XV. The deſerters ſhall not be delivered up on either ſide.—A. As there are no deſerters from the Britiſh army, this article is unneceſſary.

XVI. The priſoners taken by the ſhips of his Britannic Majeſty ſince the blockade of Calvi, thoſe taken at Moſello, the ſailors taken in the brig employed to convoy the ſick to France, the ſailors and the paſſengers taken near Galeria, in a veſſel bound to France, and who are now detained, part on board the frigates, and part in the caſtle of Corte, and the ſailors and gunners who have been taken coming from France, ſhall be liberated, and allowed either to remain at Calvi, or to return to France, as they ſhall think proper.—A. Refuſed.

XVII. Paſſports ſhall be granted to enable two gondolas to go to France, one to the Port of the Mountain, and the other to Nice, with diſpatches from the general.—A. Granted, provided theſe goudolas do not ſail before the 6th of Auguſt.

XVIII. In order that the tranquillity of the garriſon and of the inhabitants may not be interrupted, the Engliſh general ſhall not permit the Corſicans from the interior of the country, or the emigrants from the town, to enter Calvi or the Lower Town, until all the garriſon ſhall have ſailed for France.—A. Granted.

XIX. The inhabitants of Calvi ſhall retain their arms, and ſhall be protected by the forces of his Britannic Majeſty.—A. The inhabitants ſhall not be allowed to retain their arms, but his Majeſty's forces ſhall afford them all neceſſary protection.

XX. The officers and crews of the frigates, brigs, and gun-boats, ſhall be entitled to the ſame terms of capitulation as the garriſon.—A. Granted.

XXI. The Britiſh government to be the ſole guarantee of the preſent capitulation.—A. Granted.

(Signed) CHARLES STUART,
Lieut. Gen.
CASABIANCA,
Gen. of Diviſion.

From the London Gazette Extraordinary, Tueſday, September 2.

WHITEHALL, *September* 1.

A diſpatch, of which the following is a copy, was laſt night received from lieutenant-general the hon. Charles Stuart, by the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State.

SIR, *Calvi, Aug.* 10, 1794.

I have the ſatisfaction to inform you, that the town of Calvi ſurrendered to his Majeſty's forces on the 10th inſtant, after a ſiege of fifty-one days.

As I perfectly agreed with lord Hood in opinion, that the utmoſt diſpatch is neceſſary, in order to enable the troops ſelected for the ſiege of Calvi to begin their operations before the commencement of the unhealthy ſeaſon, every effort was uſed to forward the neceſſary preparations; and ſo effectual were the exertions of the different departments, that in the courſe of a very few days, the regiments embarked at Baſtia; and captain Nelſon, of his Majeſty's ſhip Agamemnon, conſented, in lord Hood's abſence, to proceed to Port Agra, where a landing was effected on the 19th of June; and, in the courſe of the ſame day, the army encamped, in a ſtrong poſition, upon the Serra del Capuccine, a ridge of mountains, three miles diſtant from the town of Calvi.

From many of the out-poſts, and particularly from thoſe the friendly Corſicans were ordered to occupy, I could diſtinctly diſcover that the town of Calvi was ſtrong in point of ſituation, well fortified, and amply ſupplied with heavy artillery; the exterior defences, on which the enemy had beſtowed a conſiderable labour, conſiſted in the bomb-proof ſtone ſtar Fort Mozello, mounting ten pieces of ordnance, with a battery of ſix guns on its right, flanked by a ſmall entrenchment.

In the rear of this line (which covered the town to the weſtward), on a rocky hill to the eaſt, was placed a battery of three guns.

Conſiderably

Conſiderably advanced on the plain to the ſouth-weſt, the fort Mollinocheſco, on a ſteep rock, commanded the communication between Calvi and the province of Balagni, ſupported by two frigates moored in the bay, for the purpoſe of raking the intermediate country: but the principal difficulties in approaching the enemy's works, did not ſo much ariſe from the ſtrength of the defences, as from the height of the mountains and rugged rocky ſurface of the country it was neceſſary to penetrate; and ſo conſiderable were theſe obſtacles againſt the uſual mode of attack, that it was judged expedient to adopt rapid and forward movements, inſtead of regular approaches. In conformity to this plan of proceeding, the ſeamen and ſoldiers were laboriouſly employed in making roads, dragging guns to the tops of mountains, and collecting military ſtores for the purpoſe of erecting two mortar and four ſeparate gun batteries on the ſame night. One of theſe was intended againſt the Mollinocheſco; the ſecond to be conſtructed on rocks to cover the principal one of ſix guns; which, by a ſudden march, and the exertions of the whole army, was to be erected within ſeven hundred and fifty yards of the Mozello.

From ſome miſtake, the battery propoſed againſt the Mollinocheſco was built and opened two days before the appointed time, and conſiderably damaged that fort. Obſerving, however, that it was the determination of the enemy to repair, and not to evacuate it, the Royal Iriſh Regiment was ordered, on the evening of the 6th of July, to move towards their left, expoſing the men to the fire of their artillery. This diverſion was ſeconded at ſun-ſet, and during the greater part of the night, by a feigned attack of the Corſicans, which ſo effectually deceived the enemy, that they withdrew a conſiderable piquet from the ſpot where the principal battery was to be conſtructed, in order to ſupport the Mollinocheſco, and directing the whole of their fire to that point, enabled the troops to complete their work. This important poſition eſtabliſhed, the enemy was compelled to evacuate the Mollinocheſco, and to withdraw the ſhipping under the protection of the town. A very heavy fire immediately commenced on both ſides, and continued, with little intermiſſion, until the 18th of that month; when obſerving that their batteries were conſiderably damaged, and a breach appearing practicable on the weſt ſide of the Mozello, a diſpoſition was made for a general attack upon the outworks, under the cover of two batteries, ordered to be erected that night, which, from their poſition, would, in the event of a check, appear the principal object of the movement.

From the zeal of lieutenant-colonel Wauchope, and the great exertions of the 50th regiment, the battery, which he undertook to conſtruct within three hundred yards of the Mozello, was completed an hour before day-break, without diſcovery; a ſignal gun was then fired from it for the troops to advance. Lieutenant Newhouſe of the Royal Artillery, with two field pieces, covered the approach; and the grenadiers, light infantry, and 2d battalion of the

Royals, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Moore of the 51ſt regiment, and major Brereton of the 30th regiment, proceeded with a cool, ſteady confidence, and unloaded arms, towards the enemy, forced their way through a ſmart fire of muſquetry, and, regardleſs of live ſhells thrown into the breach, or the additional defence of pikes, formed the Mozello; while lieutenant-colonel Wemyſs, with the Royal Iriſh regiment, and two pieces of cannon, under the direction of lieutenant Lemoine of the Royal Artillery, equally regardleſs of oppoſition, carried the enemy's battery on the left, and forced their trenches without firing a ſhot.

The poſſeſſion of theſe very important poſts, which the troops maintained under the heavieſt fire of ſhells, ſhot, and grape, induced me to offer to conſider ſuch terms as the garriſon of Calvi might be inclined to propoſe; but receiving an unfavourable anſwer, the navy and army once more united their efforts, and, in nine days, batteries of thirteen guns, four mortars, and three howitzers, were completely within ſix hundred yards of the town, and opened with ſo well directed a fire, that the enemy were unable to remain at their guns; and in eighteen hours ſent propoſals, which terminated in a capitulation, and the expulſion of the French from Corſica.

It is with ſincere regret that I have to mention the loſs of captain Serocold, of the navy, who was killed by a cannon ſhot when actively employed on the batteries. The aſſiſtance and co-operation of captain Nelſon, the activity of captain Hallowell, and the exertions of the navy, have greatly contributed to the ſucceſs of theſe movements.

The ſpirit, zeal, and willingneſs with which this army has undergone the greateſt labour and fatigue in the moſt oppreſſive weather, is hardly to be deſcribed; and ſuch has been the determined animation of both officers and men, that the ſmalleſt murmur has never been heard, unleſs illneſs deprived them from making their ſervices uſeful to their country.

I am much indebted to lieutenant-colonel Moore, for his aſſiſtance upon every occaſion; and it is only a tribute due to his worth to mention, that he has diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon this expedition for his bravery, conduct, and military talents.

It is with the utmoſt confidence that I preſume to recommend to his Majeſty, my aid-de-camp, captain Duncan, of the Royal Artillery; whoſe activity, zeal, and ability, in his own and the engineer department, merits the higheſt commendation and advancement.

Captain Stephens, the officers and men of the Royal Artillery, have diſtinguiſhed themſelves with their uſual ability in the management of the batteries, and their attention to the different branches of that line.

Sir James Erſkine and major Oakes have been eſſentially uſeful in their different departments; and permit me to aſſure you, that a cordiality ſubſiſts throughout the army, which promiſes the moſt ſignal ſucceſs on any future undertaking.

I have the happineſs to inform you, that captains Macdonald and Mackenzie,

Mackenzie, and the other wounded officers and ſoldiers, are in a fair way of recovery.

Captain Stewart, an officer of great merit, and my aid-de-camp, will have the honour of delivering this diſpatch.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. STUART, Lieut. Gen.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c.

Then follow returns of the killed and wounded, of the troops employed in the expedition againſt Calvi, under the command of lieut.-general the hon. Charles Stuart, the 10th of Auguſt, 1794; being 1 field officer, 1 captain, 3 ſubalterns, 25 rank and file, killed; 1 field officer, 3 captains, 4 ſubalterns, 3 ſerjeants, 49 rank and file, wounded.

(Signed) J. St. CLAIR ERSKINE, Adj. Gen.

Alſo a return of ordnance, &c. taken in the garriſon of Calvi, and in the following detached works, Auguſt 10, 1794.

And alſo a return of ſhips and veſſels taken in the harbour of Calvi, Auguſt 10; being

Guns.	
La Melpomene	40
Mignonne	28
Brigs, Auguſte and Providence	4
Caira Gun Boat	3

(Signed) E. STEPHENS, Captain Commanding Royal Artillery.

GAZETTES *relative to* INDIA.

WHITEHALL, *January* 18.

DISPATCHES, of which the following are extracts, have been received over land from India, by the hon. Court of Directors for affairs of the hon. United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies.

Extract of a letter from the Governor and Council at Bengal, in their Political Department, to the Court of Directors, dated Bengal, April 1, 1793.

On the 11th of June we received from the Governor in Council at Fort St. George, by the Drake cruizer, which had arrived there from Suez on the 1ſt, copies of diſpatches, dated the 10th of April, from Mr. Baldwin, his Majeſty's Conſul at Alexandria, with the detail of intelligence from Europe, notifying, in poſitive terms, that the French had declared war againſt England and Holland on the 1ſt of February, 1793. We therefore iſſued orders, which were effected without reſiſtance, for the taking poſſeſſion of Chandernagore and the ſeveral French factories in this country, and ſeizing the veſſels here that carried the French flag.

The Government of Madras immediately commenced the neceſſary preparation for the ſiege of Pondicherry, where colonel Floyd, with a detachment, arrived on the 11th of July, to blockade it on the land ſide, while the commodore, with his Majeſty's frigate the Minerva, and three of our China ſhips, the Triton, Warley, and Royal Charlotte, were employed to prevent ſupplies from being imported by ſea; and the French factories of Karical and Yanam have been taken poſſeſſion of by the officers of the Madras Government.

Extract of a letter from the Governor and Council at Bombay, in their Political Department, to the Court of Directors, dated Bombay, Sept. 3, 1793.

Having authentic intelligence, by the Drake cruizer from Suez, that hoſtilities had actually commenced between Great Britain and France, we iſſued the neceſſary orders for reducing the Fort of Mahé, and taking poſſeſſion of their factory at Surat, which we have the pleaſure to acquaint you have been effected without reſiſtance.

WHITEHALL, *Jan.* 24, 1794.

Copy of a letter from the Governor and Council at Madras, to the Court of Directors, dated Fort St. George, Auguſt 24, 1793.

Honourable Sirs,

We have great ſatisfaction in reporting to your Honourable Court, that Pondicherry was ſurrendered to the army under colonel Brathwaite on the morning of the 22d inſtant.

As we forward this addreſs *vid* Bombay, we ſhall embrace another opportunity of giving you a detailed account of the operations of the army. It will be ſufficient to mention here, that not a moment was loſt after our receipt of the intelligence of the war (which reached us on the 1ſt of June, in a letter from the Britiſh Conſul at Alexandria), in making preparations for the ſiege. An enfilading battery was opened againſt the fort on the 20th inſtant; and on the 22d a battery opened on the face to be attacked, and in a ſhort time completely ſilenced the enemy's guns.—That ſame evening the Governor ſent out a deputation, with propoſals to ſurrender; and early next morning our troops took poſſeſſion of the place.

We have the honour to tranſmit a copy of colonel Brathwaite's laſt diſpatch, with copy of the articles of capitulation, and to offer our warmeſt congratulations to you on an event ſo honourable and important to your intereſts in this country.

All the French ſettlements in Bengal, as well as thoſe on the two coaſts, have been ſurrendered to the Britiſh arms.

We have the honour to be, with the greateſt reſpect,

Honourable Sirs,

Your faithful humble ſervants,

CHA. OAKELEY,

E. W. FALLOFIELD.

To the hon. Sir Charles Oakeley, Bart. Governor in Council.

Honourable Sir,

Captain Braithwaite, my aide-de-camp, will have the honour to deliver this to you; it incloſes copies of my correſpondence with Monſieur de Chermont, and a copy of the terms which humanity alone induced me to grant to the French garriſon, who, in many inſtances, behaved very ill; but it ſeems they were under little or no control of their officers, who were hourly in apprehenſion for their own lives: and this day, I was greatly alarmed, by repeated information, that ſome of them had ſurrounded the governor's houſe and menaced his life, and preſſing me to puſh forward the troops, which was accordingly done; and I had the pleaſure to learn, that though matters had for ſome time worn a diſagreeable appearance, they had never had recourſe to their arms, or any act of violence; they were

were mostly drunk, and straggling about in various directions, but without arms; however they have been mostly collected, and will, before night, be perfectly secured in the church at Ariancopang.

I have also the honour to inclose a copy of the orders I issued this day, and to remain, with respect, Honourable Sir,

Your very obedient servant,
(Signed) JOHN BRATHWAITE.

Camp on the Red Hills,
August 23, 1793.

[The proposal of surrendering the fort was made by M. Chermont, on the 22d of August. Colonel Brathwaite answered it, reproaching M. Chermont with unnecessarily firing upon his people, and doing all the harm he could; to which the governor replied, the cruel situation in which he and a number of brave men found themselves, compelled them to do what they did; and he submitted to the terms dictated by the colonel, which were, that the fort, its stores, ordnance, and all public property, should be surrendered to his Britannic Majesty, the garrison be prisoners of war, the officers to wear their swords, and be on their parole of honour, private property was to be safe and respected, and the inhabitants, if they behave with obedience, are to be considered as under the protection of the British government.

Colonel Brathwaite, in his orders, announces to his gallant army the surrender of the place; and he observes, that "he has spared the whole garrison and the properties of individuals, which the rigid law of arms would have justified him in treating otherwise. He has spared an enemy that continued to act offensively and destructively while unmolested, but who sunk under the first impressions of his superior force. Actuated by the same sentiments, he has no doubt but that the whole of the army under his command will consider their infatuated and unfortunate prisoners entitled (being now their prisoners) to their most humane attention, and convince them and the inhabitants, that they can be as orderly, generous, and humane, in the discharge of these duties, as they have been active and brave in the duties of the trenches."]

WHITEHALL, *Feb.* 5.

A letter, of which the following is a copy, was this day received from the Most Noble the Marquis Cornwallis, K. G. by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

(Duplicate.)

Fort St. George,
SIR, *Sept.* 16, 1793.

Advice of the war with France arrived at Fort St. George on the 2d, and at Fort William on the 11th of June, from Mr. Baldwin, his Majesty's Consul at Alexandria; and this gentleman was so anxious to promote the public service, and so desirous to enable the Company's Governments to derive every possible advantage from his communication, that he declared himself responsible in his public character for the truth of the information, and assured them, that they might act upon it with confidence; adding, that all the British and Dutch vessels in the ports of France had been seized.

Upon the receipt of this intelligence, all the small factories belonging to the French on the Continent of India, as well as their ships in our ports, were taken poſſeſſion of; and the Government of Fort St. George proceeded immediately to make preparations for the attack of the important fortreſs of Pondicherry, which place was in full as good a ſtate of defence as when it was attacked at the breaking out of the laſt war.

It was reported at Pondicherry, that conſiderable reinforcements were expected from the Iſle of France, under the convoy of the Sybille, of 40 guns, and three ſmaller frigates; and we were in ſome doubt whether admiral Cornwallis, who blocked up the place by ſea with the Minerva frigate and three Indiamen, would have been able to prevent the ſuccours from being landed; but the Sybille, which was the only ſhip of the enemy's that appeared during the ſiege, went off immediately upon being chaſed by Admiral Cornwallis, and has not ſince been heard of on this coaſt.

I was very deſirous of giving my perſonal aſſiſtance in carrying on the laſt piece of ſervice that was likely to occur during my ſtay in India, and embarked on board a ſmall French veſſel, that had been ſeized and armed in Bengal, as ſoon as I could avail myſelf of the convoy of the Woodcote Indiaman, which had been taking in new maſts at Calcutta, and without which I did not think I could with prudence hazard the voyage, at leaſt while I held the office of Governor General. The Triton Indiaman, which admiral Cornwallis and ſir Charles Oakley ſent, at my requeſt, on account of the difficulty and uncertainty in equipping the Woodcote, arrived a few days before we ſailed, and returned with us.

By the great and meritorious exertions of the Government of Fort St. George, in tranſporting the ordnance, ſtores, &c. for ſo conſiderable an undertaking, and thoſe of colonel Braithwaite, and of the troops under his command in carrying on the attack, our batteries were opened againſt the place ſooner than I expected; and the mutinous and daſtardly conduct of the garriſon obliged the Governor to ſurrender the forts ſeveral days before my arrival, and before the arrival of five companies of Bengal artillery, and twelve companies of Laſcars, which I had embarked on board of the Woodcote, and three other veſſels, which were likewiſe employed in bringing rice, on Government account, to this Preſidency.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your moſt obedient and
moſt humble ſervant,
CORNWALLIS.

Right hon. Henry Dundas, &c.

General State of the Military Eſtabliſhment at Pondicherry, Auguſt 23, 1793.

Europeans.—Officers, 4 colonels, 7 lieutenant-colonels, 38 captains, 32 lieutenants, 35 ſecond lieutenants, 5 navy officers.

Soldiers.—22 ſerjeant majors and quarter-maſters, 45 ſerjeants of brigade, 85 corporals, 437 grenadiers and gunners, 7 muſicians.—49 ſailors. Total, 645.

Sepoys.—Officers 29, non-commiſſioned officers and privates 985. Total, 1014.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS SEGUIN.

[Then follows the return of ordnance, &c. found in the garrison of Pondicherry, the 25th and 26th of Auguſt, 1793. Alſo a general return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing of the army commanded by colonel J. Braithwaite, during the ſiege of Pondicherry, the place having ſurrendered on the 23d of Auguſt, 1793; viz.

Europeans.—Lieutenant Colonel George Maule, chief engineer. 52d regiment, lieutenant Lane. 73d regiment, captain Galpine, enſign Todd, lieutenant M'Gregor. 2d native battalion, 1 lieutenant Cawthorne, 1 ſerjeant, 50 rank and file, killed; 2 lieutenants, 2 ſerjeants, 46 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file miſſing. Total, 88.

Natives.—1 Jemedar, 2 drummers and fifers, 53 rank and file, killed; 2 Jemedars, 1 Havildar, 94 rank and file, wounded; 5 rank and file miſſing. Total, 159.]

GAZETTES *relative to the* WEST INDIES.

WHITEHALL, *December* 9.

Copy of a letter from major-general Williamſon, dated Jamaica, October 8, 1793.

SIR,

I HAD the honour to inform you, in my letter of the 8th of September, that the next day the 13th regiment, the two flank companies of the 49th, and a detachment of artillery, were to ſail, to take poſſeſſion of Jeremie, the propoſitions of capitulation having been accepted.

Commodore Ford, in whoſe praiſe I cannot ſay too much, ſailed with the expedition. The greateſt part of the troops were embarked on board his Majeſty's ſhips. Tranſports were neceſſary for the proviſions and ſtores.

The whole arrived at Jeremie the 19th in the evening; and a deputation was ſent from the council, requeſting the Engliſh colours, that they might be immediately hoiſted; but it was judged beſt to land early the next morning; when the whole diſembarked, and the colours were hoiſted at both forts, with two ſalutes of twenty-one guns, and anſwered by the commodore and his ſquadron. The troops were received with the loudeſt acclamations from all ranks.—Monſieur Carles,* of the Etat Major of the Mole, was on board of the commodore.

The commodore only remained a few hours at Jeremie after the troops were landed, and ſailed for the Mole, where he arrived the 22d, and ſent Monſieur Carles on ſhore. The next day, at ſeven in the morning, a deputation of twenty perſons came on board the commodore, who was cruiſing off the entrance of the Mole, to inform him, that they wiſhed to accept of the ſame capitulation as Jeremie; which was readily granted by the commodore, and the Europa ſailed up the harbour. When the fort at Preſque Iſle ſaw the ſhip under weigh, they fired three guns as a ſignal, and hoiſted the Engliſh colours, the ſame at Fort Orleans; and when the Europa

* Major Carles is a French officer belonging to the Mole of Cape St. Nicholas, who had been captured and carried into Naſſau by a Providence privateer, and afterwards ſent by lord Dunmore to Jamaica, where he arrived the day before the ſquadron ſailed.

came

came to an anchor, she was saluted with twenty-one guns from all the forts and all the vessels in the harbour, which was answered by the commodore. Fifty marines were landed under captain Robertson, who took the command of the garrison. The commodore sent a fast-sailing schooner to Jeremie for some troops. The grenadier company of the 13th regiment was immediately embarked, and arrived at the Mole the 28th.

It being a place of such importance, and literally the key of St. Domingo, I judged it necessary to strengthen the garrison; accordingly lieutenant-colonel Dansey, with five companies of the 49th regiment, sailed the 7th, on board two of the frigates; and I shall order the remaining three companies to hold themselves in readiness for embarkation on board of another frigate.

The packet not sailing till the 21st, and two ships sailing the 10th, one for London and the other Liverpool, I have the honour to send you a short sketch of our operations, and shall be more explicit by the packet.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ADAM WILLIAMSON.

Terms of capitulation proposed by the inhabitants of La Grand Anse (including the quarter at Jeremie) to his Excellency major-general Williamson, his Majesty's lieutenant-governor of Jamaica, for his acceptance.

Art. I. That the proprietors of St. Domingo, deprived of all recourse to their lawful sovereign to deliver them from the tyranny under which they now groan, implore the protection of his Britannic Majesty, and take the oath of fidelity and allegiance to him; and supplicate him to take their colony under his protection, and to treat them as good and faithful subjects till a general peace; at which period they shall be finally subjected to the terms then agreed upon between his Britannic Majesty, the government of France, and the allied powers, with respect to the sovereignty of St. Domingo.—Answer. Granted.

The other articles are in substance as follows:

[The governor of his Britannic Majesty to take the command of all measures of safety and police. No persons to be molested for past actions, but murderers and incendiaries. The mulattoes shall have the same privileges as in the British islands. At the conclusion of the peace, the former laws of the island shall be preserved; and until a colonial assembly can be formed, the governor shall be assisted by six persons of his own appointment. In consequence of the devastations in the colony by insurrections, fire, and pillage, the governor shall be authorised to grant a suspension of ten years for payment of debts without interest, except all sums due to minors or absent planters, or from one planter to another for transfer of property. The duties on European commodities to be the same as in the English colonies. The manufacturers of white sugars shall preserve the right of exporting their clayed sugars. The Catholic religion shall be preserved. The local taxes shall be assessed as in 1789; and the advance made on the part of Great-Britain for supplying the deficiency,

ency, ſhall be repaid by the colony. Importation of proviſions, cattle, grain, and wood from America, in American bottoms, followed under reſtrictions. None of the conditions ſhall be a reſtriction to the power of the parliament of Great-Britain, to regulate and determine the political government of the colony.]

The addreſs from the members of the Council of Public Safety at Jeremie to his Majeſty.

SIRE,

Permit your new ſubjects to offer their firſt homage to your Majeſty, and to pay you the tribute of gratitude due to your kindneſs to us.

Fame had long ago informed us of your Majeſty's many excellent virtues, by which your Majeſty has been guided in the generous part you have taken reſpecting the misfortunes of France, and of this Iſland.

We were informed by Monſieur de Charmilly, one of our countrymen, who came to this part of the world with orders from your Majeſty's Miniſters, of the deep concern your Majeſty had felt at our misfortunes, from which we have been delivered by the goodneſs of your Majeſty, to whom we owe our preſent happineſs.

Governor Williamſon, commodore Ford, and colonel Whitelocke, animated by the ſame ſentiments as your Majeſty, have already made us ſenſible of the great advantage of belonging to your Majeſty.

We humbly ſupplicate your Majeſty to be perſuaded that our gratitude will be equal to the kindneſs we have experienced, and that your new ſubjects will emulate thoſe who have long lived under your laws in obedience, ſubmiſſion, and reſpect.

We are, Sire, your Majeſty's very humble and faithful ſubjects,

The Members of the Council of Safety. (Signed)

LACOMBE, Preſident, CHAPEAU, MATHIEU, DOBIGNIER, TATTEGRAIN, FAVERANGE, CATTEGRAIS. —P. TROZE MAGNAN, Secretary.

Extract of a letter from lieutenant-colonel Danſey to major-general Williamſon, dated Cape Nicola, October 18.

"When I took the command of this town and garriſon on the 12th, I found every thing properly arranged by major Robertſon. I have ſince been menaced with an attack by Mr. Santhonax, who is come into this neighbourhood, and continues his threats. No exertions of mine ſhall be wanting on that head."

Here follows a letter from commodore Ford to Mr. Stephens, giving an account ſimilar to major-general Williamſon's, of the ſurrender of Jeremie, and of the proceedings at Cape Nicholas Mole.

"—— Upon the Europa opening the ſouth point of the Mole (ſays the commodore), ſeveral armed veſſels were ſeen in chaſe of her, but which returned to the town immediately; I was informed that major Carles, with three other French gentlemen, a midſhipman and boat's crew, had been taken, in landing, by an armed ſchooner, and carried to the town; from which I drew a concluſion not very favourable to our views, and the day paſſed in ſilent apprehenſion for the major's ſafety; but, about

about five P. M. a gun was fired, and with joy I discovered a private signal which I had previously concerted with the French officers, on which I approached the battery as near as possible, under the necessary precautions, and, about nine o'clock, a boat came off with several officers belonging to Dillon's regiment, with professions of friendship and fidelity to the King of Great Britain; at the same time assuring me that, unless they received immediate support, all would be lost; that the blacks and mulattoes at Jean Rabel, amounting to eight or ten thousand, were expected every hour to attack them; that the inhabitants, from severe duty and extreme misery, were divided and relaxed into despondency, and in contemplation to fly to America, and that their goods were embarked in the vessels in the port for that purpose; that the troops of the line (through the intrigues of the civil commissaries) manifested strong symptoms to a general mutiny, and that they had sent 55 mutineers of Dillon's regiment to Charlestown the day before; From these circumstances I evidently saw that no time was to be lost, and I determined from that moment to try what could be done with the force of the squadron; to which end I sent the officers on shore to get the capitulation signed (it being exactly the same as that of Jeremie, with the addition of an article respecting the officers and troops of the garrison *), with which they returned soon after day-light in the morning; and, having publicly accepted it on the quarter-deck, with *Vive le Roi d'Angleterre*, and three cheers on each side, I proceeded to the anchorage without hesitation, hoisted the British flag on several batteries, and took possession of the town and its dependencies in the name of his Britannic Majesty, with the marines of the Europa, commanded by captain Robinson, an officer of distinguished merit and abilities in his profession, and whom I have directed to act as brevet major for the present, in order to give him superior rank to the late commandant, till general Williamson can make the necessary arrangements; holding 200 seamen in readiness to land, if necessary, at a moment's warning; and I have the satisfaction of informing their lordships, that we are in full possession of the finest harbour in the West-Indies, guarded by batteries incredibly strong. An account of the ordnance, ammunition, and military stores in the magazines, you will receive herewith.

I cannot conclude my letter without expressing my approbation of the firm and regular conduct of the officers, seamen, and marines of the squadron under my command, particularly captains Gregory and Wolley, whose zeal and attention have been unusually conspicuous on this occasion: and I should be wanting in justice to the officers and troops of the garrison if I did not state their merit in having so long resisted the dangerous principles of the civil commissaries, and maintained, with firmness and energy, those of a monarchical government, which no persuasion could shake, or intrigue confound.

JOHN FORD.

* By this article the staff officers, commanders, &c. of Cape Nicholas Mole, are taken into British pay, and in case at the peace they cannot, by the laws of England, continue in British service, they shall be entitled to half-pay.

Return of ordnance, ammunition, and artillery ſtores, in the magazines and batteries, in the Mole Town and its dependencies.

1230 barrels of gunpowder, containing 146,024 lbs.
107 iron cannon, 24-pounders
29 ditto from 21 to 3-pounders
137 garriſon, ſea, and travelling carriages
23 12-inch iron mortars
23 iron beds, ditto
1234 ſhells for ditto
10359 round ſhot, 1717 grape ſhot
40000 cartridges for infantry
10420 lbs. of lead
1460 cartridges for carriage guns
50 new, 500 repairable muſquets
200 ſlow matches, 600 wad-hooks, 250 ladles
1000 tompions, and 125 port-fires

Europa, Mole of St. Nicholas, October 27, 1793.

The Flying Fiſh ſchooner which I ſent to colonel Whitelocke at Jeremie, with a requiſition for a ſmall force, returned with the grenadier company of the 13th regiment; and his Majeſty's ſhips Penelope and Iphigenia arrived on the 11th and 12th inſtant from Jamaica, with five companies of the 49th regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Danſey, commandant of this diſtrict. On the arrival of theſe ſhips I was informed of the ſucceſs of the frigates which I had ordered to make a diverſion at Flamand's Bay near St. Louis, and have incloſed an account of the captures they made, though their merchant ſhips, to a conſiderable amount, had eſcaped to Aux Cayes upon their receiving intelligence of the Britiſh troops being landed at Jeremie.

You will alſo acquaint their lordſhips, that I ſeized, upon my arrival here, a large ſchooner in the ſervice of the republic, commanded by Monſieur Anquetil, formerly a lieutenant of the Jupiter; and, as ſhe is a very fine veſſel, mounting ten ſix and four-pounders, I have taken her into his Majeſty's ſervice.

The ſchooner was, at that time, called the National Convention, but formerly the Maria Antoinette, which laſt name I have thought proper to continue, and have given the command of her to lieutenant Perkins, an officer of zeal, vigilance, and activity.

I have alſo to acquaint their lordſhips that we have hitherto remained in ſecurity; but the civil commiſſaries, upon their receiving accounts that the Mole was in our poſſeſſion, had prepared an expedition to attack it, and had actually proceeded as far as Port au Paix, with the Hyæna, and ſeveral other armed tranſports and ſmall craft, with all the troops that could be collected, amounting to 5000 or upwards; but the frigates arriving very opportunely from Jamaica, I was enabled to block them up in that port, where they ſtill remain; and as Mr. Santhonax has in conſequence gone by land to Port au Prince, I am in great hopes that, by this means, the expedition will be entirely fruſtrated.

I am, &c.

JOHN FORD.

An account of the reprizals made by his Majeſty's ſhips at L'Iſlet on the 23d, and at Flamande Bay, the 29th of September, 1793.

Ship Ceres, 300 tons, laden with ſugar, coffee, and cotton.

A Spaniſh brig, 180 tons, laden with Malaga wines, &c.

A ſloop, 80 tons, laden with fuſtick.

A ſchooner, 80 tons, laden with ſugar, coffee, and cotton.

Ship L'Eole, 800 tons, half laden with ſugar, cotton, indigo, caſh about 3000l. currency.

Ship Patriot, 350 tons, and brig Le Julian, 220 tons, laden with ſugar, coffee, cotton, and indigo.

Sloop Mary, laden with ſugar, cotton, and molaſſes. Under American colours.

Schooner Juan Briton, 80 tons, laden with cotton, &c.

Schooner Egalité, 50 tons, in ballaſt.

Armed ſchooner Dauphin, 40 tons, ditto.

WHITEHALL, *Feb.* 11.

ON Sunday the 9th inſtant, the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, received diſpatches from the lieutenant-governor of Jamaica, dated the 15th of December, 1793, containing intelligence that major Grant, commandant at Cape Nichola Mole, had accepted the ſurrender of the pariſhes of St. Marc and Genavies, in St. Domingo, to his Majeſty, upon the ſame terms and conditions which have been granted to Cape Nichola Mole and the Quarter of Jeremie; and that the Britiſh flag was, in conſequence, flying on all the forts and batteries in the above-mentioned pariſhes.

WHITEHALL, *March* 15.

BY diſpatches received on Thurſday laſt, by the right hon. Henry Dundas, his Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, from lieutenant-governor Williamſon, dated Jamaica, the 19th of January laſt, and from major Grant, of the ſame date, from Mole St. Nicholas, in the iſland of St. Domingo, it appears, that the united pariſhes of Leogane, and the pariſhes of Arcahave and Jean de Rabel, in that iſland, have ſurrendered to his Majeſty, upon the ſame terms which had been granted to Jeremie, Cape St. Nicholas, and St. Marc; and that Mirebelais, near Port au Prince, had ſolicited leave to hoiſt the Britiſh flag, which had been complied with.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, *March* 15.

The following is an extract of a letter received on Thurſday laſt from commodore Ford, commander in chief of his Majeſty's ſhips at Jamaica, to Mr. Stephens, dated Mole St. Nicholas, the 22d of January, 1794.

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that the pariſhes of Jean Rabel, St. Marc, Arcahaye, and Boucaſſin, on the north, and Leogane on the ſouth ſide of the Bight, are in our poſſeſſion by capitulation, and the Britiſh flag flying therein; and as our poſt at Boucaſſin is within 12 or 14 miles of Port au Prince, I proceeded, without loſs of time, with the ſquadron under my command, to the neighbourhood thereof, in order to give countenance and protection, according to the exigency of the caſe; and finding, on my arrival there, that the Spaniards had taken poſſeſſion of Borgne, Gonahives, Petite Rivierre, and Verrette, I proceeded off Port au Prince,

Prince, in order to induce a capitulation to the king my master; and accordingly sent captain Rowley of the Penelope, on the 2d inst. with a flag of truce, to the civil commissary Santhonax, offering the same capitulation which the inhabitants of St. Marc had voluntarily accepted, but which he refused *in toto*. As I found that intreaty had no effect, I determined to establish a blockade, which has continued ever since, and not a vessel of any description entered.

WHITEHALL, *March* 16.

THE following are extracts of a letter from major-general Williamson, to the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and of one inclosed therein from lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke, received this day:

Extract of a letter from major-general Adam Williamson, to the right hon. Henry Dundas, dated King's House, Jamaica, February 9, 1794.

I have the honour to send herewith an extract of a letter from colonel Whitelocke, with the particulars of the capture of Cape Tiburon. The business was spirited and well done.

This post is of the utmost importance; it secures the passage, and, with Cape Nichola Mole, commands that fine extensive Bay.

It has also driven the brigands as far back as Aux Cayes, which leaves the parishes of the Grand Ance in the most perfect security.

The trade between this island and St. Domingue is already prodigious; and the quantity of produce brought here, will, I hope, on its arrival in Great Britain, add considerably to the revenue.

Extract of a letter from lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke, of the 13th regiment, commanding at Jeremie, to major-general Williamson, dated Europa, off Tiburon, February 3, 1794.

The commodore and his squadron called at Jeremie on the morning of the 31st ultimo; the troops were immediately embarked, and the whole sailed in the evening.

We did not arrive off Tiburon till the evening of the 2d, when the three frigates anchored near to the shore, in the Ance du Mitau.

The enemy were strong, and seemed to wait our landing; but after a few broadsides from the ships, the beach appeared to be clear, and just before dark I ordered the flank companies to land, and to take possession of a house about 150 paces from the beach, and well situated for defence, and to protect the landing of the whole.

Major Spencer commanded the flank companies, and was not annoyed till the moment the boats grounded; when the brigands appeared in line on the beach, and fired on the troops, who, by the major's orders, were on shore in an instant, charged, and in a minute routed the enemy, and surrounded the post.

I landed at day-light with the 13th and 20th, the Marines, and British Legion, and found that the brigands had evacuated all the posts, and escaped towards Aux Cayes, by the Mountain Road, without burning or destroying property of any description.

The numbers of the enemy were about 650 blacks, and 200 mulattoes and whites, very strongly posted. About 150 more surrendered themselves, and remain. I understand

underſtand 50 of them were killed and wounded.

I have only to add on this ſubject, that the conduct of major Spencer was highly honourable to him, and he was handſomely ſupported by the officers and men of the flank companies.

I have left lieutenant Baſkerfield to command, with 50 men of the 13th, the colonial troops, and Jean Kiko's corps from Iroüs.

The poſt of Iroüs being no longer neceſſary, I have directed it to be diſmantled.

The enemy are now ſhut out of our poſſeſſions, there being no poſt of conſequence within 60 miles of Tiburon.

Return of the killed and wounded at the attack of Cape Tiburon, February 3, 1794.

Total.—3 privates killed; 1 captain, 1 ſubaltern, 1 volunteer, 1 ſerjeant, and 7 privates, wounded.

WHITEHALL, *April* 21.

Major Grey arrived this morning at the office of the right hon. Henry Dundas, his Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, with diſpatches from ſir Charles Grey, K. B.; of which the following is a copy:

Fort Royal, Martinico,

March 25, 1794.

SIR,

I have the happineſs to acquaint you of the complete conqueſt of this very valuable iſland, the laſt and moſt important fortreſs of Fort Bourbon, having ſurrendered to his Majeſty's arms at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d inſt. at which time his Royal Highneſs Prince Edward, major-general of his Majeſty's forces, took poſſeſſion of both gates with the firſt and third battalions of grenadiers, and the firſt and third light infantry; and I have the honour to tranſmit to you the articles of capitulation, together with a liſt of the killed and wounded, and a return of the ordnance,* &c. taken ſince my diſpatch of the 16th inſtant, in which I communicated the tranſactions and progreſs of this army to that period. The return of ordnance taken in Fort Royal is ſigned by the commanding-officer of Britiſh artillery; but that of Fort Bourbon is the French account of it, as there is not time to make an exact return at preſent, which ſhall be ſent by the next opportunity.

Having concerted meaſures with the admiral for a combined attack by the naval and land forces upon the fort and town of Fort Royal, and the batteries of my ſecond parallel being ready, thoſe on Morn Tortenſon and Carriere kept up an inceſſant fire upon Fort Royal, and all the other batteries on Fort Bourbon, during the day and night of the 19th inſtant, and on the morning of the 20th following, till the ſhips deſtined for this ſervice had taken their ſtations. The Aſia of 64 guns, captain Browne, and the Zebra ſloop of 16 guns, capt. Faulknor, with captain Rogers, and a body of ſeamen in flat boats, the whole under commodore Thompſon, compoſed the naval force; and the land force conſiſted of the firſt battalion of grenadiers, under lieutenant-colonel Stewart, and the third light infantry, under

* The articles of ordnance and ordnance ſtores taken on this occaſion are too numerous for us to detail.

lieutenant-

lieutenant-colonel Close, from Prince Edward's camp at La Coste; with the third grenadiers, under lieutenant-colonel Buckeridge, and the first light infantry, under lieutenant-colonel Coote, from lieutenant-general Prescott's camp at Soururie.

The navy acquitted themselves with their usual gallantry (particularly captain Faulknor, whose conduct justly gained him the admiration of the whole army), carrying the fort by escalade about twelve o'clock of the 20th instant, under the able conduct of commodore Thompson, whose judicious disposition of the gun and flat boats, assisted by that spirited and active officer captain Rogers, contributed materially to our success; at the same time that the land forces, commanded by that excellent officer colonel Symes, critically advancing with equal ardour, forced and entered the town triumphantly, hoisting the British colours, and changing the name to Fort Edward.

Immediately after this general Rochambeau, who commanded in Fort Bourbon, sent his aide-de-camp with a flag, offering to surrender on capitulation, and the terms were finally adjusted and agreed to on the 22d instant, by three commissioners on each side, the ratifications thereof being signed by the commanders in chief on the 23d following; and the garrison, amounting to 900 men, marched out this morning prisoners of war, laying down their arms on the parade of Fort Royal, and were embarked for France immediately. His Majesty's troops having marched in, struck the French and hoisted the British colours, and changed the name from Bourbon to that of Fort George.

I consider myself under great obligations to lieutenant-general Prescott, for the zeal and ability with which he has assisted me throughout this arduous service, now brought to so fortunate a conclusion, and to all the generals and other officers. Colonel Durnford, with the corps of engineers, and lieutenant-colonels Paterson and Sowerby, and major Manley, with the royal artillery, have also a claim to my warmest approbation, for their exertions in placing and constructing of the batteries, and the well-directed fire of the artillery. The bravery, regularity, and good behaviour of the troops on every occasion has been most meritorious and exemplary.

Forts Bourbon and Royal have suffered greatly from our fire during the siege, and we are diligently employed to put them in a proper state of defence, effectually to secure this important acquisition of territory to the crown of Great Britain. I am restoring order as fast as possible, from the confusion naturally occasioned by a siege, and have the pleasure to observe, that every thing in the forts is as tranquil and well-regulated as could be expected in the time.

I shall not lose a moment in embarking ordnance and ordnance stores, with troops, &c. to prosecute with vigour the execution of such other objects and services as his Majesty has been pleased to entrust to me; and hope to be enabled to proceed before much time can elapse, after regulating the garrisons of these forts, and all such other matters as require immediate attention. Major Grey, deputy

deputy quarter-maſter general, will have the honour to deliver this diſpatch, and can communicate any other particulars or information you may wiſh to have.

I have the honour, &c.

CHARLES GREY.

P.S. At the commencement of the ſiege, the garriſon of Fort Bourbon conſiſted of about 1,200.

I ſend five ſtand of colours, laid down by the garriſon, together with the two colours of Fort Bourbon, to be preſented to his Majeſty.

The gallant defence made by general Rochambeau and his garriſon, was ſtrongly manifeſted on entering Fort Bourbon, as there was ſcarce an inch of ground untouched by our ſhot and ſhells; and it is but juſtice to ſay that it does them the higheſt honour.

Articles of capitulation of Fort Bourbon.

On the 21ſt of March, 1794, by order of their Excellencies Sir Charles Grey, K.B. general and commander in chief of his Britannic Majeſty's forces in the Weſt Indies, &c. &c. &c. and vice-admiral ſir John Jervis, K.B. commanding his Majeſty's fleet, &c. &c. &c. commodore C. Thompſon, colonel R. Symes, and captain J. Conyngham, met at Dillon's houſe to receive propoſals of capitulation for Fort Bourbon, from colonel d'Aucourt, captain Dupriret, and Gaſchet Dumaine, jun. nominated commiſſioners for that purpoſe by general Rochambeau.

The following articles were propoſed, diſcuſſed, and modified, at a ſecond conference held at Fort Royal, on the 22d of March, 1794.

Article I. The garriſon, compoſed of the troops of the line, artillery, gunners of the marine, and national guard, ſhall march out with colours flying, 30 rounds a man, and two field-pieces, with 12 rounds.

Anſwer. The colony of Martinique, already reduced by the arms of his Britannic Majeſty, and the forts and towns of St. Pierre and Fort Royal, taken with ſword in hand, general Rochambeau can only capitulate for Fort Bourbon and what it contains.

Granted. But they are to lay down their arms at a place appointed, and not to ſerve againſt his Britannic Majeſty or his allies during the preſent war.

Article II. Three months pay to be allowed to the troops of the line.

Anſwer. No pay will be given. All their effects will be allowed them; and they will be provided with whatever may be neceſſary for their voyage to France.

Article III. The 37th regiment, formerly marſhal Turenne's, ſhall keep their colours and arms.

Anſwer. Refuſed, being contrary to all cuſtoms of war. The officers may keep their ſwords.

Article IV. They ſhall be furniſhed with ſhips to carry them to France.

Anſwer. Granted.

Article V. The emigrants who have returned to Martinique, ſhall not be preſent where the garriſon lay down their arms or embark.

Anſwer. Granted.

Article VI. Such perſons of the national guard who can give proofs of their property, ſhall be permitted to remain in the iſland, giving that property as a ſecurity for their conduct.

Anſwer. Thoſe of the national guard in Fort Bourbon who have affairs to ſettle, and whoſe ſojourn may not be deemed dangerous to

the

the colony, may remain according to the declaration of the general dated January 1, 1794.

Such as wiſh to go to France ſhall be allowed, leaving their agents here.

Anſwer. Granted.

Article VII. Perſons not included in the above article, who are compelled to return to France, ſhall be allowed a certain time to ſettle their affairs.

Anſwer. A proper time ſhall be allowed: fifteen days at leaſt.

Article VIII. Perſons belonging to the garriſon of Fort Convention, poſſeſſing no landed property, but who exerciſed ſome profeſſion or trade previous to the preſent capitulation, ſhall be allowed to continue their trade or calling; nor ſent to France, provided their future conduct ſhould not make ſuch a meaſure neceſſary.

Anſwer. They are regarded in the ſame predicament with thoſe in Article VI.

Article IX. The legal regulations of the Conſtituted Authorities ſhall be confirmed.

Anſwer. Refuſed.

Article X. The code of Civil Judicature in force through the iſland, ſhall be continued for the ſpace of two years.

Anſwer. Granted, till his Britannic Majeſty's pleaſure be known.

Article XI. The property of owners and captains of ſhips ſhall be ſecured to them on board and on ſhore.

Anſwer. Granted, as to their property in Fort Bourbon.

Article XII. The inhabitants of St. Pierre embarked in Engliſh ſhips ſhall be ſet at liberty, and their property, under ſeal, ſecured to them.

Anſwer. This article cannot come within the preſent capitulation. The claimants may apply to the commanders of the fleet and army.

Article XIII. The ordonateur and officers of adminiſtration ſhall have permiſſion and time to regulate their accounts, and to take with them the papers relative to that end.

Anſwer. Granted.

Article XIV. There ſhall be an entire and abſolute oblivion of the paſt, and an end to all animoſities.

Anſwer. Granted, according to the proclamations.

Article XV. The rights of free citizens inrolled in the national guard ſhall be preſerved.

Anſwer. Refuſed.

Article XVI. The liberty of individuals compoſing the companies of l'Enclunie, d'Octavius, de la Croire, and de Pontonour, ſhall be confirmed.

Anſwer. Refuſed. The ſlaves muſt be reſtored to their owners.

Article XVII. A period ſhall be fixed for the taking poſſeſſion of the fort, and the neceſſary time allowed for the garriſon to take out their effects.

Anſwer. The two gates of Fort Bourbon to be delivered up to the troops of his Britannic Majeſty immediately after the exchange of the preſent articles. The garriſon will march out at the great gate, and be conducted to the place appointed for each corps by the commiſſioners who have managed the preſent capitulation, and will lay down their arms at the place of their embarkation. Three days will be allowed for the evacuation of the Fort, and the commiſſaries of artillery and ſtores will remain in the fort to take inventories of all the magazines.

Article XVIII. The greateſt attention ſhall be paid to the ſick and wounded; and they ſhall be furniſhed with ſhips to carry them to France as they recover.

Anſwer. Granted, but at the expence of the French government, and to be attended by their own ſurgeons; if not ſufficient for the purpoſe, ſurgeons ſhall be furniſhed.

Article XIX. General Rochambeau, immediately upon the ſurrender of the fort, ſhall be at liberty to take his meaſures for his return to France. A frigate to be furniſhed him, his aids de camp, ſecretary, and ſuite.

Anſwer. A commodious veſſel ſhall be allowed to general Rochambeau, with the neceſſary paſſports, for his ſafe return to France.

Article XX. The effects, trunks, cheſts, private papers, and all that general Rochambeau ſhall declare to belong to himſelf and his ſuite, ſhall be put under the protection of an Engliſh guard, when the troops of that nation ſhall have taken poſſeſſion of Fort Convention, and ſhall be embarked with him.

Anſwer. Granted.

Article XXI. The civil ordonateur, or intendant of the colony, ſhall have liberty alſo, with the officers of adminiſtration, comptroller, and treaſurer, with thoſe employed in the public offices at St. Pierre and Fort Royal, to return to France.

Anſwer. Granted.

Article XXII. The ſame demands made by general Rochambeau in Article XX, ſhall be granted to the intendant and thoſe under him.

Anſwer. Granted.

Article XXIII. All papers of accounts in the forts or town ſhall be carefully collected by the principals of each department to which they belong, and embarked in the ſame ſhip with the ordonateur.

Anſwer. All papers not eſſential to be left in the colony, ſhall be given, and free acceſs to take authentic copies of ſuch as it may be thought neceſſary to retain.

Article XXIV. Captains and officers of merchant ſhips, who have not ſettled their affairs, ſhall be allowed time to do ſo. The former the ſpace of four months, the latter of two months, under the protection of the commander of his Britannic Majeſty's forces, that they may recover their debts; after which they will procure the readieſt paſſage to whatever place may be expedient for their affairs, with paſſports from the Engliſh commanders.

Anſwer. Granted.

Additional Article. Fort Bourbon to be delivered up to his Britannic Majeſty in its preſent ſtate, with no deterioration of its batteries, mines, magazines of artillery or proviſions, and every thing it contains which is not the private property of the garriſon.

Fort Royal, March 22, 1794.

Signed,
D'AUCOURT,
GASCHET, fils.
DUPRIRET.

Approved by me,
Dte ROCHAMBEAU,
Commander in chief
of the French Weſt
India Iſlands.

C. THOMPSON,
RICH. SYMES,
JOHN CONYNGHAM,

Approved by us,
CHARLES GREY,
JOHN JERVIS.

General

General return of officers, non-commiſſioned officers, drummers, and privates, killed, wounded, and miſſing, in the army commanded by his Excellency General Sir Charles Grey, K. B. &c. &c. &c. from the 16th to the 21ſt of March 1794, inclusive.

3 rank and file killed: 11 rank and file wounded.

(Signed) FRA. DUNDAS,
Adjutant-General.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, *April* 21, 1794.

Captain Henry Powlet arrived this morning with diſpatches from vice-admiral ſir John Jervis, K. B. commander in chief of his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels at Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands, to Mr. Stephens, of which the following are extracts and copy:

Boyne, Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, March 25, 1794.

SIR, MY letter to you of the 16th, by the Roebuck packet, a duplicate of which is encloſed, has made the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty acquainted with the operation of the ſiege until that date; I have the pleaſure to communicate, for their lordſhip's further information, that the battery on Point Carriere, which forms the eaſt ſide of the entrance of the Careenage, opened at day-light on the 17th, and with the gun-boats kept an inceſſant fire on Fort St. Louis, while the gun and mortar batteries on the heights played on Fort Bourbon. Lieutenant Bowen of the Boyne, who had commanded the night guard and gun-boats for a conſiderable time, perceiving a favourable moment, puſhed into the Careenage with the rowing boats of the guard, boarded the Bien Venu French frigate, and brought off the captain, lieutenant, and about twenty men who were on board her, under a ſmart fire of grape-ſhot and muſquetry from the ramparts and parapet of the fort. The ſucceſs of this gallant action determined the general and me to attempt the fort and town of Fort Royal by aſſault, and I directed forty ſcaling ladders to be made of bamboo and ſmall ſtretched cordage, from twenty to thirty ſix feet long, and ordered the Aſia and Zebra to be held in readineſs to enter the Careenage, in order to batter the fort, and to cover the flat-boats, barges, and pinnaces, under the command of commodore Thompſon, ſupported by captains Nugent and Riou, while the grenadiers and light infantry from the camp at Soururie advanced with field-pieces along the ſide of the hill under Fort Bourbon, towards the bridge over the canal, at the back of Fort Royal. This combination ſucceeded in every part, except the entrance of the Aſia, which failed for the want of preciſion in the ancient lieutenant of the port, Monſ. de Tourelles, who had undertaken to pilot the Aſia. Capt. Faulknor obſerving that ſhip baffled in her attempts, and the Zebra having been under a ſhower of grape-ſhot for a great length of time (which he, his officers, and ſloop's company, ſtood with a firmneſs not to be deſcribed), he determined to undertake the ſervice alone, and he executed it with matchleſs intrepidity and conduct, running the Zebra cloſe to the wall of the fort, and leaping overboard, at the head of his ſloop's company, aſſailed and took this important

poſt before the boats could get on ſhore, although they rowed with all the force and animation which characterizes Engliſh ſeamen in the face of an enemy. No language of mine can expreſs the merit of captain Faulknor upon this occaſion; but as every officer and man in the army and ſquadron bears teſtimony to it, this incomparable action cannot fail of being recorded in the page of hiſtory. The grenadiers and light infantry made good uſe of their field-pieces and muſquets, and, ſoon after the ſurrender of the fort, took poſſeſſion of the town, by the bridge over the canal at the back of it, while a ſtrong detachment from the naval battalions at Point Negro, under the command of captains Rogers, Scott, and Bayntun, in flat-boats, barges, and pinnaces, approached the beach in front. Monſ. Rochambeau did not loſe a moment in requeſting that commiſſioners might be appointed to conſider of terms of ſurrender; and the general and I named commodore Thompſon, colonel Symes, and captain Conyngham, to meet three perſons named by him at Dillon's Plantation, at nine o'clock on the 21ſt, and on the 22d the terms were concluded. The rapid ſucceſs of his Majeſty's arms has been produced by the high courage and perſeverance of his officers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen, in the moſt difficult and toilſome labours, which nothing ſhort of the perfect unanimity and affection between them and their chiefs could have ſurmounted.

Commodore Thompſon conducted the enterprize on the ſide of La Trinité like an able and judicious officer. Captain Henry carried on the buſineſs at Ance d'Arlet with great energy, and has been indefatigable in forwarding all the operations he has had a ſhare in. To captains Brown, Nugent, Harvey, Markham, Faulknor, Sawyer, Carpenter, and Scott, I am greatly indebted for the manner in which they conducted the attack againſt St. Pierre. Captains Harvey, Kelly, Rogers, Saliſbury, Incledon, Riou, Lord Garlies, Carpenter, Scott, and Bayntun, have gained great reputation in the army by the conduct of the naval battalions, and working parties under their command. Captain Berkeley (ſince the arrival of the Aſſurance) has furniſhed a powerful reinforcement of men from that ſhip. Captain Pierrepoint has been very active in the ſervices allotted to the Seaflower. In captain Grey I have found the experience of age joined to the vigour of youth. The captains of the 44-gun ſhips armed *en flute*, of the ſtore-ſhip and hoſpital ſhip, have done well.

For other particulars I beg leave to refer their lordſhips to captain Powlet, who carries this diſpatch, and to captain Markham of the Blonde, who conveys him. They ſerved with commodore Thompſon at La Trinité, and arrived on the ſouth ſide of the iſland in time to have a ſhare in moſt of the tranſactions there.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
with great conſideration,
Your moſt obedient humble
ſervant,
J. JERVIS.

P. S. Incloſed alſo is a liſt of the killed and wounded belonging to the ſquadron under my command; alſo a letter I received from commodore Thompſon.

An

An account of the number of officers and ſeamen killed and wounded.

Boyne. 1 lieutenant and 5 foremaſt-men wounded.

Vengeance. 2 foremaſt-men killed; 2 ditto wounded.

Irreſiſtible. 1 foremaſt-man killed; 5 ditto wounded.

Aſia. 3 foremaſt-men killed; 5 ditto wounded.

Veteran. 1 foremaſt-man killed; 1 lieutenant and 3 foremaſt-men wounded.

Winchelſea. 1 foremaſt-man killed.

Quebec. 1 foremaſt-man killed; 1 ſurgeon and 2 foremaſt-men wounded.

Dromedary. 2 foremaſt-men killed; 1 captain and 1 foremaſt-man wounded.

Nautilus. 2 foremaſt-men killed.

Avenger ſloop. 1 captain killed.

Zebra ſloop. 1 foremaſt-man wounded.

Name of the officer killed.

Captain James Milne, of the Avenger.

Names of the officers wounded.

Captain Sandford Tatham, of the Dromedary.

Lieutenant Thomas Henry Wilſon, of the Boyne.

Lieutenant Thomas Clark, of the Veteran.

Mr. Robert Lindſay, ſurgeon of the Quebec.

Fort Royal, March 20, 1794.

SIR,

I have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that the only loſs we have ſuſtained in the capture of Fort Royal, is the pilot of the Zebra killed, and four ſeamen belonging to the ſame ſhip wounded. So ſoon as I perceived ſhe could fetch in, I gave orders to captains Nugent and Riou, who commanded the flat-boats, which, with the men embarked in them were laying upon their oars, to puſh in, and mount the walls; when every exertion was made, and the boats ſeemed to fly towards the fort. Captain Faulknor, in the mean time, in a moſt ſpirited and gallant manner, entered the harbour through the fire of all their batteries, and layed his ſloop along-ſide the walls, there being deep water cloſe to; when the enemy, terrified at his audacity, the flat-boats full of ſeamen pulling towards them, and the appearance of the troops from all quarters, ſtruck their colours to the Zebra. A well-directed and ſteady fire from the gun-boats under lieutenant Bowen, as alſo from our batteries, was of great ſervice. The alacrity and ſteadineſs of the officers and ſeamen in general under my command was ſuch, that I had not the leaſt doubt of ſucceſs againſt the whole force of the enemy, had they diſputed our entrance.

The fort is full of ammunition and ſtores of all ſorts, but the buildings are in a miſerable condition from the effects of our bomb, the gun-boats, and batteries.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

C. THOMPSON.

Vice-admiral ſir John Jervis, K. B. commander in chief, &c. &c. &c.

WHITEHALL, *May* 16.

A diſpatch, dated St. Lucia, April 4, 1794. of which the following is an extract, was this day received from general ſir Charles Grey, K. B. by the right hon. Henry Dundas, his Majeſty's principal

Secretary of State for the Home Department:

IN my diſpatch of the 25th ultimo I had the happineſs to acquaint you of the ſurrender of Fort Bourbon (now Fort George) and the Iſland of Martinico, on that day; and that I would not loſe time to embark troops, ordnance, &c. to proſecute vigorouſly ſuch other objects and ſervices as his Majeſty had been pleaſed to entruſt me with the execution of.

I have the honour to acquaint you with the further ſucceſs of his Majeſty's arms, in the conqueſt of this fine iſland; the French garriſon, under the command of general Ricard, in the works on Morne Fortunée, having marched out and laid down their arms this morning by nine o'clock; at which time his Royal Highneſs Prince Edward, with his brigade of grenadiers, and major-general Dundas, with his brigade of light infantry, marched in and took poſſeſſion. On the 30th ultimo the brigade of grenadiers, commanded by his Royal Highneſs Prince Edward; the brigade of light infantry, by major-general Dundas; and the 6th, 9th, and 43d regiments, by colonel ſir Charles Gordon; with engineers, &c. under colonel Durnford, and a detachment of Royal Artilley, with ſome light ordnance, under lieutenant-colonel Paterſon, embarked on board his Majeſty's ſhips in the bay of Fort Royal, having left the tranſports and heavy artillery at Martinico; and alſo left there the 15th, 39th, 56th, 58th, 64th, and 70th regiments, artillery, &c. as a garriſon, under lieutenant-general Proſcott, brigadier-general White, and colonel Myers; but that day proving very rainy, hazy, and calm, we did not ſail till the 31ſt, and reached St. Lucia the 1ſt inſtant. Every neceſſary matter being previouſly concerted and arranged with the admiral, we proceeded, and effected three different landings with little reſiſtance, and no loſs, viz. major-general Dundas's diviſion, conſiſting of the 3d battalion light infantry, under lieutenant-colonel Cloſe, and conducted by captain Kelly and Lord Garlies of the navy, at Ance du Cap; and the 2d light infantry, under lieutenant-colonel Blundell, conducted by commodore Thompſon, at Ance De Choc, who were ordered to join, taking the enemy's batteries in reverſe, and to occupy a near poſition for the purpoſe of inveſting the works of Morne Fortunée, on the ſide of the Careenage, which was executed with the uſual ſpirit and ability of that major-general, and the flank-battalions. His Royal Highneſs Prince Edward's diviſion, the 1ſt and 3d grenadiers, diſembarked at Marigot des Roſeaux, immediately under the admiral's own direction, aſſiſted by captain Hervey, and immediately proceeded to co-operate with major-general Dundas, to inveſt Morne Fortunée. Lieutenant-colonel Coote, with the 1ſt battalion of light infantry, did not diſembark till ſeven o'clock the ſame evening from the Beyne, and landed at Ance de la Tocque, proceeded to and took the four-gun battery of Ciceron, inveſting Morne Fortunée on that ſide, at the ſame time covering Cul-de-Sac, or Barrington Bay, for our ſhipping, which anchored there next morning, the 2d inſtant. The 2d grenadiers, and colonel ſir Charles Gordon's brigade (the 6th, 9th,

and

and 43d regiments), were kept in reſerve on board ſhip. About ſeven o'clock in the evening of the 2d inſt. lieutenant-colonel Coote, with four light companies, ſtormed a redoubt and two batteries by my order, cloſe to the enemy's principal works on the Morne, killed two officers and near thirty men, made one priſoner, and releaſed one Britiſh ſailor from captivity, ſpiking ſix pieces of cannon. The ability and meritorious conduct of that excellent officer, colonel Coote, on this enterprize are ſuch as do him the higheſt honour, and cannot be ſurpaſſed, in which he was ſo well ſupported by the whole detachment; particularly by major Evatt, captains Buchanan, Croſbie, Welch, J. Grey, aid-de-camp to the commander in chief, and Stobin; and by major of brigade Viſſcher, with lieutenant Drozier, and the detachment of Royal Artillery, who ſpiked the guns.

The exemplary good conduct of the brigade of grenadiers, under the immediate command of his Royal Highneſs Prince Edward, and of the brigade of light infantry under major-general Dundas, and, indeed, of all the troops, affords me the higheſt ſatisfaction.

When his Royal Highneſs Prince Edward had hoiſted the Britiſh colours on Morne Fortunée, the name of it was changed to Fort Charlotte; and the entire conqueſt of this iſland has been effected without the loſs of a man, although there has been a good deal of cannonading from the enemy's batteries and works.

I tranſmit the colours to be preſented to his Majeſty. Captain Finch Maſon, one of my aids-de-camp, will have the honour of preſenting this diſpatch, being an officer well qualified to give any further information you may deſire to receive.

I tranſmit herewith a general return of ordnance and ſtores found in the fort of Morne Fortunée, and alſo a general return of the batteries on the coaſt of St. Lucia.

[This, in the Gazette, follows at length.]

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, *May* 16.

Captain Parker, late of his Majeſty's ſhip Blanche, arrived this morning with diſpatches from vice-admiral ſir John Jervis, K. B. commander in chief of his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels at Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands, to Mr. Stephens, dated Barrington Bay, (late Grand Cul de Sac), St. Lucia, April 4, 1794, of which the following is an extract:

ON the 29th and 30th of March, I directed ſuch troops and artillery as the general thought neceſſary for the reduction of St. Lucia, to be embarked on board the ſhips of war and copper-ſheathed tranſports; and on the 31ſt, at noon, I ſailed with the ſquadron of his Majeſty's ſhips under my command, and the day following landed the light infantry and the grenadiers in the following order: major-general Dundas, with a part of his corps, embarked on board the Solebay, Winchelſea, and London tranſports, about three o'clock, at Ance de Becune, a little within Point du Cap, and one mile and a quarter diſtance from Croſs Iſlet.

This ſervice was performed with neatneſs and preciſion under the direction of lord viſcount Garlies, captain Kelly being ill of a fever. The other part of major-general Dundas's

Dundas's corps, embarked on board the Vengeance, Irresistible, and Rattlesnake, were landed in Choc Bay, by signal from the Boyne, at five o'clock; and the corps of grenadiers, under the command of his Royal Highness Prince Edward, (embarked in the Santa Margaritta, Rose, and Woolwich) were landed under the judicious direction of captain Hervey, at Marigot des Roseaux, before sun-set; as were the corps of light infantry embarked in the Boyne and Veteran, under the command of colonel Coote, near the Grand Cul de Sac, after the close of the day.

In ranging the coast to these different points of debarkation, the ships were obliged to hug the shore, and received many shot in their hulls, yards, sails, and rigging, from the numerous batteries along the coast, but happily, though the ships were so much crowded with men, not a drop of blood was spilt.

The grenadiers and light infantry having carried all the out-posts and batteries the night before last, with some loss on the part of the enemy, the general and myself thought proper to summons the Morne Fortunée to surrender yesterday morning, to which an equivocal answer being returned, a disposition was made for landing the battalions of seamen from the different ships, and the terms of surrender were instantly dispatched, to which the garrison has acceded, and marched out at nine o'clock this morning, grounding their arms at a place appointed for that purpose.

The same spirit of enterprize which inspired every breast in the reduction of Martinique, has shone in full lustre here.

I am much obliged to captain Salisbury for serving a volunteer on board the Boyne upon this service, whose critical pilot knowledge has been very useful.

To captain Parker, the bearer of this dispatch, who commanded in these seas with great reputation previous to my arrival, I beg leave to refer the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for further particulars.

WHITEHALL, *May* 19, 1794.

A dispatch, dated Point à Petre, Guadaloupe, April 12, 1794, of which the following is an extract, was this day received from general sir Charles Grey, K. B. by the right hon. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department:

IN my dispatch of the 4th inst. I had the honour to acquaint you with the success of his Majesty's arms in the conquest of the island of St. Lucia.

Having left colonel sir Charles Gordon to command in that island, I reimbarked the same day, and returned to Martinico the 5th inst. where we shifted the troops from the King's ships back to the transports, took on board during the 6th and 7th the heavy ordnance and stores, provisions, &c. and sailed again in the morning of the 8th following; the admiral detaching captain Rogers with the Quebec, captain Faulkner with the Blanche, captain Incledon with the Ceres, and captain Scott, with the Rose, to attack the small islands called the Saints, which they executed with infinite gallantry and good conduct, having landed part of their seamen and marines, and carried them early in the morning without loss. The Boyne, in which

I sailed

I failed with the admiral, and the Veteran, anchored off this place about noon the 10th inſtant, and ſome more of the fleet in the courſe of that afternoon; but a freſh wind and lee current prevented moſt of the tranſports from getting in till yeſterday, and ſome of them until this day.

Without waiting, however, for the arrival of all the troops, I made a landing at Goſier Bay, at one o'clock in the morning of the 11th inſtant, under the fire of Fort Goſier and Fort Fleur d'Epeé, with part of the 1ſt and 2d battalions of grenadiers, one company of the 43d regiment, and 500 ſeamen and marines, detached by the admiral under the command of captain George Grey, of the Boyne; the whole under the conduct and command of that able and vigilant officer colonel Symes, who had infinite merit in the execution of it; and the landing was covered by lord Garlies, in the Winchelſea, his lordſhip having, with infinite judgment and intrepidity, placed his ſhip ſo well, and laid it ſo cloſe to their batteries, that they could not ſtand to their guns, which were ſoon ſilenced.

In effecting this eſſential ſervice lord Garlies was ſlightly wounded, and we did not ſuffer materially in any other reſpect. Some more of the troops being arrived, and perceiving the enemy in conſiderable force and number at the ſtrong ſituation of Fort Fleur d'Epée, I determined that no time ſhould be loſt in attacking them, and carried thoſe poſts by ſtorm at five o'clock this morning, under a heavy fire of cannon and muſquetry, although they were found infinitely ſtrong, and changed the name of Fort d'Epée to that of Fort Prince of Wales; our troops being ordered, which was ſtrictly obeyed, not to fire, but to execute every thing with the bayonet, having previouſly made the following diſpoſition: the firſt diviſion, under the command of his Royal Highneſs Prince Edward, conſiſting of the 1ſt and 2d battalions of grenadiers, and 100 of the naval battalion, to attack the poſt on Morne Marcot. The ſecond, commanded by major-general Dundas, conſiſting of the 1ſt and 2d battalions of light infantry, and 100 of the naval battalion, to attack the Fort of Fleur d'Epée in the rear, and to cut off its communication with Fort Louis and Pointe à Petre. The third, commanded by colonel Symes, conſiſting of the 3d battalion of grenadiers, and the 3d battalion of light infantry, and the remainder of the naval battalion, to proceed by the road on the ſea ſide, to co-operate with major-general Dundas. The detachments of the naval battalion, who were of moſt eſſential ſervice in thoſe brilliant actions, were very ably commanded by captain Nugent and captain Faulknor. The ſignal given for the whole to commence the attack, was a gun from the Boyne by the admiral, at five o'clock this morning; the ſeveral diviſions having marched earlier, according to the diſtance they had to go, to be ready to combine and commence the attack at the ſame inſtant; and this ſervice was performed with ſuch exactitude, ſuperior ability, ſpirit, and good conduct, by the officers who ſeverally commanded thoſe diviſions, and every officer and ſoldier under them, as do them more honour than I can find words

to

to convey an adequate idea of, or to express the high sense I entertain of their extraordinary merit on the occasion. The success we have already had puts us in possession of Grande Terre, and we shall use our utmost exertions to get in possession of Basseterre also, with all possible expedition, to complete the conquest of this island. The returns of killed and wounded, and also a return of the killed, wounded, and prisoners, taken of the enemy, are transmitted herewith. The commanding officer of artillery has not brought the return of ordnance and ordnance stores taken, but they shall be transmitted by the next opportunity.

Total of killed, wounded, and missing, in the army commanded by his excellency general sir Charles Grey, K.B. &c. &c. &c. Guadaloupe, April 12, 1794.

15 rank and file killed; 2 captains, 3 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, and 39 rank and file wounded; 2 rank and file missing.

(Signed) FRA. DUNDAS,
Adj. General.

Return of the killed, wounded, and prisoners of the enemy, in the Fort of Fleur d'Epée, Grande Terre, April 13, 1794.

Killed, 67; wounded, 55; white prisoners 14; mulattoes ditto, 18; blacks, 78; in all 232.

WM. ALLAN,
Dep. Prov. Marshal.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, *May* 19.

A dispatch, addressed to Mr. Stephens (of which the following is a copy), was this day received from vice-admiral sir John Jervis, K.B. and commander in chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands; dated Pointe à Pitre, Guadaloupe, the 13th of April, 1794.

SIR,

I desire you will acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that I sailed from St. Lucia on the 5th instant, and anchored with the squadron, transports, ordnance store-ships, &c. in Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, that evening. On the 8th I proceeded with ships as per margin*, together with the necessary transports with troops, ordnance and hospital ships, and victuallers, for the reduction of Guadaloupe: and the following day captain Rogers, of the Quebec, having under his command the Ceres, Blanche, and Rose, was detached to take possession of Les Isles de Saints, which he effected without any loss, at three A.M. on the 10th, on which day I anchored here; and at one o'clock in the morning, the grenadiers from the Woolwich and Experiment, one company of the 43d regiment, 50 marines, and 400 seamen, made good their landing in the Ance de Gosier, under cover of the Winchelsea. Captain lord viscount Garlies acquitted himself with great address and spirit on the occasion, although he received a bad contusion from the fire of a battery, against which he placed his ship, in the good old way, within half musquet shot. He was the single person wounded either of the army or navy. At day-break of the 12th, the Fort of

* Boyne, Irresistible, Veteran, Winchelsea, Solebay, Quebec, Ceres, Blanche, Rose, Woolwich, Experiment, Roebuck.

La Fleur d'Epée was carried by aſſault, and the greateſt part of the garriſon were put to the ſword: a few brave ſeamen were dangerouſly wounded in this gallant action. Fort St. Louis, the town of Pointe à Pitre, and the new battery upon Iſlet à Couchon, were ſoon afterwards abandoned, and many of the inhabitants eſcaped in boats to Baſſeterre, before the Ceres and two gun-boats could get into the carenage to prevent them, notwithſtanding the alertneſs and preciſion with which captain Incledon executed the orders I ſent him by captain Grey.

The ardour of the officer, ſoldier, and ſeaman, ſurmounts every difficulty.

The ſmall number of troops that general ſir Charles Grey was under the neceſſity of leaving to garriſon Martinique, induced me to order commodore Thompſon to remain there, with the Vengeance, to co-operate with lieutenant-general Preſcott, in eſtabliſhing order and good government in the iſland, for the preſervation of the conqueſt, and to execute many other duties eſſential for the weal of his Majeſty's ſervice.

I am, with great conſideration,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
J. JERVIS.

An account of the killed and wounded belonging to the ſhips of the ſquadron under my command, on the 12th of April, 1794, at the ſtorming of Fort La Fleur d'Epée.

Boyne. Mr. George Roe Port, midſhipman, and 9 ſeamen wounded.

Blanche. Mr. Robert Colquhoun, midſhipman, and 2 ſeamen, wounded.

Total, 13. J. JERVIS.

WHITEHALL, *May* 21.

A letter (of which the following is an extract) from ſir Charles Grey, K. B. dated Baſſeterre, Guadaloupe, April 22, 1794, was yeſterday received by the right hon. Henry Dundas, his Majeſty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department:

SIR,

IN my diſpatch of the 12th inſt. by the Sea Flower, I had the honour to acquaint you with the capture of that part of the iſland of Guadaloupe, denominated Grande Terre. The 43d regiment being landed to garriſon Fort Prince of Wales, late Fort Fleur d'Epée, the town of Pointe à Pitre, &c. and the other troops re-embarked, at twelve o'clock the 14th, the Quebec, with ſeveral other frigates and ſome tranſports, dropped down oppoſite to Petit Bourg, with the grenadiers and light infantry, commanded by Prince Edward, and began landing at five o'clock in the afternoon, at which time I joined them, and was received with great demonſtrations of joy by the French people on marquis de Bouille's eſtate; and I returned on board the Boyne at ten o'clock the ſame evening.

At day-break in the morning of the 15th, I went to St. Mary's, where I found lieutenant-colonel Coote, with the 1ſt light infantry, having got there before day, from Petit Bourg; and the 2d battalion of grenadiers joined at ten o'clock. The troops advancing (April the 16th), reached Trou Chien, which the enemy had abandoned, although very ſtrong, and before dark we halted on the high ground over Trois Riviere, from whence we ſaw the enemy's two redoubts and their ſtrong poſt of Palmiſte.

I intended

I intended to have attacked the enemy that night, but the troops were too much fatigued, from the difficult march they had juſt finiſhed.

Major-general Dundas landed at Vieux Habitant at eleven o'clock in the night of the 17th, with the third battalion of grenadiers, and the ſecond and third battalions of light infantry, with little oppoſition and no loſs (having failed from Pointe à Pitre the 15th preceding), taken poſſeſſion of Morne Magdaline, and deſtroyed two batteries. Then detaching lieutenant-colonel Blundel, with the ſecond battalion of light infantry, he forced ſeveral very difficult poſts of the enemy during the night.

I made a diſpoſition for the attack of the enemy's redoubt d'Arbaud, at Grand Ance, and their battery d'Anet, to be executed during that night; but at eight o'clock in the evening they evacuated the former, ſetting fire to every thing in and about it; and I ordered the attack of the latter to proceed, which was well executed by lieutenant-colonel Coote, and the 1ſt light infantry, who were in poſſeſſion of it by day-break of the 18th, having killed, wounded, or taken every one of thoſe who were defending it, without any loſs.

At twelve o'clock on the night of the 19th, I moved forward, with the firſt and ſecond battalions of grenadiers, and the firſt light infantry, from Trois Riviere and Grande Ance, and took their famous poſt of Palmiſte, with all their batteries, at day-break of the 20th, commanding Fort St. Charles and Baſſeterre, and communicating with major-general Dundas's diviſion on the morning of the 21ſt, who had made his approach by Morne Howel; after which general Collot capitulated, ſurrendering Guadaloupe and all its dependencies, comprehending the iſlands of Marigalante, Deſſeada, the Saints, &c. on the ſame terms that were allowed to Rochambeau, at Martinique, and Richard at St. Lucia, to march out with the honours of war, and lay down their arms, to be ſent to France, and not to ſerve againſt the Britiſh forces or their allies during the war.

Accordingly, at eight o'clock this morning, the French garriſon of Fort St. Charles marched out, conſiſting of 55 regulars of the regiments of Guadaloupe and the 14th of France, and 818 National Guards and others; Prince Edward, with the grenadiers and light infantry, taking poſſeſſion, immediately hoiſting the Britiſh colours, and changing the name of it to Fort Matilda. The terms of capitulation are tranſmitted herewith, but the forts and batteries are ſo numerous, and ſome of them at ſuch diſtance, that a return of the ordnance, ſtores, &c. cannot be obtained in time for the ſailing of this veſſel, as I am unwilling to detain her ſo long as would be neceſſary for that purpoſe.

From a return found amongſt general Collot's papers, it appears that the number of men able to carry arms in Guadaloupe, is 6,877, and the number of fire-arms actually delivered out to them is 4,044. In former diſpatches I have mentioned that lieutenant-general Preſcott was left to command at Martinico, and colonel ſir Charles

Gordon

Gordon at St. Lucia; and the conqueſt of Guadaloupe and its dependencies being now alſo completely accompliſhed, I have placed major-general Dundas in the command of this iſland, with a proper garriſon; and his Majeſty may place the firmeſt reliance on the ability, experience, and zeal for the good of his ſervice and their country, of thoſe excellent officers.

Although I have not been wanting in my ſeveral diſpatches to you, Sir, to beſtow juſt praiſe on the forces I have the honour to command, yet I conceive it a duty, which I embrace with infinite pleaſure, to repeat, that, to the unanimity and extraordinary exertions of the navy and army on this ſervice, under fatigues and difficulties never exceeded, his Majeſty and their country are indebted for the rapid ſucceſs which, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, has extended the Britiſh empire, by adding to it the valuable iſlands of Martinique, St. Lucia, Guadaloupe, the Saints, Marigalante, and Deſſeada. Captain Thomas Grey, one of my aides de camp, will have the honour to deliver this diſpatch, and can communicate any other particulars or information you may deſire.

P. S. Since cloſing this letter returns are received, and tranſmitted herewith, of the killed, wounded, and miſſing, and of the batteries and ordnance taken; but that of the ſtores could not be obtained.

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Articles of capitulation between their excellencies ſir Charles Grey, K.B. general and commander in chief of his Britannic Majeſty's troops in the Weſt Indies, &c. &c. &c. and vice-admiral ſir John Jervis, K.B. commander in chief of his Majeſty's naval forces, &c. &c. &c. and George Henry Victor Collot, major-general and governor of Guadaloupe, Marie Galante, Deſſeada and dependencies, &c. &c. &c.

The commanders in chief of his Britannic Majeſty's forces are induced to grant to the long ſervices of major-general Collot, and to the great humanity with which he has treated the priſoners under his care, the honour of marching out of Fort St. Charles at the head of the garriſon, which ſhall in every reſpect be ſubject to and treated in the ſame manner as that of Fort Bourbon; to wit, to lay down their arms as priſoners, and not to ſerve againſt his Britannic Majeſty during the preſent war, nor againſt his allies.

The poſt of Houelmont to be immediately withdrawn, and the troops there to retire into Fort St. Charles. The ſaid poſt is to be delivered up to the Britiſh troops, exactly in the ſtate in which it is, as well as Fort St. Charles, and all other military poſts in the iſland.

The garriſon of Fort St. Charles to march out of that fortreſs the 22d of this month, at eight o'clock in the morning.

The Britiſh troops are to take poſſeſſion of the gates of Fort St. Charles to-night.

Marie-Galante, Deſeada, and all the dependencies of this government, are to be included in the preſent capitulation.

Given at Guadaloupe, April 20, 1794.

Par leurs Excellencies,

V. Collot.

G. Fisher. Charles Grey.
Geo. Purvis. J. Jervis.

Total of killed, wounded, and miſſing, in the army commanded by his excellency general ſir Charles Grey, K.B. in the attack and capture of Fort St. Charles, the batteries and town of Baſſe Terre.

2 rank and file killed; 4 rank and file wounded; 5 rank and file miſſing.

(Signed) FRA. DUNDAS,
Adj. General.

Total of ordnance found in Fort Matilda, and the different batteries in Baſſe Terre, Guadaloupe, taken the 22d of April, 1794.

6 thirty-ſix pounders, 58 twenty-four ditto, 35 eighteen ditto, 15 twelve ditto, 23 eight ditto, 5 ſix ditto, 10 four ditto, 5 three ditto, 1 one ditto, 5 braſs four ditto, 4 braſs one ditto; 12 twelve-inch mortars, 2 braſs twelve-inch ditto, 1 braſs ten-inch ditto.

J. PATERSON,
Lieut. Col. commanding royal artillery, Windward and Leeward Iſlands.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, *May* 21.

Captain Nugent arrived here yeſterday with a letter from vice-admiral ſir John Jervis, K. B. commander in chief of his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels at Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands, dated Boyne, Baſſeterre, Guadaloupe, April 23, 1794, addreſſed to Mr. Stephens, of which the following is an extract:

ON the 14th inſtant the Quebec, Winchelſea, Blanche, Expériment, Woolwich, and three gun-boats, with two diviſions of the army under the command of Prince Edward and colonel Symes, in tranſports, were ordered to anchor under Iſlet haut de Fregatte, and the troops were landed that night and the following morning at Petit Bourg. On the ſame day the Irreſiſtible, Veteran, Aſſurance, Santa Margarita, and two gun-boats, were detached with a corps under the command of major-general Dundas, and an army hoſpital ſhip and victuallers, to the road of Bailiff, near the town of Baſſeterre, and the day afterwards I followed in the Boyne, accompanied by the Inſpector and Bull Dog ſloops, ſome army victuallers, and two hoſpital ſhips, and was joined by the Terpſichore and Zebra ſloops, and two gun-boats, off les Iſles des Saints, in the afternoon; when perceiving that the troops had not reached Trois Rivieres, I ſtood off and on between that anchorage and the Saints during the night; and on the morning of the 17th, being joined by the Winchelſea and an ordnance ſtoreſhip, I ordered captain lord Garlies to take under his command the above-mentioned ſloops of war, gun-boats, the victuallers, hoſpital-ſhips, and ordnance ſtore-ſhips, and to anchor at Trois Rivieres, which he performed with his uſual promptitude; and I then proceeded in the Boyne to the road of Bailiff, where I anchored before ſun-ſet, and received a very ſatisfactory report from captain Henry, of the debarkation and progreſs of major-general Dundas's corps. Perceiving, as I paſſed Baſſeterre, ſome movements among the ſhipping that indicated a deſign to eſcape in the night, and a few people buſy in the batteries between that town and the road of Bailiff, I ſent captain Grey with a detachment of marines to diſable the guns in the batteries, and the boats of the

the other ships to intercept any thing attempting to go out. Soon after sunset, some incendiaries who had plundered the town, set it on fire, and got off in an armed schooner. Most of the other vessels were brought into the road of Bailiff by the boats; among them the Guadaloupe Republican sloop of war.

I have now the greatest satisfaction in informing you of the entire reduction of the French islands in these seas; the post of the Palmiste was carried by the divisions of Prince Edward and colonel Symes, under the command of general sir Charles Grey; and that of Morne Howel by the corps of major-general Dundas, was carried before day-break on the 20th, when general Collot immediately surrendered Fort Charles upon terms of honour to himself and garrison. Lord Garlies, in the Winchelsea, with three flank companies of the 39th regiment, will proceed this evening to Mariegalante, to receive the submission of that island, as commanded by general Collot; from thence he will go with a small detachment to Desirada, for the like purpose.

The unabated exertions of the officers and seamen under my command will never be surpassed; they kept constant pace with the efforts of the troops, and thus united, no difficulty or danger arrested their career of glory for an instant. From the general and other officers of the army, with whom I had frequent occasions to transact business, I never experienced an unpleasant item; and I found in colonel Symes, the quarter-master-general, resources, zeal, and ability, superior to every obstacle which presented.

Captain Nugent, who carries this dispatch, will recite many parts of the detail, which, in the various operations I had to concert, have escaped my memory. He served with the naval battalions at Martinique, St. Lucia, and in this island, and was present at many of the most important strokes.

WHITEHALL, *July* 16.

This morning lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke arrived from Port au Prince, in the island of St. Domingo, with a dispatch from brigadier-general Whyte, to the right hon. Henry Dundas, of which the following is a copy:

Port au Prince, June 8, 1794.

SIR,

In the letter which I had the honour of writing to you from the Mole, by the last packet, I acquainted you of the very critical situation in which I had found this country, and of the numberless detachments that were obliged to march for the defence of the different posts: that the neighbouring parishes of Bombarde, &c. to the Mole, had deserted our cause; and that, with the small body of troops within, the garrison, though strong to a degree in the sea front, was totally defenceless to the land. Having obviated this defect, by a chain of redoubts and *fleches*, which defended each other, and seeing that two frigates, with a garrison sufficient for the security of the Mole, was all that was wanted there, I determined on bold and decided measures to save the country; and, with the concurrence of commodore Ford and lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke, who had commanded here with so much credit, I resolved to attack Port au Prince, the residence of

the commiſſioners, and the capital of this ſide of the iſland; and proceeded with the three regiments, viz. the 22d, 23d, and 41ſt (except their flank companies, which had been left at Martinique), in their tranſports, with a detachment from the flank companies of the regiments here, in all one thouſand four hundred and ſixty-five rank and file fit for duty, eſcorted by one 74, two 64, one 50, three frigates, and three ſloops, I left the Mole for that purpoſe. The commodore was unfortunately ſeized with a fever ſoon after our ſailing. We picked up what ſmall craft we could along ſhore, and arrived in the Bay of Port au Prince on the 31ſt of May, where, ſeeing the ſituation favourable to our plan of attack, (which was on both flanks and center at the ſame time, as near as circumſtances would admit) the militia cavalry of Leogane was ordered to move from their quarters, and to advance on the Bizotton Road, where the right attack was to be made; the L'Arcahaye cavalry by the left, to the Salines, where the enemy was poſted, and entrenched with cannon. This diſpoſition having been made, I ordered major Spencer, with three hundred Britiſh, and ſome of the colonial troops, to land within one mile of Fort Bizotton, covered by two ſloops of war. As ſoon as the two line-of-battle ſhips and a frigate, ordered againſt this, had ſilenced the fire, which they effected in four hours, the troops landed, and advanced through a different road, towards the fort, with little oppoſition. On their arrival within a ſmall diſtance of the ſpot, a violent thunder-ſtorm took place, and, taking advantage of the lucky minute afforded to them by ſo favourable a circumſtance, the advanced troops ruſhed forward with their bayonets, and carried the place by aſſault. Unfortunately we loſt a gallant young man, capt. Wallace, of the 22d; and captain Daniel, of the 41ſt, was wounded.

This great point being carried, I repaired (with lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke, whom I ordered to take the command of the center) to the oppoſite ſide of the Bay; and, having landed major Handfield, with two hundred Britiſh troops, to ſupport the attack on the poſt of Salines (the frigates ſcouring the beach, and enfilading the entrenchments), he attacked and carried the poſt without loſs, and continuing his march, the next day he turned the batteries which defended the landings near to and on the left of Port au Prince. The enemy being thus hemmed in on all ſides, excepting in the rear, and perceiving numbers moving out by a road called the Charbonier, we determined on a general aſſault, and the fleet and army advanced: when the enemy, perceiving our motions, ſtruck their flags, and abandoned the place, having previouſly ſpiked their cannon on the land defences; and the two commiſſioners from France, Polverel and Santhonax, with the black general Monbrune (who was wounded with a bayonet at Bizotton), eſcaped, and I have not ſince been able to learn any certain accounts of them; but being informed that a body of the enemy had aſſembled near to this place with nine pieces of cannon, I gave orders to attack them, which was accordingly done; they were ſoon diſperſed, with the

loſs

loſs of their guns. Another party, at the Croix de Bouquet, on the further ſide of the plain, and bordering on the Spaniſh territories, was alſo diſperſed. The inhabitants of this part of the iſland inſiſting on the Britiſh colours being erected, 'twas accordingly done.

The importance of this conqueſt to Great Britain, you, Sir, muſt know: there is more ſugar now nearly ready to cut than in all Jamaica.

I was ſent here with diſcretional orders by ſir Charles Grey, and deſired to communicate with major-general Williamſon. The orders of the fleet were to aſſemble at Tiburoone Bay, and, if no orders had arrived from Jamaica, they were to proceed there; but comparing the different reports received from the Mole, as well as what I ſaw of their danger at Tiburoone, I called upon the commanding officer of the fleet, and requeſted he would immediately ſail for the Mole: from the reaſons I ſtated to him he moſt readily acquieſced, and we were welcomed on our arrival there by all as their deliverers. I hope, Sir, my conduct may meet with my Sovereign's approbation.

Allow me, Sir, to expreſs how ſenſible I am of the zeal and activity which the navy and army have ſhewn on this intereſting occaſion, and how uniform their unanimity has been on every occaſion.

Lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke will have the honour to deliver this diſpatch, and there is none can give more real information of this country: he has commanded here with infinite merit, and acquitted himſelf on many arduous and trying occaſions in a manner which has contributed to the good of the King's ſervice, and to his own honour. He has done the duty of a quarter-maſter-general during the expedition, and for colonial reaſons I gave him the rank of colonel. I have alſo given to major Spencer the rank of lieutenant-colonel, meaning to appoint him deputy quarter-maſter-general. He is an officer of great merit, and has diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions; but as it belongs not to me to give rank, I hope their merits may be conſidered by his Majeſty.

Encloſed are ſtatements of the killed and wounded, and of the ſtores taken belonging to the ſeveral departments, &c.

Having taken this place on his Majeſty's birth-day, I honoured the fort with the name of George, the port remains as before.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN WHYTE, Brig. Gen.
commanding St. Domingo.

Lieutenant-colonel Lenox is juſt arrived with eight flank companies from Martinique.

Proclamation of his Excellency brigadier-general Whyte, commanding his Britannic Majeſty's forces in St. Domingo.

The commiſſioners and their agents, in order to carry into execution thoſe perfidious deſigns which have proved ſo fatal to the lives, the laws, the liberty, and the happineſs of this once flouriſhing colony, have every where calumniated the Britiſh government.

General Whyte, who has the honour to repreſent his Britannic Majeſty, aſſures the inhabitants of Port au Prince, and its vicinity, that the object of his Majeſty and

of his government is to reſtore peace among every claſs of inhabitants.

Thoſe parts of the colony which have already placed themſelves under his Majeſty's protection, can bear a faithful teſtimony that there is nothing oppreſſive in the behaviour and laws of the Engliſh.

A conſiderable part of the people of St. Domingo has been ſeduced from its duty; theſe perſons are hereby invited to return to their occupations, to lay down their arms, and to forget every cauſe of reſentment.

The Engliſh government demands, and will obtain by force, if neceſſary, that peaceful obedience which is due to its mild and juſt laws.

The mulattoes will find in the general and the government every diſpoſition to favour their intereſts; they are conſidered by the Engliſh, who are and will continue to be their friends.

The negroes, who have been ſo long the dupes of the vile artifices of the commiſſioners, will ſoon be convinced that the Engliſh diſdain falſehood and deceit.

Let them, relying with confidence on the generoſity of the Britiſh people, return to their maſters, lay down their arms, and enjoy the advantages of a life devoted to induſtry; their preſent ſufferings will ſoon be relieved, and the laws will protect them againſt cruelty and oppreſſion.

The forces which are now in this colony to ſupport the happineſs of the inhabitants, and the glory of the Engliſh nation, are but a part, even *a ſmall part*, of the army deſtined for its ſervice; it being his Majeſty's reſolution to puniſh in a manner as certain as ſevere, thoſe who will not accept the offers of this and of the preceding proclamations.

All perſons who ſhall repair to Port au Prince, and to the Engliſh general, within the delay of eight days from the date of this proclamation, except thoſe who have been guilty of murder, or of taking a part in inſurrections, will be received and pardoned; but all thoſe who are taken in arms after the above-mentioned period, will be put to death as traitors.

Done at Port au Prince, the 8th of June, 1794.

(Signed) JOHN WHYTE,
Brigadier-general commandant.

Return of the killed and wounded in the attack of Fort Bizotton.

1 captain, 8 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 2 rank and file, wounded.

Names of officers killed and wounded.

Captain Wallace, 22d regiment, killed.

Capt. Daniel, 41ſt ditto, wounded.

[The return of ordnance, and ordnance ſtores, taken at Port au Prince, in the arſenal, and in the different ports and batteries, and forts in the vicinity of the city, amounts to 131 pieces of ordnance, two of which were 36-pounders; 27 24-pounders; 17 18-pounders; 18 8-pounders, &c. Above 30,000 round ſhot; 11,000 double-headed ſhot; 105,800lb. of powder, beſides 140,000 muſquet cartridges; and a proportionable quantity of ammunition and ſtores. It is ſuppoſed that ſome powder, &c. had been concealed in private houſes.

[A letter from rear-admiral Ford to the lords of the Admiralty,

ralty, gives a ſimilar account to general Whyte's of the capture of Port au Prince, and moreover mentions, that on the night of the 2d of June, the French commiſſaries, "with the principal part of their force, had made their eſcape towards Aux Cayes before they were ſurrounded by our troops; by which means the town and ſhipping were ſaved, as they had fitted ſeveral merchant ſhips with combuſtibles, moored expreſsly for the purpoſe of ſetting fire to the whole."]

Return of the loſs ſuſtained by his Majeſty's ſhips in the attack of Port au Prince.

Belliqueux. 10 ſeamen and marines wounded.

Hermione. 5 ſeamen killed, 6 ſeamen wounded.

Return of ſhips and veſſels found in the harbour of Port au Prince, the 14th day of June, 1794.

La Clementine, 550 tons, laden with ſugar and coffee.

La Suſette, 300 tons—ſugar, coffee, cotton, and indigo.

La Lydia, 250 tons—ſugar and indigo.

La Fidele, 500 tons—ſugar and indigo.

L'Ocean, 340 tons—ſugar and coffee.

La Manon, 260 tons—ſugar and coffee.

La Momus, 300 tons—ſugar and coffee.

L'Amiable Petite Suſette, 270 tons—ſugar and coffee.

Le Caſimir, 400 tons—ſugar and coffee.

Le Charles Honoré, 280 tons—ſugar and coffee.

Le Courier, 500 tons—ſugar and coffee.

La Margaretta, 200 tons—indigo, ſugar, and coffee.

Le Bon Accord, 350 tons—ſugar and coffee.

A brig, 300 tons—ſugar and coffee.

A brig, 150 tons—ſugar and coffee.

A brig, 200 tons—ſugar and coffee.

La Catherine, 160 tons—ſugar and coffee.

La Roſalie, 260 tons—ſugar and coffee.

A brig, 200 tons—ſugar and coffee.

Le Metier, 350 tons—ſugar and coffee.

A brig, 200 tons—ſugar and coffee.

La Petite Riviere, 500 tons—ſugar and coffee.

All in ballaſt.

Le Du Gueſclin, 400 tons.

La Henriette, 600 tons.

Le Bien Amie, 600 tons.

Le Courier du Cap, 400 tons.

L'Eſperance, 400 tons.

A ſloop, 60 tons.

A ſloop, 40 tons.

Le Sage, 700 tons.

Theod. Joſephine, 200 tons.

Le Charles, 350 tons.

Les Deux Couſins, 250 tons.

L'Eſpoir, 400 tons.

Le Forbe, 350 tons.

Le Jeune Deſire, 300 tons.

A brig, 250 tons.

A ſloop, 40 tons.

Old veſſels in the Careening Harbour.

Le Cuſtard, 550 tons.

L'Amphitrite, 550 tons.

Lempriere, 300 tons.

Le Charlotte Déſiré, 200 tons.

La Jennings, 90 tons.

La Ville, 200 tons.

Le Manuel, 550 tons.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, *Aug.* 9.

The letters, of which the following are extracts, from vice-admiral ſir John Jervis, K. B. com-

mander in chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels at the Leeward Islands, to Mr. Stephens, were received at this office the 5th inst.

Boyne, off Point a Pitre, Guadaloupe, June 13, 1794.

AT four o'clock, the morning of the 5th instant, a schooner brought an account from captain Ross, commanding his Majesty's ship the Resource, that a French squadron had appeared off Pointe à Pitre on the 3d instant, with a body of troops, which were landed and marching to attack the Fort of La Fleur d'Epée. I did not lose a moment to order the Vengeance to get under sail; and being joined by the Winchelsea and Nautilus sloop, I pushed with a press of sail for Basseterre, Guadaloupe, and arrived off that place at two o'clock P. M. on the 7th, and was joined by the Resource; and having put general Grey, his suite and baggage on board that ship and the Winchelsea, to be landed at Basseterre, and ordered captain Bayntun of the Nautilus to proceed to Martinique, with orders from the general for a reinforcement from thence, I made sail for this road, and perceived commodore Thompson with the squadron from Martinico, coming round the Point of Vieux Port: on their joining I ordered the Solebay and Avenger into Basseterre Road, to carry the general's farther orders into execution touching reinforcements from the different islands. I then proceeded higher with the remainder of the squadron, and anchored at noon the following day, with the Vanguard and Vengeance, having given orders to the Veteran to cruize between Mariegalante and Desirada, in order to apprize me of any reinforcement of the enemy which might appear in that quarter; and for the Inspector and Bull Dog to cruize to the windward of the squadron at anchor, within reach of signals. I perceived two French frigates, a corvette, two large ships appearing to be armed *en flute*, with two other ships, which being within the land we could not ascertain, but took them to be transports, at anchor in the Carenage of Pointe à Pitre, and that they were in possession of La Fleur d'Epée, consequently Grande Terre; of which I immediately sent intelligence to the general by different routes. In the evening of the 9th the general returned on board the Boyne, and expressed a desire that the flank companies from St. Vincent's and St. Lucia might be sent for. On the 10th I dispatched a schooner, with orders to the Veteran to perform that service; the Winchelsea arrived the same day, with the flank companies of the 21st regiment, from Antigua, and on the 11th the Solebay arrived from Martinique, with brigadier-general Symes, and the flank companies of the 64th regiment, as did the Nautilus with two flank companies of the 15th regiment, and the Assurance from Grenada, St. Vincent's, and St. Lucia.

The same unanimity, ardour and enterprize, which carried the troops and squadron through the former part of this campaign, still pervades every department; and I have no doubt of a glorious termination of it.

Boyne, off Pointe à Pitre, Guadaloupe, June 14, 1794.

IN my dispatches of last night I omitted to acquaint you, for the information of their lordships, that

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on notice of a body of troops having landed at Grande Terre, Guadaloupe, the legiſlature of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, under the direction of governor Stanley, and the legiſlature of Antigua, under that of Mr. preſident Byam, had diſtinguiſhed their loyalty in a very ſuperior manner, by inſtantly raiſing a conſiderable body of volunteers for the expedition, and ſent them hither in ſchooners at their own expence.

HORSE-GUARDS, WHITEHALL, *Auguſt* 12.

The diſpatches, of which the following are extracts, have been received from ſir Charles Grey, K. B. by the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State.

Guadaloupe, June 11, 1794.

WE received an expreſs at St. Chriſtopher's on the 4th inſt. with the unwelcome news of the deceaſe of major-general Dundas, who died of a fever at Guadaloupe, after a few days illneſs; and in him his Majeſty and his country loſe one of their braveſt and beſt officers, and a moſt worthy man. I, too, feel ſeverely the loſs of ſo able an aſſiſtant on this arduous ſervice, and a valuable friend ever to be lamented. Before day of the 5th another expreſs arrived at St. Chriſtopher's from Guadaloupe, with intelligence that ſeveral ſail of French line of battle ſhips, with frigates, tranſports, and 2,000 land forces on board, had appeared off Pointe à Pitre, Grande Terre, on the 3d inſtant.

The admiral made immediate ſail for Guadaloupe, and we reached Baſſeterre in the afternoon of the 7th inſtant, receiving further intelligence that the enemy had landed, forced Fort Fleur d'Epée before day of the 6th inſtant, and were actually in poſſeſſion of it, with Fort Louis, Fort Government, the town of Pointe à Pitre &c. and their ſhipping anchored in the harbour. I landed immediately at Baſſeterre, and the admiral proceeded, with the ſhips of war, to Pointe à Pitre, where he anchored at noon of the 8th inſt. during which I continued viſiting the poſts, and giving the neceſſary orders at Baſſeterre; and in the evening of the 9th following I returned to the Boyne, to concert meaſures with the admiral for regaining Pointe à Pitre and Grande Terre. We have ſent to the different iſlands to collect all the force that can be ſpared, in particular the flank companies, part of whom are already arrived; and as every effort ſhall be made on our part, at the ſame time that we can thoroughly depend on the bravery and exertions of our troops and ſeamen, I hope ſoon to render a good account of this ſecond expedition, having their ſhips completely blocked up within the inner harbour, which are now found to conſiſt of two frigates, one corvette, two large ſhips appearing to be armed *en flute*, and two other ſhips within land, ſo that it cannot be exactly diſcovered what they are. Their troops conſiſt of about 1,500 men, joined by ſome mulattoes and negroes, ſince landing, of courſe. I tranſmit herewith the report and returns of lieutenant-colonel Drummond, of the 43d regiment, who commanded at Fort Fleur d'Epée and Pointe à Pitre, at the time of its being retaken by the French; which armament that

retook it sailed from Rochefort about the 25th of April last, having had a passage of 41 days.

Basseterre, June 9, 1794.

SIR,

I embrace the earliest opportunity to inform you of the arrival of a squadron of French men of war at the island of Guadaloupe, and of the loss of Fort Fleur d'Epée, which was taken by storm on Friday the 6th instant.

On Tuesday the 3d instant I received intelligence from captain M'Dowall, of the 43d regiment, at St. Ann's, that nine ships, bearing the national colours of France, were then off the town of St. François, and seemed to be sailing along the coast towards Pointe à Pitre. This report was soon afterwards confirmed by the arrival of other expresses from different parts of the colonies; and at half past four o'clock the French squadron, consisting, as I am informed, of two ships of 50 guns, one of 40 guns, armed *en flute*, one frigate, with five transports, came to anchor about a mile and a half beyond the village of Gozier, and immediately began to disembark their troops.

On the receipt of capt. M'Dowall's letter, I enclosed a copy of it to major-general Dundas, and on the arrival of the French fleet I sent a second express to Basseterre, explaining the nature of my situation, and requesting a reinforcement, as it was generally supposed the enemy meant to attack us in the evening of the 4th inst. and as I had received no answer to my letters to major-general Dundas, I sent to captain Buchanan, of the 39th regiment, who I was informed was then at Marygat with 70 men, to desire that he would march with all possible expedition to our assistance; but the answer I received to those applications was one letter from major Maitland, saying major-general Dundas was dead, and that he had communicated my dispatches to lieutenant-colonel Blundell, with a second from the lieutenant-colonel, expressing a doubt whether it would be prudent in him to afford me any assistance or no. The communications were seconded by the two enclosed letters, which were put into my hands a few hours before the enemy attacked the fort. On the evening of the 3d instant, I took every precaution to strengthen the post of Fort Fleur d'Epée, and to make the best possible defence in case of an attack, that the nature of our situation would allow. All the detached companies of the 43d regiment were ordered in; the inhabitants were assembled, and arrived in their several parishes, as well as all the English merchants and sailors at Pointe à Pitre; and at six o'clock on Wednesday morning I was happy to find I had a body of near 300 men at that fort, which I was in hopes would have proved formidable enough to counteract any offensive operations of the enemy, till I could procure a military reinforcement from Basseterre.

During the whole of Wednesday the 4th and Thursday the 5th inst. the enemy contented themselves with plundering and burning the houses and estates of some gentlemen in the vicinity of Gozier.

I had every reason to believe, from the information of the parties sent out to reconnoitre the enemy on

on the 4th inſt. that the whole of their force did not amount to more than 300 men, and that they were not only worn out by the length of their voyage, but fatigued alſo with the exceſs they had committed from the moment of their landing. Impreſſed with this idea the Royaliſts in the Fort were anxious to march out, and, if poſſible, ſurprize the enemy at their poſts, by which means we might have cut off their communication with any diſaffected people in the colony, and probably have forced them back again to their ſhips.

I was perſuaded ſuch an attempt might be of ſervice, if effected with reſolution; and at the repeated ſolicitation of the Royaliſts I permitted them to aſſemble 150 volunteers, and put them under the command of captain M'Dowall, of the 43d regiment, who offered to direct their operations. The party marched from the fort about eight o'clock in the evening; but, I am ſorry to ſay, my hopes of the benefit we might have derived from the ſucceſs of this attempt was entirely defeated by their want of ſteadineſs and diſcipline.

In marching along the road leading to Gozier, a few ſhot were fired, probably by a picquet of the enemy's, from the buſhes at the ſide of the road: the moſt ſhameful panic inſtantly prevailed throughout the whole party: a general diſcharge of muſquetry commenced; many of them threw away their arms and deſerted to the town; ſome few returned to Fleur d'Epée, and it was with the greateſt difficulty capt. M'Dowall could collect about 30 of them together, whom he marched ſome minutes after into the fort. I am ſorry to add, that the next morning were found three of the Royaliſts dead, and four wounded.

On the morning of Thurſday the 5th inſtant, the enemy landed thirteen boats crowded with ſailors, and from the information of a priſoner brought into the fort, I learned it was their intention to attack us that night, and that their numbers amounted to from twelve to fifteen hundred men. As I ſaw, from the conduct of the Royaliſts on the preceding night, that I had very little to hope from their ſteadineſs and reſolution, I took the precaution to defend the gate, and line the weakeſt part of the work with the ſoldiers of the 43d regiment, keeping a ſmall body as a corps de reſerve, to act on the approach of the enemy.

At eleven o'clock a party of horſe, that had been ſent out to reconnoitre, returned, and informed me the enemy were on their march, and in poſſeſſion of the village of Gozier. At one o'clock, on Friday morning, the advanced picquet came into the fort, and we then diſtinctly heard the approach of the enemy along the road leading from the village. We inſtantly commenced a fire of grape-ſhot from one twenty-four pounder and two field-pieces, which threw them into great confuſion, and muſt have been attended with conſiderable effect. The enemy halted for two or three minutes, and then, at the perſuaſion of their officers, marched on to the foot of the hill, and began to ſtorm the work.

We kept up a very heavy fire of muſquetry for about fifteen minutes: the enemy were evidently repulſed, and I am perſuaded, that had

had the Royalists acted with resolution at that moment, we might have maintained our ground; but on the firing ceasing, numbers of them concluded the place lost, and, abandoning their posts, ran in crowds towards the gate. It was in vain for the soldiers of the 43d regiment to oppose their progress; the gates were laid open, and nearly one half of the whole body deserted to the town.

The gates were again closed as soon as possible, and the small body of the 43d regiment, which I had kept in reserve, moved on to the attack. They opposed the entrance of the enemy for some time, but one side of the work having been abandoned and left entirely defenceless, we found ourselves nearly surrounded, and I then ordered the soldiers I had with me to charge their bayonets, and retire a few paces to a spot where we might be better able to defend ourselves. Here we halted, and received a volley of musquetry from a number of the enemy that had formed themselves in a body in our front.

The crowd of people that now came rushing from every quarter towards the gate, rendered every effort of the soldiers ineffectual. Overpowered as they were, they found themselves dispersed, and obliged to retire. I consulted with two or three officers, that continued at my side, upon the possibility of rallying once more, and still defending the place; but it was their general opinion that the fort was no longer tenable, and that we ought to retire; I therefore permitted the gate to be opened, and ordered a retreat to Fort Louis.

On my arrival at Fort Louis I assembled the soldiers with a resolution to defend the post; but finding that I had not quite forty men, and that it would be impossible to hold out against the enemy, I thought it more prudent to retire, and save the remains of the regiment, than to surrender them prisoners of war.

I, in consequence, ordered the men to march, and collecting the detachment at Fort Government, with the soldiers that had escaped singly from Fleur d'Epée, I proceeded to Petit Canal; and, having embarked in two boats, set sail for Basseterre, where we arrived at eleven o'clock yesterday morning.

Enclosed I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency a return of the present state of the 43d regiment, but it is not in my power to determine the number of our killed and wounded; neither can I form any opinion of the loss sustained by the Royalists at Fleur d'Epée; but I am apprehensive it must have been very considerable. I am sorry to add, that captain Suckling, of the British artillery, was wounded with a bayonet in the breast, and left at Pointe à Pitre.

I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my approbation of the conduct of the officers and soldiers under my command: their intrepidity in meeting any danger, and their exertions in rallying our force, were conspicuous in the extreme, and such as will ever claim my warmest acknowledgments.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient very humble servant,

(Signed) JAMES DRUMMOND,
Lieut. Col. 43d reg.

HORSE-GUARDS, WHITE-HALL, *Auguſt* 19.

A diſpatch, of which the following is a copy, was yeſterday received from general ſir Charles Grey, K. B. by the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State.

Berville camp, oppoſite Pointe à Pitre, Guadaloupe, July 8, 1794.

IN my diſpatch of the 13th ultimo, I had the honour to acquaint you of my intention to land on the ſide of Fort Fleur d'Epée, and try to regain Grande Terre, ſo ſoon as what force could be drawn from the other iſlands ſhould be collected: Accordingly, having been joined by moſt part of it, I ordered brigadier-general Symes to make a landing, with the grenadiers under the command of lieutenant-colonel Fiſher, and the light infantry under the command of lieutenant-colonel Gomm, which was effected without loſs or oppoſition, early in the morning of the 19th ultimo, at Ance Canot, under cover of two frigates, the Solebay, captain Kelley, and the Winchelſea, captain lord Garlies, the enemy retiring; and the ſame troops moved on to Gozier, and took poſſeſſion of it in the afternoon, which the enemy abandoned, burning ſome houſes. As the enemy had poſſeſſion of a ſituation that commanded the road to Fort Fleur d'Epée, I detached three companies of grenadiers, and three companies of light infantry, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Fiſher, who marched, at twelve o'clock in the night between the 25th and 26th ultimo, by a circuitous and moſt difficult path, coming on the back of the enemy at ſix o'clock the next morning, who fled. One of their centries fell into his hands, and he took poſſeſſion of that and two other commanding heights. Having ſent two amuzettes to that detachment the ſame day, the enemy made an attack upon the eſcort when mounting the hill on which lieutenant-colonel Fiſher's detachment was poſted, who attacked and repulſed them.

The enemy continuing in poſſeſſion of a chain of high and woody grounds, with difficult paſſes between our poſt and Morne Maſcot, the remainder of the grenadiers and light infantry, with capt. Robertſon's battalion of ſeamen, were puſhed forward to the ſame poſt, and on the 27th ult. the enemy were attacked on all ſides by brigadier-general Symes, with the grenadiers and light infantry, completely routed, driven down to Morne Maſcot, where they again made reſiſtance; but being charged with bayonets they fled into Fort Fleur d'Epée. Having collected a conſiderable force from the town of Pointe à Pitre, and the neighbourhood, arming blacks, mulattoes, and all colours, they advanced in great numbers the ſame afternoon under cover of their guns from Fort Fleur d'Epée, which ſo completely raked the top of the hill, that the grenadiers could hardly appear on it, until the enemy were alſo there, and attacked that part of Morne Maſcot where lieutenant-colonel Fiſher was poſted with the grenadiers, when an obſtinate engagement took place, which laſted for ſome time; the front being within a few yards of each other, and the enemy's number very ſuperior; but the grenadiers forced them down the hill again with great ſlaughter.

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The 29th following, the enemy, having collected a ſtill greater force, cloathing mulattoes and blacks in the national uniform, to the amount of 1,500 men, again attacked the ſame poſts; and at this time they had a field-piece on the right, which enfiladed the grenadiers, in addition to their guns in front, which fired round and grape from the fort. Having obſerved the enemy making a movement towards the rear of the grenadiers, to take poſſeſſion of a houſe and ſtrong ground, which the ſecond battalion of light infantry, under major Roſs, was then ordered to occupy, but having ſome diſtance to go, four companies of grenadiers were detached under major Irving, from the poſt on Maſcot, before the engagement commenced, who ſeized the poſt in the rear, leſt the enemy might get there before our light infantry, which had, however, reduced our force on Maſcot at the time of its being attacked; but major Roſs, with the ſecond light infantry, reaching the poſt in the rear ſoon after major Irving, the latter inſtantly returned to Maſcot with the four companies of grenadiers, and having rejoined when the engagement had laſted for ſome time, the enemy were charged with bayonets, and driven from the height with ſtill greater ſlaughter than on their former attack. During the firſt day's engagement, lieutenant-colonel Fiſher was ſtruck with grape-ſhot, occaſioning contuſion only, and on the laſt his horſe was killed under him. During this time, major Roſs, with the ſecond light infantry was alſo engaged with the enemy, and repulſed them with loſs on their ſide. The ſeaſon being already ſet in, and this being the laſt month for acting before the hurricane ſeaſon, at the ſame time that the troops were expoſed alternately to heavy rains and a vertical ſun, together with the circumſtances of the great ſlaughter recently ſuffered by the enemy in the two attacks they made on Morne Maſcot, determined me to make an effort for finiſhing the campaign at once; and I concerted meaſures accordingly, ordering brigadier-general Symes to march in the evening of the firſt inſtant from Morne Maſcot, with the firſt battalion of grenadiers, the firſt and ſecond battalion of light infantry, and the firſt battalion of ſeamen, commanded by captain Robertſon, who attacked the town of Pointe à Pitre before day of the ſecond inſt. but being miſled by our guides, the troops entered the town at the part where they were moſt expoſed to the enemy's cannon and ſmall arms, and where it was not poſſible to ſcale the walls of the fort; in conſequence of which they ſuffered conſiderably from round and grape-ſhot, together with ſmall arms fired from the houſes, &c. and a retreat became unavoidable; the more ſo, as the troops are entirely worn out by fatigue and the climate, ſo as to be quite exhauſted, and totally incapable of further exertion at preſent.

It gives me great concern to add, that brigadier-general Symes was wounded; lieutenant-colonel Gomm (an excellent officer) and ſome other meritorious officers were killed on this attack; as was alſo captain Robertſon of the navy, a valuable officer, and a great loſs to the ſervice. Enclоſed is

brigadier-

brigadier-general Symes's report, accounting for the failure of that enterprize. I had every thing in readineſs at the poſt of Morne Maſcot for an attack upon Fort Fleur d'Epée, by ſtorm, with the ſecond battalion of grenadiers, 65th regiment, ſix companies of Grande Terre, and the ſecond battalion of ſeamen, commanded by captain Sawyer; waiting, as concerted, until I ſhould hear whether brigadier-general Symes, with his diviſion, ſucceeded, or had taken poſt near the town of Pointe à Pitre; but his failure obliged me to relinquiſh the meditated attack upon Fort Fleur d'Epée, by laying me under the neceſſity of detaching the 2d battalion of grenadiers to cover the retreat of brigadier-general Symes's diviſion.

The ſeaſon for action in the field being paſt, and the troops debilitated by the fatigues of a long campaign and the climate, ſo as to become unable for further conteſt, without ſhelter from the ſcorching heat of a vertical ſun, or the heavy rains now ſo frequent, there remained no choice but to retreat, and I brought the troops, with every thing we had at Morne Maſcot, back to Gozier, on the night of the 2d inſtant, detaching the ſecond battalion of light infantry and Loyaliſts, by Petit Bourge, to Berville, &c. on the 2d following, to ſecure Baſſeterre; and embarking the remainder of the troops during the enſuing night.

I have now occupied the ground with my whole force between St. John's Point and Bay Mahault, having erected batteries with 24-pounders, and mortar-batteries, at Point Saron and Point St. John, oppoſite to the town of Pointe à Pitre and the ſhipping, both of which I ſhall endeavour to deſtroy; and which ſituation gives perfect ſecurity to Baſſeterre.

As the harbour is alſo perfectly blocked up by the admiral, the enemy muſt ſuffer every diſtreſs.

I tranſmit a return of our killed and wounded.

I have appointed colonel Colin Graham, of the 21ſt regiment, brigadier-general, and to command the troops in Baſſeterre, Guadaloupe, of which I hope his Majeſty will approve.

When the intelligence was received that Grande Terre had been retaken by the French, lieutenants-colonel Coote and Craddock were both at St. Chriſtopher's, ſo far on their way to England for the recovery of their health, having had my leave of abſence after the cloſe of our firſt campaign; and although they were moſt dangerouſly ill of a fever, from which they were then only recovering, they rejoined me, and have been very eſſentially uſeful and ſerviceable on this occaſion, when officers were ſo much wanted, and eſpecially officers of their merit and ability.

Lieutenant-colonel Coote will have the honour to deliver this diſpatch, an officer of infinite merit, who returns home for the reeſtabliſhment of his health; and he is well-qualified to give any further information that may be required.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES GREY.

P. S. I cannot ſufficiently acknowledge the great aſſiſtance I have received from every officer and ſeaman in the navy. The unanimity which has prevailed between them

them and the army, upon this, as upon every other occaſion during the campaign, could not be exceeded; nor can I omit once more to expreſs my warmeſt approbation of the gallant zeal and good conduct of every officer and ſoldier of this brave army, who have through a campaign in the worſt of climates endured hardſhips unparalleled. C. G.

Then follows a return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing, in the army commanded by his Excellency general ſir Charles Grey, K. B. &c. &c. from June 10 to July 3, 1794. Grand Terre, Guadaloupe.

Total, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 captains, 7 lieutenants, 7 ſerjeants, 2 drummers, 91 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 3 captains, 7 lieutenants, 13 ſerjeants, 8 drummers, 298 rank and file, wounded; 1 ſerjeant, 3 drummers, 52 rank and file, miſſing.

(Signed) FRA. DUNDAS, Adj. Gen.

SIR, *Gozier, July 2, 1794.*

IN obedience to your commands, I marched at eight o'clock yeſterday evening from the heights of Maſcot, with the firſt battalion of light infantry, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Gomm, the ſecond commanded by major Roſs, the battalion of grenadiers, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Fiſher, and the firſt battalion of ſeamen, commanded by captain Robertſon of the Veteran, to attack the enemy at Pointe à Pitre, and if we could approach it undiſcovered, to poſſeſs ourſelves of the Morne de Gouvernement, which commands the town, and which they had taken much pains to ſtrengthen; or, if that was not found practicable, to deſtroy the proviſions which had been landed from the ſhips and depoſited there.

The troops marched with the utmoſt ſilence through deep ravines, in hopes of reaching the enemy undiſcovered; but our guides, whether from ignorance, or the darkneſs of the night, led us in front to thoſe poſts of the enemy which it had been propoſed to paſs by, and which they aſſured was practicable: to effect our purpoſe by ſurprize became therefore impoſſible.

At four o'clock in the morning we approached the out-poſts of the enemy, which were attacked and driven in by major Roſs and the ſecond battalion of light infantry, with that gallantry and good conduct, which, in the courſe of the campaign, has ſo often diſtinguiſhed that officer and corps, which entered the town under a heavy fire from Morne de Gouvernement, and cleared the ſtreets with their bayonets.

The Morne de Gouvernement was to have been attacked by this battalion; but the noiſe of our approach had permitted them ſo ſtrongly to reinforce it, joined with the extreme difficulty of acceſs, which admits only two to approach in front, rendered the ſucceſs of attacking it highly impoſſible.

To deſtroy the ſtores in which the proviſions were lodged, we were then to direct our efforts; which I have no doubt would have been attended with the moſt complete ſucceſs, the town being at this time in our poſſeſſion, and lieutenant-colonel Gomm, captain Robertſon of the Veteran, and captain Burnet, aſſiſtant quarter-maſter-

maſter-general, being charged with the execution of it; when, by a fatality as unforeſeen as impoſſible to guard againſt, we were prevented from completing what carried ſo fair an appearance of ſucceſs.

Our troops, to whom you have ſo ſtrictly enjoined, in night attacks, never to fire, who have uniformly ſucceeded ſo often by a ſtrict obſervance to that rule, and who, till this moment, had not in the courſe of the night fired a ſhot, moſt unfortunately began to load and fire upon each other; nor could all the efforts of their officers put a ſtop to it.

I was at this time diſabled by a ſevere wound in the right arm, and much bruiſed by my horſe, killed at the ſame time, and falling upon me. Finding it impoſſible, under theſe circumſtances, to complete the deſtruction of the enemy's ſtores, which we had begun to effect, the troops were ordered to leave the town, and form on the heights at the poſt of Caille; from whence in approaching we had driven the enemy, and taken two pieces of cannon: at this poſt, while the troops advanced into the town, a reſerve of four companies of grenadiers, with eigthy men, had been placed.

As the enemy made every effort to haraſs us in our return, it became neceſſary to occupy with care the ground by which it could be moſt effectually prevented. In this diſpoſition of the troops, I received the moſt eſſential and judicious aſſiſtance from lieutenant-colonel Fiſher and major Roſs, who, though wounded, continued with the troops, and rendered the moſt eſſential ſervices. The zeal and gallantry ſhewn by all the officers who compoſed the corps could not have been exceeded.

It is with extreme concern I inform you that our loſs has been conſiderable; and with infinite regret I find that lieutenant-colonel Gomm, and captain Robertſon of the Veteran, both eminently diſtinguiſhed for their gallantry and good conduct, are unfortunately of that number.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) RICHARD SYMES,
Brigadier-General.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, *Aug.* 19.

Extract of a letter from vice-admiral ſir John Jervis, K. B. to Mr. Stephens, dated off Pointe à Pitre, Guadaloupe, July 6, 1794.

SINCE my letter of the 13th ultimo, by the Daſhwood packet, every effort has been made to collect a body of troops from the different iſlands, to enable the general to make a deſcent on Grande Terre. The Veteran arrived on the 17th of June with two flank companies from St. Vincent's, and four from St. Lucia; and two battalions of ſeamen under the command of captain Lewis Robertſon, of the Veteran, and capt. Charles Sawyer, of the Vanguard, were attached to the army.

Theſe two ſhips, with the Solebay and Winchelſea, were ordered up to L'Ance a Canot, between this road and St. Ann's, under the command of rear-admiral Thompſon, that bay being judged a more ſafe place to debark at (both on account of the ſurf and the face of the country which ſurrounds it) than the bay of Gozier, and the event juſtified the meaſure; for by the able conduct of the rear-admiral, the captains and officers under

under his command, the whole corps was landed early on the morning of the 19th, without the loſs of a man, and took poſt at Gozier the ſame evening, where the Solebay, Winchelſea, and Aſſurance, were placed to furniſh water and other ſupplies to the camp. The Redbridge returned from St. Chriſtopher's, with the two companies of the 22d; and, on the 26th, having received intelligence that a French frigate, with three tranſports, had been ſeen off François in Grande Terre, I detached the Solebay and Winchelſea in queſt of them; and, if the intelligence ſhould prove unfounded, to cruize off Port Louis, and endeavour to intercept a partizan of the name of Paſchal, who, I had reaſon to believe, was fitting out veſſels at St. Bartholomew to bring over a number of deſperate brigands, who had fled from this iſland on our taking poſſeſſion of it.

On the ſame day a ſchooner I had ſent up to Martinique arrived with two companies of grenadiers from Marin Bay, and was followed, the next day, by a third company in a ſmall ſloop. From the day of debarkation, the boats of the ſquadron were conſtantly employed in landing artillery and ſtores, and ſupplying the troops with proviſions and water during the day, and rowing guard at night. Three more gun-boats had arrived from Martinique, and were inceſſantly employed in battering the forts at Pointe à Pitre, and the fort of La Fleur d'Epée.

The unſucceſsful attempt on the town, on the 2d inſtant, will be deſcribed by the general. I have only to obſerve, that every poſſible exertion was made by the army and navy, that the debilitated ſtate of the officers and men would admit of. It is but juſtice to them to declare, that they were quite exhauſted by the unparalleled ſervices of fatigue and fire they had gone through, for ſuch a length of time in the worſt climate. Upon the third, the general having communicated to me the propriety of withdrawing the artillery, ſtores, and troops, from Grande Terre, and reinforcing the poſts in Baſſe Terre, diſpoſitions were immediately made, and, on the night of the 5th, the embarkation was completed without the loſs of a man, under the direction of rear-admiral Thompſon.

The fate of captain Lewis Robertſon, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf highly, fills my mind with the deepeſt regret: he had long been a child of misfortune, although he poſſeſſed talents to merit every ſucceſs and proſperity; and as I am informed he has left a widow and infant family unprovided for, I beg leave to recommend them to the protection and good offices of their lordſhips to obtain a ſuitable proviſion, which will be a great encouragement to officers in ſimilar circumſtances to emulate ſo great an example.

Enclоſed is an account of the killed and wounded in the naval battalion, ſince their landing on Grande Terre,

Return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing.

Total. 7 killed, 29 wounded, 16 miſſing.

J. JERVIS.

HORSE-GUARDS, *Dec.* 13.

BY diſpatches received from general ſir Charles Grey, K. B. dated Martinique,

Martinique, the 16th, 19th, and 24th of October, it appears that the enemy from Pointe à Petre, in the iſland of Guadaloupe, made a landing at Goyave and Lamentin, on the ſame iſland, on the 27th of September, and proceeded to attack the camp of Berville, under the command of brigadier-general Graham, who defended this poſition with the utmoſt gallantry and ſpirit until the 6th of October, when, finding his proviſions nearly exhauſted, and that he was cut off from all communication with the ſhipping, and without hopes of relief, he was obliged to ſurrender, his force being reduced to 125 rank and file fit for duty.

By this unfortunate event the whole of the iſland of Guadaloupe, except Fort Matilda, where lieutenant-general Preſcott commands, fell into the hands of the enemy.

The following are the terms of capitulation granted by the enemy to brigadier-general Graham:

Articles of capitulation for the poſt of Berville, and its dependencies.

Article I. That, in conſideration of the gallant defence the garriſon has made, they ſhall be allowed the honours of war.

Anſwer. Granted.

Art. II. That the inhabitants of the iſland now co-operating with the army, whether white or free people of colour, being Britiſh ſubjects, having taken the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majeſty, ſhall be conſidered and treated as ſuch.

Anſwer. Not admiſſible; but a covered boat ſhall be allowed to the general, which ſhall be held ſacred.

Art. III. That the troops and ſuch of the inhabitants as do not wiſh to become ſubjects of the French Republic, ſhall be ſent to Great-Britain as ſoon as tranſports can be provided for that purpoſe.

Anſwer. The troops ſhall be ſent to England as ſoon as tranſports are ready; but as to the inhabitants, it is anſwered in Article II.

Art. IV. That the baggage of the officers and inhabitants in camp, ſhall be allowed to them.

Anſwer. The troops ſhall be allowed their baggage.

Art. V. That the ſick and wounded, who cannot be ſent on board tranſports, ſhall be allowed Britiſh ſurgeons to attend them.

Anſwer. Agreed to.

Art. VI. That the ordnance and ſtores of every denomination ſhall be given up in their preſent ſtate.

Anſwer. Agreed to.

Art. VII. If any difficulties in ſettling the above ſhall happen hereafter, they ſhall be amicably adjuſted by the reſpective commanders.

Anſwer. Admitted.

(Signed) COLIN GRAHAM, Brig. Gen.
VICTOR HUGUES.

Berville, Oct. 6, 1794.

The Britiſh forces which were taken at Berville camp, conſiſt of the flank companies from Ireland, and the 39th, 43d, and 65th regiments. Their loſs in the different actions between the 27th of September and the 6th of October, as nearly as could be aſcertained, amounts to 2 officers killed, 5 wounded, 25 non-commiſſioned officers and privates killed, and 51 ditto wounded.

Officers killed.

Major Forbes.
Lieutenant Cochran, of the 39th.

Officers wounded.

Captain Hutton, of the artillery.
Captain Cameron, of the 43d.
Lieutenant Keating, of the 33d.
Enfign Paris, of the 65th.
Quarter-maſter Clements, of the 39th.

HORSE-GUARDS, *Dec.* 13.

By diſpatches received from lieutenant-colonel James Grant, commanding officer at Cape Nicholas Mole, in the iſland of St. Domingo, dated the 21ſt of October, it appears, that the town and poſt of Leogane, in the ſame iſland, had fallen into the hands of the forces of the Convention, aided by a numerous corps of revolted negroes.

GAZETTES *relative to* NAVAL EVENTS.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, *April* 28, 1794.

THE letters, of which the following are extracts, were this day received from rear-admiral Macbride.

Minotaur, Plymouth-Sound,
April 26, 1794.

SIR,

BE pleaſed to acquaint my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that the Echo ſloop arrived here yeſterday morning, bringing with her a letter from ſir John Warren, of his Majeſty's ſhip Flora, who was on his paſſage to Portſmouth, with the Pomone and La Babet French frigates, captured by the ſquadron detached under his command.

The Concorde and La Nymphe arrived yeſterday evening with L'Engageante, another French frigate, captured by the Concorde. Incloſed are the letters from the captains, ſir John Warren and ſir Richard Strachan, to me on the occaſion. The Reſolue, another frigate that was in company, eſcaped, by her outſailing the Melampus and La Nymphe, who chaſed her into Morlaix.

I am, Sir, your moſt obedient,
and moſt humble ſervant,
JOHN M'BRIDE.

Philip Stephens, Eſq.

Flora, at ſea, April 24, 1794.

SIR,

IN purſuance of your orders I proceeded with the ſhips Arethuſa, Melampus, La Nymphe, and Concorde, to cruize on the coaſt of France; and on the 23d inſt. from variable winds, being to the weſtward of Guernſey, Rock Dover bearing E. by S. four or five leagues, the Seven Iſlands S. S. W. four or five leagues, Guernſey N.E. half Eaſt ſeven or eight leagues, I diſcovered at four in the morning four ſail, ſtanding out to ſea on the larboard tack, the wind S. S. W. and, as the morning began to break, I ſaw from their manœuvres and firing of guns, they were ſome of the enemy's ſhips of war. They ſoon afterwards appeared in a line of battle on the larboard tack; and as our ſhips, from having chaſed, were not collected, I made the ſignal to form in ſucceſſion. We croſſed each other on contrary tacks, and the enemy began the action at a conſiderable diſtance: their ſternmoſt ſhip having paſſed over, they again tacked; but the wind changing two points in our favour, I perceived it was impoſſible to weather them, and therefore made the ſignal for

the

the ſhips to engage as they came up, ſo as to prevent the enemy gaining their own ſhore, and to oblige them to come to a cloſe action: I am happy to ſay we ſucceeded in this object.

The engagement laſted nearly three hours; when two of the ſhips ſtruck: I then made the ſignal for thoſe who were coming up to purſue and engage the enemy, as from the ſituation of this ſhip, having led the line into action, ſhe was incapable of continuing the purſuit.

I am much indebted to ſir Edward Pellew in the Arethuſa, who was my ſecond aſtern, and to the other officers and ſhips under my command, who exerted themſelves in engaging and purſuing the enemy.

I have ſince been informed that another of the enemy's ſhips ſtruck to the Concorde, ſir Richard Strachan, in the evening; but, as that ſhip and the Nymphe had not yet joined me, I cannot yet make any return of their ſtate and condition.

The French ſquadron conſiſted of L'Engageante, 36 guns, 18-pounders, 300 men, Monſieur Deſgarceaux, chef d'eſcadre; La Pomone, 44 guns, 24-pounders, 400 men; Le Reſolue, 36 guns, 18-pounders, 320 men; La Babet, 22 guns, 9 pounders, 200 men: they ſailed from Cancalle Bay the evening before we met them.

I owe every obligation and acknowledgement to the officers and crew of this ſhip for their zeal and exertions upon this and every former occaſion in the ſervice of their King and Country, and truſt you will recommend them to their Lordſhips' notice and protection.

Encloſed are liſts of the killed and wounded, and alſo of the ſhips taken from the enemy.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,
Your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
JOHN BORLASE WARREN.

Rear-Admiral Macbride.

A liſt of killed and wounded on board his Majeſty's ſhips Flora and Arethuſa, on the 23d of April, 1794.

Flora. 1 ſeaman killed; 3 ditto wounded.

Arethuſa. 1 maſter's mate killed; 2 ſeamen killed; 5 ditto wounded.

A liſt of the killed and wounded on board the Conventional frigates La Pomone and La Babet, on the 23d of April, 1794.

La Pomone. Between 80 and 100 killed and wounded.

La Babet. Between 30 and 40 killed and wounded.

JOHN WARREN, Capt.

Flora, at ſea, April 24, 1794.

An account of the Conventional frigates taken by the ſquadron under the command of ſir J. B. Warren, Bart. on the 24th of April, 1794.

La Pomone, 44 guns, 24-pounders; 400 men. 143 feet, keel. 42 feet, beam. 1,100 tons. Five years old, and ſuppoſed to be the fineſt frigate they had.

La Babet. 22 guns, 9-pounders; 200 men.

(Signed) J. B. WARREN, Capt.

Flora, at ſea, April 24, 1794.

La Concorde, Plymouth Sound,
SIR, *April 25, 1794.*

I have the honour to acquaint you of my arrival here with his Majeſty's ſhip under my command, with a French frigate which we took in the afternoon of the 23d inſtant. The early tranſactions of that day have been detailed to

you by sir John Warren: but as the Flora was at too great a distance to observe my proceedings in the afternoon, I beg to relate the particulars of my conduct from the time we passed the Pomona after she had surrendered.

About eleven A. M. we were near enough to receive and return the fire of the enemy's two frigates, which were making off. It was my intention to endeavour to disable the sternmost, and leave her for the ships of his Majesty which were following us, and push on to attack the leading ship; but in this I was disappointed, for the leading ship bore down, and closed to support his second, and, laying herself across our bows, soon disabled us in our sails and rigging so much, that we dropped astern. We soon got our sails on the ship again, and I purposed to keep the enemy's two ships in check till ours arrived, as the only means of taking them both; but finding the day far advanced, and little probability of our being assisted, as our ships rather dropped, and expecting our maintop mast, which was shot through, to go every minute, knowing if our mast went, both the ships must escape, I determined to secure the one I was nearest. She was assisted for some time by her second, but changing sides in the smoke, it prevented him from annoying us. She was defended with the greatest bravery from twelve till a quarter before two P. M. when being silenced, and totally unmanageable, they called they had surrendered. She proved to be l'Engageante, of 34 guns and 4 carronades, with 300 men. The other frigate, Le Resolue, after firing a few shot, stood on, and our ship, much cut up in her sails and rigging, was not in a condition to follow her. The mast of the l'Engageante in the evening, as we attempted to tow her, fell; and expecting ours to go also, I availed myself of seeing the Nymphe and Melampus, returning from the chase of the Resolue, to make the signal for assistance. The Nymphe joined us at night, and we steered for this port.

I must request you will please to inform their Lordships, that the zealous, cool, and steady conduct of the officers and ship's company was highly meritorious in the action; and their efforts in refitting the ship, after the fatigue they had experienced, exceeded any exertion I ever saw before. As the first lieutenant, Charles Apthorp, was mostly with me, I had an opportunity of observing the spirit of enterprize which pervaded his conduct, and I must acknowledge the great assistance he was to me, from the able manner in which he performed the various duties I employed him upon; and am convinced also of the good conduct of lieutenants Boys and Evans, who commanded on the main deck. I enclose a report of the damages and state of the ship. And have the honour to be, &c.

R. J. STRACHAN.

Rear-Admiral Macbride, &c. &c. &c.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, *June 7.*

The following is an extract of a letter from William Parker, esq. captain of his Majesty's ship Audacious, to Mr. Stephens, dated in Plymouth Sound, on the 3d inst.

I have the honour to acquaint you, for their Lordships' information,

tion, that, on the 28th ult. in the morning about eight o'clock, his Majeſty's fleet, under the command of earl Howe, then in the latitude 47 deg. 33 min. north, long. 14 deg. 10 min. weſt, got ſight of that of the enemy.

The wind blew ſtrong from the ſouthward, and the enemy's fleet directly to windward.

Every thing was done by his Majeſty's fleet, per ſignals from the earl Howe (preſerving them in order) to get up with the enemy, who appeared to be forming in order of battle. But, as I apprehend his Lordſhip conſidered their conduct began rather to indicate an intention of avoiding a general action, at fifty-five minutes after one o'clock he directed a general chaſe.

It was juſt becoming dark when his Majeſty's ſhip under my command arrived up with the rear ſhip of the enemy's line. I immediately commenced a very cloſe action, which continued near two hours without intermiſſion; never exceeding the diſtance of half a cable's length, but generally cloſer, and ſeveral times in the utmoſt difficulty to prevent falling on board, which, as his laſt effort to appearance, at about ten o'clock he attempted to effect. At this time his mizen maſt was gone by the board, his lower yards and main top-ſail yard ſhot away; his fore top-ſail being full (though flying out from the top-ſail yard, the ſheets being ſhot away) he fell athwart our bows, but we ſeparated without being entangled any time. He then directed his courſe before the wind, and, to appearance, paſſed through or cloſe aſtern of the ſhips in the rear of our line.

When the enemy ſeparated from athwart our bows, the company of his Majeſty's ſhip under my command gave three cheers, from the idea, taken from the people quartered forward, that his colours were ſtruck. This I cannot myſelf take upon me to ſay, though think it likely, from his ſituation obliging him to paſs through or near to our line: but certain it is, he was completely beaten; his fire ſlackened towards the latter part of the action, and the laſt broadſide (the ſhips' ſides almoſt touching each other) he ſuſtained without returning more than the fire of two or three guns.

His Majeſty's ſhip under my command, at the time we ſeparated, lay with her top-ſails aback (every brace, bowling, moſt of her ſtanding, and all her running rigging ſhot away), in an unmanageable ſtate. It was ſome time before I could get her to wear, to run to leeward of the French line, under cover of our own ſhips, which, by what I could judge by their lights, were all pretty well up, and tolerably formed.

This being effected, I turned all hands to the repairing our damages, to get into readineſs (if poſſible) to reſume our ſtation at daylight.

The rear of the French line had been engaged, at a diſtance, by rear-admiral Paſley's diviſion, and ſome other ſhips that did not fetch ſo far to windward, a conſiderable time before I arrived up with them; and this very ſhip was engaged by one of his Majeſty's ſhips at ſome diſtance to leeward, the time I did.

The night being very dark, I could form but little judgment of the ſituation of our fleet with reſpect

ſpect to the French, in point of diſtance, other than, not hearing any firing after our own ceaſed, I concluded they were ſcarcely far enough to windward.

Soon after day-light the next morning, to our uttermoſt chagrin and aſtoniſhment, we diſcovered nine ſail of the enemy's ſhips about three miles to windward.

The Audacious then, with her ſtanding rigging but very indifferently ſcoppered, her fore-ſail and top-ſails unbent, main top-ſail in the top in the act of bending, we put before the wind, with the main and foretop-maſt ſtay-ſails only, ill ſet, from the ſtays being ſhot away; but, it being hazy with rain, and ſoon becoming thick, we, for a time, were covered from their view, and before, as I apprehend, they had formed a judgment of what we were.

The greateſt exertion was uſed by every officer and man in the ſhip to get the other fore-ſail and main-top ſail bent. The fore top-maſt being ſo badly wounded, the fore top-ſail was of but little moment; however, the people brought the damaged ſail to the yard again, though it could not be hoiſted; but before we got the fore-ſail and main top-ſail ſet, the haze cleared off, and we ſoon diſcovered ourſelves to be chaſed by two of the enemy's ſhips. At this period we ſaw the ſhip we had engaged, without any maſt ſtanding, and paſſed her about a mile and a half diſtance. The ſhips coming up with us very faſt, our ſituation became very alarming, until we got the main top-gallant ſail, main top-maſt, and top-gallant ſtudding-ſails ſet, when it was judged we nearly preſerved our diſtance. However, from the fore-maſt being in a tolerable ſtate of ſecurity, at half paſt nine we were about ſetting a lower ſtudding-ſail, when three ſail, that had been diſcovered to the eaſtward ſome time before (viz. two ſhips and a brig), coming pretty near to us, hoiſted French colours.

The ſtate of our maſts did not admit of making alteration in our courſe; they obſerving our ſhattered ſtate, and two ſhips in chaſe of us, ſtood athwart us boldly within fire, and ſhot were exchanged; the one a large frigate, and the other two corvettes; but, as we had ſo much ſail out, they fell aſtern for a conſiderable time: at length the frigate came within ſhot of us again, and haraſſed us, by a diſtant cannonade upon the quarter, upwards of an hour, but without doing us any material injury, we only firing ſome of our after-guns upon each deck at her. She was obſerved to make a ſignal to the ſhips aſtern, and ſoon after, viz. about half-paſt twelve o'clock, with the two corvettes, hauled her wind, and, by its becoming hazy, the whole were ſoon out of ſight.

Having been chaſed twenty-four leagues directly to leeward, and the crippled ſtate of the bowſprit being ſuch as judged impoſſible to ſtand if the ſhip was hauled to the wind, I conſidered the endeavouring to find the fleet again might put his Majeſty's ſhip (in her defective ſtate) to too much riſque, and therefore judged it moſt advantageous for the ſervice, to proceed to port without loſs of time to refit; which I hope may meet with their Lordſhips' approbation.

I muſt beg you will be pleaſed to repreſent to their Lordſhips, that the

the conduct of the lieutenants of his Majeſty's ſhip under my command, during the action, merits all the praiſe I can beſtow upon them: as alſo that of lieutenant Crofton, of the 69th regiment, whoſe alertneſs and activity with his men at ſmall arms, in ſupporting the ſeamen armed to defend the boarding (which occurred twice during the action) gave me perfect ſatisfaction.

The conduct of my ſhip's company, alſo that of the ſoldiers of the 69th regiment, exceeded every poſſible expectation; in fact, the whole of the officers and men, in their different departments, behaved in a moſt exemplary manner.

'Tis wonderful, after ſuch an action, that I have the happineſs to ſay, the whole number killed and wounded are but twenty-two: three were killed on the ſpot, one died ſoon after, and the life of two more is deſpaired of.

The captain and ſome of the officers of a French corvette, which we took poſſeſſion of, and burnt a few mornings before, by the earl Howe's order, viewed the ſhip we had engaged, while paſſing her in the morning, and were of opinion ſhe is called La Revolutionnaire, formerly the Bretagne.

In caſe their Lordſhips ſhould have any inquiries to make further, I have diſpatched lieutenant Joſeph Bingham, my ſenior lieutenant on board, with the charge of this letter, who is a very excellent officer, and an intelligent young man, and, I truſt, capable of giving every requiſite information.

London Gazette Extraordinary.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, *June* 10.

Sir Roger Curtis, firſt captain to the admiral earl Howe, arrived this evening with a diſpatch from his Lordſhip to Mr. Stephens; of which the following is a copy:

Queen Charlotte at ſea, June 2, 1794.

Uſhant, E. half N. 140 *leagues.*

SIR,

Thinking it may not be neceſſary to make a more particular report of my proceedings with the fleet, for the preſent information of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, I confine my communications chiefly, in this diſpatch, to the occurrences when in preſence of the enemy yeſterday.

Finding, on my return off Breſt, on the 19th paſt, that the French fleet had, a few days before, put to ſea; and receiving, on the ſame evening, advices from rear-admiral Montague, I deemed it requiſite to endeavour to form a junction with the rear-admiral as ſoon as poſſible, and proceeded immediately for the ſtation on which he meant to wait for the return of the Venus.

But having gained very credible intelligence, on the 21ſt of the ſame month, whereby I had reaſon to ſuppoſe the French fleet was then but a few leagues farther to the weſtward, the courſe before ſteered was altered accordingly.

On the morning of the 28th, the enemy were diſcovered far to windward, and partial actions were engaged with them that evening and the next day.

The weather-gage having been obtained, in the progreſs of the laſt mentioned day, and the fleet being in a ſituation for bringing the enemy to cloſe action the 1ſt inſtant, the ſhips bore up together for that purpoſe, between ſeven and eight o'clock in the morning.

The French, their force conſiſt-

ing of twenty-six ships of the line, opposed to his Majesty's fleet of twenty-five (the Audacious having parted company with the sternmost ship of the enemy's line, captured in the night of the 28th) waited for the action, and sustained the attack with their customary resolution.

In less than an hour after the close action commenced in the centre, the French admiral, engaged by the Queen Charlotte, crowded off, and was followed by most of the ships of his van, in condition to carry sail after him, leaving with us about ten or twelve of his crippled or totally dismasted ships, exclusive of one sunk in the engagement. The Queen Charlotte had then lost her fore top-mast, and the main top-mast fell over the side very soon after.

The greater number of the other ships of the British fleet were, at this time, so much disabled, or widely separated, and under such circumstances with respect to those ships of the enemy in a state for action, and with which the firing still continued, that two or three, even of their dismantled ships, attempting to get away under a sprit-sail singly, or smaller sail raised on the stump of the foremast, could not be detained.

Seven remained in our possession; one of which, however, sunk before the adequate assistance could be given to her crew; but many were saved.

The Brunswick having lost her mizen-mast in the action, and drifted to leeward of the French retreating ships, was obliged to put away large to the northward from them. Not seeing her chased by the enemy, in that predicament, I flattered myself she may arrive in safety at Plymouth. All the other twenty-four ships of his Majesty's fleet reassembled later in the day; and I am preparing to return with them, as soon as the captured ships of the enemy are secured, for Spithead.

The material injury to his Majesty's ships, I understand, is confined principally to their masts and yards, which I conclude will be speedily replaced.

I have not yet been able to collect regular accounts of the killed and wounded in the different ships. Captain Montagu is the only officer of his rank who fell in the action. The numbers of both descriptions I hope will prove small, the nature of the service considered; but I have the concern of having to add, on the same subject, that admiral Graves has received a wound in the arm, and that rear-admirals Bowyer and Pasley, and captain Hutt of the Queen, have each had a leg taken off; they are, however, I have the satisfaction to hear, in a favourable state under those misfortunes. In the captured ships, the numbers of killed and wounded appear to be very considerable.

Though I shall have, on the subject of these different actions with the enemy, distinguished examples hereafter to report, I presume the determined bravery of the several ranks of officers, and the ship's companies employed under my authority, will have been already sufficiently denoted by the effect of their spirited exertions; and I trust, I shall be excused for postponing the more detailed narrative of the other transactions of the fleet thereon, for being communicated

municated at a future opportunity; more eſpecially as my firſt captain, ſir Roger Curtis, who is charged with this diſpatch, will be able to give the farther information the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty may at this time require. It is incumbent on me, nevertheleſs, now to add, that I am greatly indebted to him for his counſels, as well as conduct in every branch of my official duties; and I have ſimilar aſſiſtance, in the late occurrences, to acknowledge of my ſecond captain, ſir Andrew Douglas. I am, with great conſideration, Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

HOWE.

P. S. The names and force of the captured French ſhips with the fleet is tranſmitted herewith.

Liſt of French ſhips captured on the firſt day of June, 1794.

La Juſte	- - - -	80 guns
Sans Pareille	- - -	80
L'America	- - - -	74
L'Achille	- - - -	74
Northumberland	- -	74
L'Impetueux	- - -	74
Vengeur	- - - -	74 ſunk

almoſt immediately upon being taken poſſeſſion of.

N. B. The ſhip ſtated to have been captured on the evening of the 28th of laſt month, is ſaid by the priſoners to be the Revolutionnaire, of 120 guns.

Supplement to the London Gazette Extraordinary, on Wednesday the 11th of June.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, *June* 14, 1794.

A letter was received yeſterday evening from admiral earl Howe, to Mr. Stephens, dated that day, off Dunnoſe in the Iſle of Wight, giving an account of his ſafe arrival with the captured French ſhips of the line, mentioned in his former letter of the 2d inſtant, and with a great part of his Majeſty's fleet, under his command, having ſent the remainder into Plymouth Sound. The following are the returns of the killed and wounded on board his Majeſty's ſhips in the action with the French fleet on the 28th and 29th of May, and the 1ſt inſt. and alſo the numbers killed and wounded on board the French ſhips captured and ſunk the laſt-mentioned day.

A return of the killed and wounded on board his Majeſty's ſhips.

Cæſar. 18 ſeamen killed; 37 ſeamen wounded. Total 55.

Belleropſion. 3 ſeamen, 1 marine killed; 26 ſeamen, 1 marine wounded. Total 31.

Leviathan. 10 ſeamen killed; 32 ſeamen, 1 marine wounded. Total 43.

Sovereign. 11 ſeamen, 3 marines killed; 39 ſeamen, 5 marines wounded. Total 58.

Marlborough. 24 ſeamen, 5 marines killed; 76 ſeamen, 14 marines wounded. Total 119.

Defence. 14 ſeamen, 4 marines killed; 29 ſeamen, 10 marines wounded. Total 57.

Impregnable. 7 ſeamen killed; 24 ſeamen wounded. Total 31.

Tremendous. 2 ſeamen, 1 marine killed; 6 ſeamen, 2 marines wounded. Total 11.

Barfleur. 8 ſeamen, 1 marine killed; 22 ſeamen, 3 ſoldiers wounded. Total 34.

Culloden*

* By a ſeparate return it appears that ſhe had 2 men killed, and Mr. Triſtram Whitter, the third lieutenant, and four men wounded.

Invincible,

Invincible. 9 ſeamen, 5 marines killed; 21 ſeamen, 10 marines wounded. Total 45.

Gibraltar. 1 ſeaman, 1 marine killed; 12 ſeamen wounded. Total 14.

The Charlotte. 13 ſeamen, 1 marine killed; 12 ſeamen wounded. Total 14.

*Brunſwick. Parted company on the 1ſt of June.

Valiant. 1 ſeamen, 1 marine killed; 5 ſeamen, 4 marines wounded. Total 11.

Queen. 30 ſeamen, 6 marines killed; 57 ſeamen, 13 marines wounded. Total 103.

Orion. 5 ſeamen killed; 20 ſeamen, 4 marines wounded. Total 29.

Ramilies. 2 ſeamen killed; 7 ſeamen wounded. Total 9.

Alfred. 6 ſeamen, 2 marines wounded. Total 8.

Ruſſell. 7 ſeamen, 1 marine killed; 24 ſeamen 2 marines wounded. Total 34.

Royal George. 18 ſeamen, 2 marines killed; 63 ſeamen, 9 marines wounded. Total 92.

Montague. 4 ſeamen killed; 13 ſeamen wounded. Total 17.

Majeſtic. 3 ſeamen killed; 4 ſeamen, 1 marine wounded. Total 8.

Glory. 13 ſeamen killed; 31 ſeamen, 8 marines wounded. Total 52.

Thunderer. None killed or wounded.

† Audacious. Parted company in the night of the 28th of May.

Grand total, 203 ſeamen, 52 marines killed; 578 ſeamen, 91 marines wounded——904.

Names of the Officers killed and wounded, on board his Majeſty's Ships.

KILLED.

Royal Sovereign, Mr. W. Ivey, midſhipman.

Marlborough, Abr. Nelham, do.

Defence, W. Webſter, maſter, John Fitzpatrick, boatſwain.

Impregnable, David Caird, maſter.

Tremendous, Francis Roſs, firſt lieutenant.

The Charlotte, R. Rawlence, 7th ditto, John Neville, lieutenant Queen's regiment.

Queen, W. Mitchell, maſter.

Royal George, G. Heighman, 8th lieutenant, J. Hughes, midſhipman.

Montagu, James Montagu, Eſq. captain.

Glory, Mr. G. Metcalf, maſter, David Greig, midſhipman.

WOUNDED, *and unable to come to quarters.*

Bellerophon, T. Paſley, eſq. rear-admiral of the White, T. Smith, capt. of marines, —— Chapman, boatſwain.

Leviathan, Mr. Glen, midſhipman.

Royal Sovereign. T. Graves, eſq. admiral of the Blue, Mr. C. Money, capt. of marines, S. Mitchel, lieut. of marines.

Marlborough, hon. G. Berkeley, capt.—Mr. A Roddock 2d lieut. Mr. M. Seymour, 5th ditto.—Mr. Fitzgerald, midſhipman.—Mr. Sherland, ditto.—Mr. Lin-

* The return ſince ſhe came to Spithead, is as follows, viz.

Seamen.——1 maſter's mate, 1 midſhipman, 30 ſeamen, killed. 1 catpain, 1 lieutenant, 1 midſhipman, 91 ſeamen wounded——Total, 32 killed—94 wounded.

Names of Officers and petty Officers killed and wounded.

Mr. Thomas Dalton, maſter's mate; and Mr. James Lucas, midſhipman, killed.

Captain John Harvey, lieutenant Rowland Bevan, and Mr. —— Hurdis (midſhipman), wounded.

† The return of the killed and wounded has already been publiſhed in the Gazette of the 7th inſtant.

thorne,

thorne, ditto.—Mr. Clarges, do. —Mr. M. Pardoe, maſter's mate.

Defence, Mr. J Elliott, maſter's mate, Mr. Boycotte, enſign, Queen's regiment.

Impregnable, Mr. W. Buller, lieut. Mr. Patterllo, boatſwain.

Barfleur, G. Bowyer, eſq. rear-admiral of the White, Mr. W. Prowſe, 6th lieutenant, Mr. Fogo, midſhipman, Mr. Clemons, midſhipman.

Queen Charlotte, Mr. G. Holland, midſhipman.

Queen, John Hutt, eſq. captain, Mr. Dawes, 2d lieut. ſince dead; Mr. Lawrie, 6th lieut. Mr. G. Crimes, acting lieutenant, Mr. Kinnier, midſhipman.

Ruſſell, Mr. Stewart, midſhipman, Mr. Kelly, ditto, Mr. Douglas, boatſwain.

Royal George, Mr. J. Ireland, 2d lieut. Mr. J. Balmbrough, maſter, Mr. Boys, midſhipman, Mr. Pearce, midſhipman.

Montagu, hon. Mr. Bennet, midſhipman; Mr. T. Moore, midſhipman.

The ſecond captain, Sir Andrew Douglas, of the Queen Charlotte, was wounded, but reſumed his ſtation on deck during the further continuance of the action on the 1ſt inſtant.

HOWE.

Soldiers (29th regiment).

1 captain, 11 non-commiſſioned officers and privates, killed; 1 enſign, 10 non-commiſſioned officers and privates, wounded. —Total, 12 killed—20 wounded.

Names of the Officers killed and wounded.

Captain Alexander Saunders, killed. Enſign Harcourt Vernon, wounded.

An Account of the numbers killed and wounded on board the French ſhips captured and ſunk on the 1ſt of June, 1794.

Le Juſte, 100 killed, 145 wounded; Sans Pareil, 260 killed, 120 wounded; L'Amerique, 134 killed, 110 wounded; L'Achilles, 36 killed, 30 wounded; Northumberland, 60 killed, 100 wounded; L'Impetueux, 100 killed, 75 wounded.—Total, 690 killed—580 wounded.

Le Vengeur, 320 ſunk.—Le Jacobin, ſunk in action, not a man ſaved.

From the London Gazette Extraordinary, June, 21.

A Letter, of which the following is a copy, from Admiral earl Howe to Mr. Stephens, ſupplementary to his Lordſhip's letter of the 2d inſtant, publiſhed in the London Gazette Extraordinary of the 11th, was received late laſt night.

In the extract of the journal herewith encloſed, the proceedings of the fleet are ſtated, from the time of leaving St. Helens on the 2d of laſt month to that of the firſt diſcovery of the French fleet on the 28th of the ſame. For the farther information of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, I have now therefore to relate the ſubſequent tranſactions not already communicated in my diſpatch of the 2d inſtant, to be delivered by my firſt captain, Sir Roger Curtis.

Early in the morning of the 28th, the enemy were diſcovered by the advanced frigates, far diſtant on the weather-bow; the wind then freſh from the S. by W. with a very rough ſea.

They came down, for ſome time, in a looſe order, ſeemingly unapprized that they had the Britiſh fleet in view. After hauling to the wind

wind when they came nearer, they were ſome hours before they could completely form in regular order of battle upon the ſtarboard tack; the Britiſh fleet continuing as before in the order of ſailing.

The time required for the enemy to perfect their diſpoſition, had facilitated the nearer approach of his Majeſty's fleet to them, and for the ſeparately appointed and detached part of it, commanded by rear-admiral Paſley to be placed more advantageouſly for making an impreſſion on their rear.

The ſignals denoting that intention being made, the rear-admiral, near upon the cloſe of the day, led his diviſion on with peculiar firmneſs, and attacked a three-decked ſhip (the Revolutionnaire), the ſternmoſt in the enemy's line.

Making known ſoon after that he had a top-maſt diſabled, aſſiſtance was directed to be given to him in that ſituation. The quick approach of night only allowed me to obſerve that lord Hugh Seymour (Conway) in the Leviathan, with equal good judgment and determined courage, puſhed up alongſide of the three-decked French ſhip, and was ſupported as it appeared by captain Parker of the Audacious in the moſt ſpirited manner.

The darkneſs which now prevailed did not admit of my making any more accurate obſervations on the conduct of thoſe ſhips and others concerned in the ſame ſervice: but I have ſince learned that the Leviathan ſtretched on farther ahead, for bringing the ſecond ſhip from the enemy's rear to action, as ſoon as her former ſtation could be occupied by a ſucceeding Britiſh ſhip; alſo that the three-decked ſhip in the enemy's rear aforeſaid, being unſuſtained by their other ſhips, ſtruck to the Audacious, and they parted company together ſoon after.

The two opponent fleets continued on the ſtarboard tack, in a parallel direction, the enemy ſtill to windward the remainder of the night. The Britiſh fleet appearing in the morning of the 29th, when in order of battle, to be far enough advanced for the ſhips in the van to make ſome farther impreſſion on the enemy's rear, was tacked in ſucceſſion with that intent.

The enemy wore hereupon from van to rear, and continued edging down in line a-head to engage the van of the Britiſh fleet; when arrived at ſuch diſtance as to be juſt able to reach our moſt advanced ſhips, their headmoſt ſhips, as they came ſucceſſively into the wake of their reſpective ſeconds a-head, opened with that diſtant fire upon the headmoſt ſhips of the Britiſh van. The ſignal for paſſing through their line, made when the fleet tacked before, was then renewed.

It could not be for ſome time ſeen, through the fire from the two fleets in the van, to what extent that ſignal was complied with. But as the ſmoke at intervals diſperſed, it was obſerved that the Cæſar, the leading ſhip of the Britiſh van, after being about on the ſtarboard tack, and come abreaſt of the Queen Charlotte, had not kept to the wind; and that the appointed movement would conſequently be liable to fail of the purpoſed effect.

The Queen Charlotte was therefore immediately tacked; and, followed by the Bellerophon, her ſecond aſtern (and ſoon after joined by

by the Leviathan), paſſed through in action, between the fifth and ſixth ſhips in the rear of the enemy's line. She was put about again on the larboard tack forthwith, after the enemy, in preparation for renewing the action with the advantage of that weathermoſt ſituation.

The reſt of the Britiſh fleet being at this time paſſing to leeward, and without the ſternmoſt ſhips, moſtly of the French line, the enemy wore again to the eaſtward in the ſucceſſion for ſuccouring the diſabled ſhips of their rear: which intention, by reaſon of the then diſunited ſtate of the fleet, and having no more than the two crippled ſhips, the Bellerophon and Leviathan, at that time near me, I was unable to obſtruct.

The enemy, having ſucceeded in that operation, wore round again, after ſome diſtant cannonading of the neareſt Britiſh ſhips, occaſionally returned, and ſtood away in order of battle on the larboard tack, followed by the Britiſh fleet in the ſame order (but with the weather-gage retained) as ſoon as the ſhips coming forward to cloſe with the Queen Charlotte were ſuitably arranged.

The fleets remained ſeparated ſome few miles, in view at times on the intermiſſion of a thick fog, which laſted moſt part of the two next days.

The commander of a fleet, their Lordſhips know, is unavoidably ſo confined in his view of occurrences in time of battle as to be little capable of rendering perſonal teſtimony to the meritorious ſervice of officers who have profited, in a greater extent, by the opportunities to diſtinguiſh themſelves on ſuch occaſion.

To diſcharge this part of my public duty, reports were called for from the flag-officers of the fleet, for ſupplying the defects of my obſervance, under the limited circumſtances above mentioned. Thoſe officers, therefore, who have ſuch particular claim to my attention, are the admirals Graves and ſir Alex. Hood; the rear-admirals Bowyer, Gardner, and Paſley; the captains lord Hugh Seymour, Pakenham, Berkeley, Gambier, John Harvey, Payne, Parker, Henry Harvey, Pringle, Dunkworth, and Elphinſtone. Special notice is alſo due of the captains Nicholls of the Sovereign, and Hope of the Bellerophon, who became charged with and well-conducted theſe ſhips when the wounded flag-officers, under whom they reſpectively ſerved therein, were no longer able to remain at their poſts; and the lieutenants Monckton of the Marlborough, and Donnelly of the Montagu, in ſimilar ſituations. Theſe ſelections, however, ſhould not be conſtrued to the diſadvantage of other commanders, who may have been equally deſerving of the approbation of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, although I am not enabled to make a particular ſtatement of their merits.

To the reports from the flag-officers are added thoſe required from the ſeveral captains of the fleet, whereby their Lordſhips will become more particularly acquainted with the meritorious ſervices of the ſeveral commanders, and animated intrepidity of their ſubordinate officers and ſhip's companies; to which the defeat of the enemy,

enemy, with every advantage of ſituation and circumſtance in their favour, is truly to be aſcribed. To the like purport, I beg my teſtimony, in behalf of the officers and company of every deſcription in the Queen Charlotte may be accepted.

STATE TRIALS.

The Trial of William Skirving, *Secretary to the Britiſh Convention, before the High Court of Juſticiary; for Sedition. 6th January.*

William Skirving was indicted for circulating, in Edinburgh, a ſeditious or inflammatory writing, calculated to excite the people to acts of outrage and violence, by inſidiouſly calumniating and miſrepreſenting the meaſures of government, and ſeditiouſly juſtifying the enemies of our country, with whom we are at open war, compoſed or written by Thomas Fyſche Palmer, Clergyman, under the title of "*Reſolutions of the Dundee, Berean Meeting-houſe, July* 1793," repreſenting to the people, that the portion of liberty they once enjoyed is faſt ſetting in the darkneſs of deſpotiſm and tyranny; every day adding a new link to their chains; the executive branch daily ſeizing new, unprecedented, and unwarrantable powers, and the Houſe of Commons (their only ſecurity from the evils of tyranny and ariſtocracy) joined in the coalition againſt them; the election of its members not being either fair, free, or frequent, and its independence gone; while it is made up of penſioners and placemen. The juſt rights and privileges of men were in this publication declared to be, the right of univerſal ſuffrage in the choice of thoſe who ſerve in the Commons Houſe of Parliament, and a frequent renewal of ſuch power; the war was aſcribed to a wicked miniſtry, and a compliant Parliament, careleſs and unconcerned for the public intereſt; and its end and deſign was ſtated to be the deſtruction of a whole nation, merely becauſe they would be free. And the people were exhorted to join in exertions for the preſervation of their periſhing liberty, and the recovery of their long-loſt rights.

The indictment further ſtated, that, a number of ſeditious and evil-diſpoſed perſons having at Edinburgh, or elſewhere, aſſociated themſelves under the denomination of "*Friends of the People*," but with purpoſes inimical to the happineſs of the people, and to the peace and ſecurity of the Country; the ſaid William Skirving, being then a leading and active member of ſuch illegal aſſociation, and deſigning himſelf "Secretary General in Scotland" of the ſame, did compoſe a ſeditious and inflammatory hand-bill, bearing date "Maſon's Lodge, Blackfriars Wynd, 4th October, 1793," calling upon and inciting other illegal and ſeditious aſſociations to convocate and unite together, and holding out threat-

threatenings againſt thoſe who either had counteracted, or might counteract their ſeditious proceedings, particularly the following expreſſions: "Had certain gentlemen countenanced this aſſociation laſt year, inſtead of *pledging their lives and fortunes* to prompt a corrupt and ambitious miniſtry to engage in a war, which could only bring guilt and ruin on the nation, we might have been ſtill enjoying uncommon proſperity, and a happy underſtanding amongſt ourſelves as brethren: and now if they will not manfully retract that very impolitic ſtep, and immediately join their influence to the only meaſure which can prevent farther calamity, if not anarchy and ruin, *their pledge may be forfeited*, and the friends of the people will be blameleſs."

Accordingly, a general meeting of the ſaid illegal aſſociations having taken place at Edinburgh, in the month of October, in conſequence of the above hand-bill, and having at firſt aſſumed the name of *the General Convention of the Friends of the People*, and having afterwards preſumptuouſly and ſeditiouſly arrogated to themſelves the name of *the Britiſh Convention of the delegates of the People, aſſociated to obtain univerſal ſuffrage, and annual Parliaments;* did in the whole form and manner of the procedure, as well as in the principles it publicly avowed and propagated, clearly and unequivocally demonſtrate, that under the ſpecious pretext of reform, their purpoſes were of the moſt dangerous and deſtructive tendency, hoſtile to the peace and happineſs as well as to the Conſtitution of this realm; and too plainly indicating the ſame rebellious maxims which governed the Convention of France. In particular the members of the aſſociation did call each other by the name of *citizen*, divide themſelves into *ſections*, appoint committees of various kinds; ſuch as of *organization*, of *inſtructions*, of *finance*, and of *ſecrecy*, denominate their meetings *"ſittings,"* grant *honours of ſittings*, and inſcribe their minutes with "*The firſt year of the Britiſh Convention;*" and the members made harangues and ſpeeches, as well as reſolutions and motions of the moſt ſeditious tendency; which were, by orders of the aſſociation, publiſhed in "The Edinburgh Gazetteer;" and they alſo formed a Convention of Emergency. In all which meetings, reſolutions, and motions, the priſoner was a chief agent, and ſigned them as ſecretary. By all which, and particularly by his acting as ſecretary to, and taking the chief management of the buſineſs of, the ſaid meetings, the ſaid William Skirving ſhewed himſelf an active ringleader of the ſaid ſeditious aſſociations, and reſiſted the magiſtracy in attempting to diſperſe them, and perſevered in meeting in new places, in defiance of proclamations.

The Priſoner having pleaded not guilty, and declined the aſſiſtance of counſel, the diſcuſſion commenced according to the forms of Scotch law on the relevancy of the criminal libel, in ſupport of which the Solicitor General made a very judicious ſpeech, ſhewing the application of the facts alleged to the general charge of ſedition advanced againſt the priſoner.

Mr. *Skirving* after obſerving that the conſideration of the relevancy ought

ought not to be left to the Court alone, but submitted to the jury, proceeded to analyze the indictment, trying it by the formal rules of logic and grammar. He argued that, being singly charged with a single undefined crime called sedition, he could not be justly implicated in numerous acts supposed criminal, and committed by the Scotch Convention. He also stated that he was summoned as a witness on the trial of Palmer, and ought, therefore, not to be held to answer for the same crimes; but it was afterwards explained to the Court, that, though summoned, he was not called to give evidence, nor was it intended that he should, if it was possible to convict the prisoner without his testimony. He vindicated the general proceedings of that body, by reading a newspaper report of a speech delivered in the House of Commons by Mr. Wharton, and insisted that if the legislature or a jury found them guilty of sedition, no act of his connected with their proceedings, or gaining their applause, could be the subject of a criminal prosecution, and if all the acts of the convention were expunged from the indictment, nothing would remain for him to answer. If his conduct, from beginning to end, in this business, was sedition, he gloried in it as the highest service of his life; and judged such sedition the highest virtue, because disinterestedly pursued to promote the public welfare. He then attempted to prove that the days of general love and union foretold in the holy scriptures were arriving, and admonished the justices not to be found counteracting the work of Christ.

Finally, he insisted,—1st, That as he could not be tried upon accusations made against a long allowed society, which had not as yet been tried, and legally convicted, the present indictment was illegal. 2d, That it ought to be laid aside, because neither the crime, in the major proposition of the indictment, nor the acts charged against him in the minor, were instructed to be referable to any statute, cognizable by the Court of Justiciary. And 3dly, Though the Court might think the Jury entitled to proceed in this trial, upon the idea which they must have, in their own minds, of the word Sedition; yet, as they knew not the idea, which the Law Judges had in their minds of this crime, no statute being libelled on, therefore by proceeding they might be guilty of the grossest injustice; they might adjudge him to the utmost rigour of punishment; while they only intended to say, that he deserved some small check, to make him act more wisely for the time to come.

Lord Eskgrove answered the objection of the prisoner to the relevancy, by stating, that although the indictment did not mention any particular statute, the law of Scotland was founded on many grounds besides acts of parliament, many things being established by usage, by the laws of God, by the dictates of the consciences of men; and the crime called sedition was well understood by every one present. As to the necessity of trying and convicting the British Convention, that convention was not a body corporate, but a convention of individuals; and it would appear in the course of the trial whether

whether it was a convention met for bad purpoſes or not. Taking all the circumſtances together, it would be for the jury to decide, whether the acts were proved; or how far they were proved: and, ſecondly, whether they proceeded *from a ſeditious intention*, or an innocent intention. The other judges expreſſed ſimilar opinions, and, the objections to the relevancy being overruled, the jury were ſworn.

EVIDENCE.

Alexander Morren proved that he received the Dundee addreſs in a letter from Mr. Palmer, by whoſe deſire he printed 1000 copies, and delivered 100 of them to the priſoner's ſervant, who aſked for them in his name.

James Kidd proved that the priſoner gave him one of thoſe papers, adviſing him to read it.

Joſeph Mack, *John Dingwall*, *William Scott*, and *Henry Daviſon*, eſq. proved the identity of the papers ſeized in the priſoner's poſſeſſion, and produced in Court; the circumſtances attending the diſperſion of the Convention, and the declaration made by the priſoner before the magiſtrate on that occaſion.

The right hon. *Thomas Elder*, lord provoſt, *Neil M'Vicar*, *William Coulter*, eſq. and *James Laing*, proved the ſuppreſſion of their meeting at the Maſon's Lodge, in Blackfriars Wynd, the iſſuing of a proclamation againſt them on the 11th of December, their re-aſſembling on the 12th, in a cloſe near the Cock Pit, and their being then again diſperſed, though not without requiring the magiſtracy to exhibit ſigns of force. All theſe witneſſes proved that the priſoner was preſent and active in all theſe meetings.

William Roſs, one of the friends of the people, and a delegate to the Britiſh Convention, an unwilling witneſs for the Crown, proved the printing and diſtribution of the hand-bill of the 4th of October, 1793; that the priſoner was ſecretary to the meeting from which it originated; that a ſcroll of minutes was made at each meeting of the Convention, which minutes were ſubmitted to a committee, reviſed by the priſoner and one Aitcheſon, and printed in the Edinburgh Gazetteer. This witneſs was uſed to take minutes in ſhort hand of the debates in the Britiſh Convention for publication; he did not recollect the priſoner's moving for a ſolemn league and covenant, but acknowledged the appointment of a ſecret committee, which was to appoint a ſecret place of meeting for the members *in caſes of emergency*. All theſe caſes which he could recollect were, the introduction of a bill to Parliament ſimilar to the Convention Bill in Ireland, and a motion for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus Act; he proved alſo that the members of the Convention called each other *citizen*, and were divided into *claſſes*, *diviſions*, or *ſections*; but he knew nothing of ſtrangers being admitted to the *honours of the ſitting*, or of *honourable mention* being made of any tranſaction or event.

Alexander Aitcheſon, alſo a member of the two ſocieties, proved that the priſoner was ſecretary to the Convention, the members called each other *citizen*. He remembered a motion that if a Convention Bill ſhould be brought into Parliament, reſolutions might be entered into reſpecting it. A *committee of ſecrecy* was appointed, and empowered to call a *convention of*

emergency. He proved that the prisoner had moved that all the members of the Convention and of the primary societies should subscribe a *solemn league and covenant*, but was never called upon to explain his meaning, and the prisoner moved that the Convention should express its ardent desire to cultivate a more close union with the societies in England, which was also unanimously agreed to. He recollected that the convention of emergency was to meet, if the British Convention was dispersed, if the island was invaded by a foreign enemy, or if a Convention Bill was brought into Parliament. He proved the formation of the convention into divisions, classes, and sections, and the making of a motion by Callander in favour of universal suffrage.

George Ross, a clerk in the Gazetteer Office, proved the publication of the hand-bill of the 4th of October. The prisoner refused to put his name to any address not produced by himself; but that being his own, he subscribed his name, and some thousands were printed and distributed. The witness was short-hand writer to the Convention, proved the formation of the secret committee, with powers to call a convention of emergency, in the cases mentioned by the last witnesses, and if Hessian or Hanoverian troops landed. This witness and the two who preceded him, were interrogated respecting an entry in the books of the Convention, "the members stood upon their feet, and solemnly and unanimously passed the resolution as follows," but after these words a blank space was left. None of the witnesses would explain what resolution was alluded to, though they acknowledged that so much solemnity was never used on any other occasion.

Three other witnesses proved the prisoner's hand-writing to certain papers which were produced.

The prisoner declined adducing any exculpatory evidence, alleging that the public prosecutor had proved nothing criminal against him, and even the witnesses for the Crown had exculpated him from every suspicion of seditious intention.

The Lord Advocate then addressed the jury, refuting the arguments used by the prisoner on the relevancy, and pointing out the application of the seditious papers on the table to him as a party guilty of framing them. Had his only criminality consisted in being a party to Palmer's publication, he might not probably have been prosecuted; but his pertinacity in sedition imposed on the law officers of the Crown the hard necessity of bringing him to justice. If the meeting at the Cock Pit had been followed by tumult or insurrection, coupled with his conduct at the Convention for several nights before, he would have been charged with high treason; but if the jury considered the paper published by Palmer, and avowedly circulated by the prisoner, to be such an information as they would permit with impunity to be dispersed through all parts of Scotland, they ought to return a verdict of acquittal.

The Lord Advocate then adverted to the proceedings of the prisoner from the 4th of October to the 10th of December, 1793, when the authority of the civil magistrate was contemned, when nothing

nothing but the vigilance and exertion of the magiſtrates, could have diſperſed this almoſt treaſonable meeting. On the hand-bill of the 4th of October, the Lord Advocate ſaid, "Is it poſſible to read the concluding paragraph, coupled particularly with the preceding advertiſement of Palmer's, in which the priſoner is proved to have ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſhare; is it poſſible to read the concluding paragraph of that paper, holding out a menace to an aſſociation, numerous beyond example, which took place laſt year, when every good and worthy man in the country, of all ranks and denominations, was found ſubſcribing to it; can you read it without diſcovering an inſolent and audacious menace to them for that conduct? If they did not retract, *their pledge might be forfeited*, and the friends of the people would be innocent. What were they aſſociating for? For the protection of liberty and property. It alſo contains another menace equally ſeditious, and equally illegal. It is true, the inhabitants of this country have a right to petition Parliament for a redreſs of grievances: but is this, or any man, or any ſet of men whatever, entitled, when the country is at peace and in quiet, to ſend ſuch a hand-bill as this among the people; to ſound the trumpet of alarm among thoſe who are contented and happy; to threaten even thoſe men who may, in the moment of deluſion, have been led to join in their proceedings, but who became ſatisfied, as ninety-nine perſons out of one hundred are ſatisfied, that their proceedings are not tending to reform, but to ſubvert the conſtitution of this country? He tells you in this advertiſement, that thoſe members who do not attend, or ſend an excuſe, will be *publicly called upon*; thus men who choſe to come back and join the majority of the country, to be faithful and loyal to their King, and attached to the conſtitution, had this menace held out to intimidate them from following the dictates of their conſciences."

The *Lord Advocate* then animadverted on the proceedings of the Britiſh Convention, as calculated to produce the ſame ends, and adopting preciſely the ſame means, and uſing the ſame terms with the National Convention of France; and deſcanted on all their proceedings as publiſhed in the Edinburgh Gazetteer; the priſoner too having been not only an active member, but a ring-leader in theſe tranſactions, and ſhewed the criminal intention, lurking under the appointment of a convention of emergency; evidently intended not to petition, but controul the legiſlature.

Having dwelt ſome time on theſe topics, the Lord Advocate adverted to the declared caſe of emergency, that of landing a *foreign* army, and ſhewed by the evidence of Roſs the younger, that the Convention meant to oppoſe Heſſian or Hanoverian troops, but inferred from their proceedings, their ſubſcriptions of *Vive la Convention*, and *ça-ira* to their minutes, and from many other parts of their conduct, that they intended to abet and join the French, if they could invade the kingdom. He ſhewed the connexion of this convention with the knots of diſaffected individuals in all parts of

England, and particularly with the London Corresponding Society; and concluded by exhorting the jury to firmness in the execution of their duty, hoping they would treat all insinuations of danger to which they might be exposed, as he had done several anonymous letters, threatening that he should be assassinated,—with contempt.

DEFENCE.

The Prisoner, after recapitulating his former observations, respecting the relevancy of the indictment, and adding some new texts from Scripture, argued that nothing had been proved against him but the distribution of a few copies of the Dundee hand-bill; and as to the other, it had never been proved that he either signed, approved, or published it. He read some resolutions made in October 1793, by the *friends of the people*, at the Mason Lodge, Blackfriars Yard, in which they reviled the conduct of the Crown Lawyers, and juries in the cases of Muir and Palmer, and appointed meetings in different places, and stated that they were the only meetings with which he was acquainted. He attempted to explain the threat to the gentlemen, who in an address to the King promised to support him with *their lives and fortunes*, by saying, "who does not see, that after the French have conquered all Europe, they must also conquer Britain. And if the associators were sincere, they are now certainly called upon to *risk their lives and fortunes*, that is to say, they are called to oppose this formidable enemy, who may take both life and fortune from all those who have pledged their lives and fortunes to oppose them, if they shall find them making good their promise, by still urging and aiding the very ruinous attempt to subjugate that people."

He read passages from the works of lord Buchan, and others from the Annals of Agriculture, consisting of queries by Capel Lofft, and answers by Arthur Young, to prove that those authors felt the necessity of a parliamentary reform. He denied the intention of the Convention to overturn the constitution, affirming that in ancient times parliaments were annual. In the convention of emergency, and committee of secrecy, he observed, not a single thing was charged as if done by him, but all their proceedings amounted only to this, that the Convention, dreading the introduction and passing of a quietism, or conventicle bill, which they could only view as the putting on of the grave-stone of the liberty of Britain, and with the view of resolving on a proper remonstrance against so grievous a measure, and of getting the same authenticated by the people's subscriptions, before the bill could pass through the House, agreed to have an interim meeting; and in order to avoid the tedious forms of calling such a meeting, prescribed by the standing rules of the Convention, namely, the procuring the consent of ten towns, which had societies of the friends of the people, to an interim meeting of Convention, they had appointed the same to be called by a confidential committee, in a way which appeared to them best calculated for a speedy assembling of the delegates.

"The *bringing foreigners into the country*,"

country," he obſerved, "has ever been conſidered as the moſt dangerous to the liberties of this country. It has already been experienced in a way never to be forgotten; and the miniſter that would attempt it would be a traitor to his country. I could not conceive a ſtronger reaſon for the people aſſembling to remonſtrate; and I truſt that, in the preſent criſis, the meaſure muſt appear, to every unprejudiced perſon, as the moſt dangerous that ever could be adopted, both againſt the liberties and peace of the country." The priſoner then analyzed the various parts of the indictment, and the evidence, and concluded by reading lord Coke's advice to all judges, as equally applicable to jurors, —"Fear not to do right at all, and to deliver your verdict juſtly according to the laws; for fear is nothing but a betraying of the ſuccours that reaſon ſhould afford."

The Lord Juſtice Clerk, in a brief but judicious ſpeech, ſummed up the evidence, and appointed the jury to attend on the morrow with their verdict.

On the following day (7th) at the time appointed, the jury returned a verdict *guilty;* the Lord Juſtice Clerk obſerving that their deciſion was very proper, and that they were entitled to the thanks of the country for their attention.

The priſoner then ſtated that he had received from London the advice of an eminent lawyer, that the indictment charged him as a guilty actor, *or* act and part, implied that he was either principal or acceſſary, but did not poſitively declare which, and conſequently that the proceedings againſt him were void. He therefore moved in arreſt of judgement; but his motion was overruled, the proceedings being perfectly conſonant to the laws of Scotland, which the Engliſh advocate did not probably underſtand.

The lords juſtices then delivered their opinions *ſeriatim* on the priſoner's caſe, and he was ſentenced to be tranſported beyond ſeas, to ſuch place as his Majeſty, with the advice of his Privy Council, ſhould declare and appoint, for the ſpace of fourteen years.

After the ſentence had been read, the following converſation took place.

Mr. Skirving. Conſcious of innocence, my lords, and that I am not guilty of the crimes laid to my charge, this ſentence can only affect me as the ſentence of man. It is long ſince I laid aſide the fear of man as my rule,—I ſhall never walk by it. And, my lords, I could not be ignorant of this ſentence, becauſe I knew it long before this; and I had a letter from London this very morning, informing me that ſuch a ſentence was to take place!

Lord Juſtice Clerk. You heard that from the Counſel of London too, I ſuppoſe.

Mr. Skirving. No. I told your lordſhips that it was a voluntary thing; I conſulted no counſel.

My lords, *I know that what has been done theſe two days will be rejudged;*—that is my comfort, and all my hope.

The trial of Maurice Margarot, *delegate from London to the Britiſh Convention, before the High Court of Juſticiary, at Edinburgh, on the* 13*th and* 14*th of January,* 1794; *for* Sedition.

BEFORE this cauſe could be proceeded in, the priſoner objected to the competency of the Court, as the Lord Juſtice General was not preſent; and complained that he wanted the exculpatory teſtimony of the Lord Juſtice Clerk, and lord Henderland, two of his judges; but the proper officer refuſed to cite them. The objection was overruled by a reference to the Act of Parliament, which enabled any three of the judges to ſit as a Quorum.

The indictment was then read; charging the priſoner with ſedition, in having repaired to Edinburgh as delegate from an aſſociation of ſeditious perſons in London, calling themſelves the *Correſponding Society of London*, with the wicked and felonious purpoſe of joining and co-operating with an illegal aſſociation of evil-diſpoſed and ſeditious perſons, who originally deſigned themſelves the *General Convention of the friends of the people*; but who have of late aſſumed the deſignation of "*the Britiſh Convention of the delegates of the people, aſſociated to obtain univerſal ſuffrage and annual Parliaments*; and which illegal aſſociation had been in the practice, during the months of October and November, as well as in the beginning of December, 1793, of holding ſeditious and illegal meetings, at a Maſon's Lodge or Room, in Blackfriars Wynd, in the city of Edinburgh, and elſewhere. That the ſaid Maurice Margarot, from his arrival in Edinburgh, did, as a delegate from the ſaid Correſponding Society, in London, conſtantly attend the illegal meetings of the above-mentioned aſſociations, and did co-operate with them, on different occaſions, and act as preſes or chairman of their meetings, and did take an active and diſtinguiſhed part in their deliberations and proceedings; and that while the ſaid Maurice Margarot continued to attend the ſaid illegal meetings, as a delegate, or officiating in the capacity of preſident, as above mentioned, various ſeditious and inflammatory votes and reſolutions were paſſed, ſome of which he moved, others of which he ſeconded, and to all of which he gave his concurrence and approbation, by voting for paſſing the ſame; and which ſeditious votes and reſolutions, as alſo the inflammatory ſpeeches that were delivered on thoſe occaſions, by authority of the ſaid meetings, were inſerted in minutes of their procedure, taken at the time, and which afterwards, by their order, or under their authority, were publiſhed in a newſpaper, called the Edinburgh Gazetteer.

The indictment alſo recited at length ſeveral of his ſpeeches and motions, particularly on paſſing the reſolution for a Committee of Secrecy, and a Convention of Emergency, (ſee *Skirving's* trial,) and ſome ſubſequent proceedings till his arreſt, and the diſperſion of the Convention.

The priſoner having pleaded *not guilty*, objected to the relevancy of the indictment, alleging that the crime and puniſhment of ſedition were not ſufficiently defined to call on him for a defence: but this objection was repelled by the Solicitor General, who clearly ſhewed, from the oldeſt law book in Scotland, called *Regiam Majeſtatem*, and from other good authorities, that it was deſtitute of foundation.

The priſoner then returned to his

his complaint reſpecting witneſſes. The Lord Juſtice Clerk aſſured him he ſhould not be deprived of the benefit of his teſtimony, but when he proceeded to require a caption againſt the duke of Richmond, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Pitt, he was informed that the Court could not iſſue proceſs, to be executed beyond the limits of its own juriſdiction.

The jury being ſworn, the following evidence was produced.

William Scott and *Harry Davidſon* proved the arreſt of the priſoner, the ſeizure of his papers, which they alſo identified, his voluntary declaration at the Sheriff Clerk's Office, and the circumſtances attending the diſperſion of the Britiſh Convention on the 6th of December.

Joſeph Mack, *James Lyon*, and *John Macdonald*, proved ſeparate circumſtances relating to the arreſt and papers.

Thomas Cockburn, one of the friends of the people, and a delegate to the Britiſh Convention, proved the diviſion of the Convention into ſections, the uſe of the term *Citizen*, the formation of the Committee of Union and Secrecy; that the priſoner frequently acted as preſes or chairman; the circumſtances under which the Convention of Emergency was to meet; and a motion on the ſubject made by the priſoner.

On his croſs-examination he ſaid the aſſociations of which he was a member were convened only for the purpoſe of obtaining reform by peaceable means; force of arms was never mentioned in the Convention, and the laſt thing he ſhould wiſh to ſee, was a drop of blood ſpilt in the cauſe. Led by interrogatories from the priſoner, he explained the Committee of Union to be deſigned only for drawing up regulations by which the people of England and Scotland might join in obtaining a reform of Parliament. Committees of Secrecy were common in all clubs; the Committee of Organization was merely to regulate the internal affairs of the Convention. The terms, ſittings, preſes, and Convention, had no meaning beyond their literal import, though the reading of newſpapers might have rendered the uſe of them more familiar than the words which would have been ſynonymous. The remainder of his evidence conſiſted of his opinions on the reſpectability of the individuals compoſing the Convention, the rights of the people, and the powers of Parliament.

Alexander Aitcheſon, who was a witneſs on Skirving's trial, being aſked whether he had any malice or ill-will againſt the priſoner, anſwered that he eſteemed him a ſecond Sydney, and if he had not a family would rather appear at the bar as a criminal, than on the table as a witneſs. He proved that the Convention had adjourned their meetings, but reſumed them on the arrival of Engliſh delegates; Citizen Margarot, Citizen Sinclair, and Citizen Gerald, he ſaid, were ſent from London, and Citizen Brown from Sheffield. The ſcroll of minutes was a fair and diſtinct account of what took place in the Convention. And in general the witneſs proved the priſoner's active agency in the motions relative to a Committee of Secrecy, and a Convention of Emergency.

On his croſs-examination he de-

clared the sole view of the Convention to be a reform of Parliament, by peaceable means: he thought the proceedings and motions excellent. The Convention always began and ended their sittings by prayer; no seditious or riotous appearance ever existed among them; no word was mentioned tending to overturn the Constitution; or against the King; but much was said against placemen and pensioners.

George Ross gave evidence not materially different from that of Aitcheson, but he explained the blank space in the book of minutes, a little more than he had on the trial of Skirving; "the resolution then passed," he said, "was referred to be entered at the last part of the minutes." What the resolution was, or by whom moved, he pretended not to recollect, and his memory was equally frail on many other points.

William Ross proved the active agency of the prisoner in moving for the Committee of Secrecy and Convention of Emergency.

On his cross-examination he said he never heard that the Convention of Emergency was to assist the French if they invaded the country; nor did the prisoner propose that they should meet armed; or correspond with any foreign enemy: the assembling of this Convention of Emergency was to take place in case of the *illegal* dispersion of the British Convention.

John Wardlaw, also a member of these associations, was called, but he was drunk. He answered a few questions, but behaving with great indecorum, and swearing profanely, he was committed for a month.

The evidence for the Crown closed by reading the prisoner's declaration after his caption, in which he declined answering all questions.

Evidence for the Prisoner.

Harry Davidson proved that the prisoner remonstrated on the illegality and hardship of his arrest, and entered a protest against the proceedings.

The right hon. Thomas Elder, Lord Provost, being sworn, proved only that if any confusion, tumult, or riot existed at the meeting at Laing's workshop, on the 6th of December, it was occasioned by the magistrates interfering, and that he had heard from Skirving, that the intention of the meeting was to consider of an address for a reform in Parliament, by petition to the King, or to Parliament.

The Lord Justice Clerk was then called, the prisoner observing that he had received a piece of information which he should lay before the Court, in the course of his questions:—first, My lord, are you upon oath?

Lord Justice Clerk. State your questions, and I will tell you whether I will answer them or not; if they are proper questions I will answer them.

Q. Did you dine at Mr. Rochead's at Inverleith in the course of last week?

A. And what have you, to do with that, Sir?

Q. Did any conversation take place with regard to my trial?

A. Go on, Sir.

Q. Did you use these words: "What should you think of giving him an hundred lashes, together with Botany Bay;" or words to that purpose?

A. Go

A. Go on, put your questions, if you have any more.

Q. Did any person, did a lady say to you that the mob would not allow you to whip him? and, my lord, did you not say that the mob would be the better for losing a little blood? These are the questions, my lord, that I wish to put to you at present, in the presence of the Court: deny them or acknowledge them.

The *Lord Justice Clerk* demanded the opinion of the Court whether he should answer these questions, and all the judges concurred in declaring he should not. No answer that could be given could at all avail the prisoner as to his innocency, or even alleviate the charge, and they were on the whole insulting to the Court. —The prisoner then called

Charles Stewart; intending to prove that the friends of reform had been libelled in a newspaper called the Edinburgh Herald: but the Court refused such testimony, as tending to an endless discussion, and irrelevant to the cause.

James Calder proved that the proceedings of the last Convention did not differ from those of the two preceding; they were all void of violence, tumult, or sedition, and in his opinion their proceedings were perfectly constitutional. No extraordinary measures were taken to give strength to the Convention of Emergency, beyond those which the British Convention enjoyed. No warlike preparations were made, and no money subscribed. The meeting on the 6th of December was dispersed without any real violence, the mere offer to use force being deemed sufficient.

John Clark deposed, that the motives and proceedings of the British Convention were perfectly regular, and, from his knowledge of the constitution, conformable to the claim of rights and the bill of rights.

On cross-examination, he could not recollect any thing of the claim or bill of rights, he had never read the habeas-corpus act, nor that of 1701 against wrongous imprisonment; he did not even know whether it was a Scotch or English act.

The Lord Advocate then addressed the jury at considerable length, repelling many calumnious observations made by the prisoner in the course of his defence, stating the law on his case, and shewing the application of the evidence, both written and oral.

The prisoner, in a speech of four hours duration, endeavoured not so much to prove his own innocence of the charges laid in the indictment, as to raise a prejudice against the Court; he abused the Lord Advocate in gross terms; the sheriff substitute, the judges, and the British ministry, were equally reviled; the enormity of the national debt and taxes, the influence of the Crown in the House of Commons, the supposed system of spies and informers, afforded themes for long declamations, and he read copious extracts from books and newspapers on these subjects. Having disposed of these topics, he entered into a vindication of the British Convention and the London Corresponding Society, still intermingling with his other observations much abuse, particularly of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, and soon returned

ed to the general arguments on which he had previouſly dwelt with ſo much delight.

Having at length taken his leave of the jury, he ſaid, "give me leave now to call to your lordſhips attention your particular duty:"—, but the Lord Juſtice Clerk interrupting him, ſaid, he would not receive his inſtructions, and ſummed up the proceedings, though the priſoner had previouſly declared his reſolution to check him if he did not go on properly.

The ſumming up was ſhort and candid; the Lord Juſtice Clerk ſtated the nature of the crime of ſedition and the ſcope of the defence, referring to the judgment of the jury, whether a numerous aſſociation, diviſion into ſections, committees from ſections, motions, a committee of ſecrecy, a convention of emergency, and declarations of permanent ſittings, were all neceſſary meaſures towards a tranquil petition to Parliament for a reform in the repreſentation; or whether the whole tenour of the proceedings did not indicate a further object which was not avowed, but veiled in myſtery. If they were of opinion that the meeting was ſeditious, they muſt conſider whether the priſoner was guilty or innocent. A man coming to Scotland as delegate from a ſociety in London, and with no other errand; leaving his buſineſs in London, attending thoſe meetings, daily; taking the active part, making motions, and making that very important motion for a Committee of Secrecy; and named one of that Committee;—can he be innocent of the crime of ſedition?

The Court then ſeparated, and on the following day, the jury returned an unanimous verdict of guilty.

The Priſoner renewed his objection to the competency of the Court, complained of the refuſal of the caption againſt witneſſes reſident in England, and of the Lord Juſtice Clerk's having refuſed to anſwer his queſtions; urging all theſe as grounds of appeal: but they were overruled by the Court unanimouſly, and ſentence pronounced, dooming him to tranſportation for fourteen years.

The trial of Joſeph Gerrald, *delegate from the London Correſponding Society to the Britiſh Convention, before the High Court of Juſticiary, at Edinburgh, on the 3d, 10th, 13th, and 14th of March*, 1794; *for* Sedition.

BEFORE the indictment was read, the priſoner complained that ſome gentlemen at the Bar had refuſed to act as counſel for him, and ſolicited the Court to appoint him ſome: the Lord Advocate vindicated the honour of the Bar, by ſhewing that at Mr. Gerrald's own deſire, the trial had been delayed nineteen days beyond the firſt notice, to afford him time for the arrangement of his affairs in London. He had not ſet out on his return till his time of abſence was nearly expired, and owing to a fall of ſnow did not reach Edinburgh till the day fixed for his trial was paſt, and the Lord Advocate had proceeded in that of Mr. Charles Sinclair. Gerrald was preſent at that trial, and ſaw that counſel acted freely for the priſoner, but yet had not applied for any for himſelf, till the evening before his trial, though in the interval

terval a whole fortnight had elapſed. It was not intended, however, to reſiſt his application for aſſiſtance, and therefore he was ſuffered to nominate Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Laing, and Mr. Gillies, as his counſel, and Mr. Gibſon, or Mr. Campbell, as his agent; and his trial was poſtponed for a week.

On the 10th, the priſoner objected to the Lord Juſtice Clerk ſitting as one of his judges; alleging, that in a converſation at the houſe of James Roehead, of Inverleith, he had ſaid, "that the members of the Britiſh Convention deſerved tranſportation for fourteen years, and even public whipping;" and when it was remarked by one of the company that the mob would not permit the infliction of ſuch a puniſhment, he replied, "the mob would be the better for the ſpilling of a little blood." The Lord Juſtice Clerk quitted the Chair while the other judges delivered their opinions on this objection, which they all declared groundleſs. Every man who noticed the proceedings of the Britiſh Convention, muſt concur in pronouncing them highly ſeditious, and liable to puniſhment, though the general ſentence could apply to no man till he was found guilty; but if after that, a mob attempted to impede the courſe of juſtice, there could be no doubt of the propriety of uſing force to repel a violent attempt againſt the ſentence of the law.

The Lord Juſtice Clerk having reſumed the Chair, the indictment was read.

It ſtated that a number of ſeditious and ill-diſpoſed perſons having, in the latter months of 1793, formed a ſeditious and illegal aſſociation; the priſoner did come into Scotland for the purpoſe of joining and aſſiſting thoſe perſons, who at firſt aſſembled under the deſignation of "*A General Convention of the Friends of the People:*" but thereafter preſumptuouſly and ſeditiouſly aſſumed the name of "*The Britiſh Convention of the Delegates of the People, aſſociated to obtain univerſal Suffrage and annual Parliaments;*" and did in the whole form and manner of their procedure, as well as in the principles they avowed and propagated, clearly and unequivocally demonſtrate that their purpoſes were of the moſt dangerous and deſtructive tendency, hoſtile to the peace and happineſs, and tending to ſubvert the conſtitution of this realm; imitating, in the form and tenour of their proceedings, the Convention of France, the public and avowed enemies of this country, and with whom Great Britain then was, and ſtill is, at war; the members calling each other, at their meetings, by the name of *Citizen*; dividing themſelves into *ſections*; receiving reports from ſaid ſections, ſome of which bear date "*Liberty Court,*" "*Liberty Stairs,*" "*Liberty Hall,*" "*Firſt Year of the Britiſh Convention, One and Indiviſible*"; and ſome of which have *Vive la Convention* prefixed to them, and end with *ça-ira*; inſtituting *primary ſocieties, provincial aſſemblies* and *departments*; appointing committees of various kinds, ſuch as of *organization of inſtructions of finance*, and of *ſecrecy*; denominating their meetings *ſittings*; granting *honours of ſittings*; and making *honourable mention* in their minutes.

The

The indictment further charged that at a meeting of the Convention, held the 21st of November, 1793, the prisoner addressed the chairman in a seditious speech, which was recited at length from the Edinburgh Gazetteer, inciting the people to unite in Corresponding Societies, demand the right of universal suffrage, and put no faith in the leaders of parties, who uniformly had, and ever would, deceive them. The prisoner was also charged with having concurred in the motions for a Secret Committee and Convention of Emergency; and enforced them by another speech, with having joined in all the acts of the Convention till their dispersion, and with having at that time declared the conduct of the magistrates illegal, taken the chair after the first chairman had left it, and continued to sit till pulled from it by the sheriff substitute.

The prisoner having pleaded *not guilty*, Mr. Gillies addressed the Court in an eloquent speech, to prove that the indictment was altogether irrelevant, or at least that it was irrelevant to infer that punishment which had been inflicted in other cases of sedition. He was answered with equal ability by Mr. Montgomery, and the Solicitor General; and on behalf of the prisoner, Mr. Laing was heard at great length in reply; he reinforced the arguments adduced by Mr. Gillies, and particularly pressed on the Court that sentence of transportation would, in the prisoner's actual state of health, amount to sentence of death. The judges then delivered their opinions at large, overruling the objections, and repelling the arguments used to excite compassion by the peculiar enormity of the prisoner's conduct in leaving his own residence in London, for the sole purpose of extending sedition in Scotland.

On the 13th of March, the jury was sworn; the prisoner objected to Mr. William Creech, bookseller, as having declared, in private conversations, that he would, if called on the assize, condemn any member of the British Convention; and to William Ranken, as being the King's taylor, and therefore dependent on the Crown. Mr. Creech denied the expression which was imputed to him: both objections were overruled, and witnesses called.

William Scott, *Henry Davidson*, *James Lyon*, *Joseph Mack*, and *John Dingwall*, proved the circumstances attending the arrest of the prisoner, the seizure of his papers, the manner of securing and identifying them, and the dispersal of the last meeting of the British Convention, when the prisoner took the chair after Margarot had been forcibly expelled, and terminated the sitting with a prayer.

Thomas Cockburn, a person delegated from the friends of the people to the British Convention, proved that the second Convention met in November, on occasion of the arrival of some delegates from England, of whom the prisoner was one. That the members called each other Citizen, denominated their smaller bodies divisions and sections, formed committees of union, finance, and secrecy, termed their meetings, sittings, and, on one occasion, invited a person to the honours of the sitting, though he believed it

was done humourouſly, and not entered in the minutes. He alſo proved the proceedings relative to a convention of emergency, the caſes in which that Convention was to aſſemble, and the ſpeeches made by the priſoner, though he could not venture to affirm that the reports of them in the Gazetteer were correct. *(The candour and correctneſs of this witneſs were much applauded.)*

Alexander Aitcheſon, alſo a member of the Britiſh Convention, prefaced his evidence by ſaying he conſidered the priſoner a *ſecond Lycurgus*, a voluntary exile for the good of his country, and for the ſame reaſon too;—a wiſh to give a better code of laws to his countrymen than they have hitherto enjoyed. He reluctantly corroborated many of the facts proved by the preceding witneſs; but when interrogated reſpecting the change made by the Convention in the denominations of ſtreets and public places, he began a diſſertation which put a period to his evidence.

William Roſs, printer of the Gazetteer, gave evidence of nearly ſimilar import to that which he had delivered on the former trials: but he did not prove the ſpeech of the priſoner to have been accurately reported in the Gazetteer.

George Roſs, the laſt witneſs called, gave ſimilar teſtimony, but proved the inaccuracy of the reports in the Gazetteer.

The evidence being concluded; the Solicitor General, in an able and luminous ſpeech, ſhewed its application to the charge, the criminality of the acts proved, and the participation of the priſoner in them.

The priſoner then addreſſed the Court in an oration of extraordinary length, and very unequal compoſition, ſome parts being very feeble, others extremely eloquent. The caſe of Hampden, he obſerved, was of far inferior importance to his; that was only a conteſt between the King and the ſubject, whether ſupplies, undoubtedly intended for the public good, ſhould be raiſed by the Crown or by Parliament; this cauſe was to decide whether man, by nature ſocial and rational, ſhould meet in ſociety for the purpoſe of improving his faculties, and exerciſing thoſe powers of reaſon which the common Father of all had given to enlighten the underſtanding and ennoble the heart; or whether by relinquiſhing every thing virtuous, every thing praiſe-worthy, every thing valuable in the condition of humanity, he ſhould be reduced to a ſituation beneath the beaſts that periſh.

He compared the proceedings of the Court of Juſticiary to thoſe of the Star Chamber, and complained of the ſeizure of his papers and the interception of one of his letters; if fugitation, he obſerved, was a preſumption of guilt, appearance, by parity of reaſon, muſt be conſidered a preſumption of innocence; and notwithſtanding the ſtrong inducements held out by the ſociety who delegated him, and who could have paid the forfeiture of his bail, he had reſiſted every propoſition of the kind. After ſome more obſervations of this ſort, the priſoner divided the charge againſt him into four heads. The firſt, that of uſing French terms, was, he ſaid, of ſo extraordinary a nature, that he was

diſpoſed

diſpoſed to treat it with ſilent contempt, as equally ridiculous and fallacious. The tenures of Littleton, the works of Britton, and other high legal authorities, were in French: but if the intruſion of French terms was a crime, Roſs had proved that they were not introduced by him.

The ſecond charge, that of uſing the term *Citizen*, he briefly defended, as perfectly harmleſs, a token of peace, and an indication of the relationſhip in which individuals ſtood to each other.

On the third charge, that the meetings of the Convention were illegal and ſeditious, the priſoner defended himſelf at great length. The intention he avowed to have been that of obtaining, by peaceful means, annual Parliaments and univerſal Suffrage: and to prove the right of the people to theſe, he cited a long ſeries of hiſtorical facts, and political arguments, from authors of every claſs, ancient and modern, and reaſoned from all the analogies he could derive from thoſe quotations, from the practice in Penſylvania, and from mere abſtract principles. In his zealous eulogy on reform, he ſaid the revolution was an innovation, the reformation an innovation, and Chriſtianity itſelf an innovation. At this period he was ſtopped by the judges, who declared he would long ago have been interrupted, his whole ſpeech had been ſedition, and now he was beginning an attack on Chriſtianity.

The priſoner proceeded in his harangue, and after ſome further obſervations on the unequal ſtate of parliamentary repreſentation, vindicated himſelf againſt the laſt head of charge, that drawn from his printed ſpeeches, by defending each of the aſſertions and arguments againſt which the counſel for the Crown had ſtated objections. He then (to uſe his own phraſe) diſſected the evidence, calling it ſcanty and inſufficient, and ſuch as rendered it impoſſible to fix on him any well-grounded charge of ſedition.

He then deſcanted on the abſurdity of having a different ſyſtem of law for England and Scotland, and returned to a defence of his own principles, ſupporting them by new authorities.

"Gentlemen," he concluded, "I am in your hands, I feel not the ſlighteſt anxiety, if it would promote the cauſe, I would cheerfully make the ſacrifice; for, if I periſh on an occaſion like the preſent, out of my aſhes will ariſe a flame to conſume the tyrants and oppreſſors of my country. Moral light is as irreſiſtible by the mind, as phyſical by the eye. All attempts to impede its progreſs are vain. It will roll rapidly along; and as well may tyrants imagine, that, by placing their feet upon earth, they can ſtop its diurnal motion, as that they ſhall be able, by efforts the moſt virulent and pertinacious, to extinguiſh the light of reaſon and philoſophy, which, happily for mankind, is every where ſpreading around us. Surely the experience of all ages ſhould have taught our rulers, that perſecutions never can efface principles; and that the thunders of the State will prove impotent when wielded againſt patriotiſm, innocence, and firmneſs. Whether therefore

therefore I ſhall be permitted to glide gently down the current of life in the boſom of my native country, among thoſe kindred ſpirits whoſe approbation conſtitutes the greateſt comforts of my living, or whether I be doomed to drag out the remainder of my exiſtence amidſt thieves and murderers, a wandering exile on the bleak and melancholy ſhores of New Holland, my mind, equal to either fortune, is prepared to meet the deſtiny that awaits it;—

——"Seu me tranquilla ſenectus
Expectat, ſeu mors atris circumvolat alis,
Dives, inops, Romæ, ſeu fors ita juſſerit, exul."

To be torn a bleeding member from that country which we love, is indeed, upon the firſt view, painful in the extreme; but all things ceaſe to be painful, when we are ſupported by the conſciouſneſs that we have done our duty to our fellow creatures; and a wiſe man riſing ſuperior to all local prejudices, if aſked for his country, will turn his eyes from this dim ſpot which men call earth, and will point, like Anaxagoras, to the Heavens.

Gentlemen, my cauſe is in your hands.—You are Britons—you are freemen. Nothing more is therefore neceſſary to be ſaid. You have heard the charge, you have heard the evidence; and you know the puniſhment which follows upon your conviction. Weigh well, then, whether the charge itſelf involves any guilt; whether the evidence produced *affixes* that charge upon me; and above all, whether, in caſe of conviction, the puniſhment which I am to ſuffer, is not more than proportionate to the offence.

Before I take my leave of you this night, perhaps for ever, let me remind you that juſtice is, in every ſituation, and in none more than that of a jury, to be adminiſtered in mercy. Upon your ſtrict attention to this grand moral maxim, depends your own final doom and unalterable allotment, and to thoſe who refuſe to practiſe it, "the throne of mercy will be inacceſſible, and the Saviour of the world will have been born in vain."

The Lord Juſtice Clerk ſummed up the proceedings in a ſhort and judicious ſpeech; and on the enſuing day (March 14), the jury brought in an unanimous verdict of *guilty*. The priſoner's counſel took an objection to the verdict, as not ſtating that the jury had conſidered the defence made by the priſoner, though ſupported by no evidence; but this, after a very ſhort diſcuſſion, was overruled. The priſoner, being aſked if he had any wiſh to addreſs the Court, ſaid,

"My Lord, I have very little to ſay. I am as little hurt, as I am ſurprized at the verdict returned, inaſmuch as I find that the public proſecutor himſelf, in the Houſe of Commons, anticipated the fate which I was to meet; but, my Lord, I truſt that a moral and enlightened world, collectively, will do juſtice to the purity of the motives which have actuated my conduct; and I glory in being the advocate of a cauſe with which is complicated truth, juſtice, and freedom, which I know *muſt* and *will* ultimately triumph.

The judges then delivered their opinions *ſeriatim*; and Mr. Gerald was ſentenced to be tranſported for the term of fourteen years.

Trial

Trial of Robert Watt, *for high treason, before the Court under the special commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, held at Edinburgh on Thurſday the 14th of Auguſt, 1794, before Hay Campbell, Lord Preſident of the College of Juſtice, and eight other Judges.*

The accuſtomed forms having been gone through, and the grand jury ſworn, the Lord Preſident addreſſed to them a brief but well compoſed charge, expounding the law reſpecting high treaſon, and explaining its policy. On this ſubject he obſerved, that it had been the good fortune of the lawyers in Scotland, to have few means of gaining knowledge from experience. Several preparatory motions relative to evidence were made, a true bill was returned againſt Robert Watt and David Downie, and another againſt John Edmonds Stock.

15th. The priſoners Watt and Downie had counſel and agents aſſigned them, and the Court adjourned for a week.

22d. Some difficulties having ariſen reſpecting the counſel aſſigned, the Court adjourned to the 27th, and again on the requeſt of the priſoners to the

3d Sept.; when a jury was ſworn.

The indictment charged the priſoner with high treaſon, of which eighteen overt acts were aſſigned. They conſiſted in conſpiring to procure the holding of a Convention which was to ſuperſede the Parliament, aſſume the powers of Government and Legiſlation, redreſs national grievances, and alter the mode of repreſentation without the conſent of Parliament; in conſpiring to oblige the King to alter the meaſures of Government, to raiſe inſurrection and rebellion againſt him, to force him to comply with their demands, to ſeize by force the Caſtle of Edinburgh, ſurprize, attack, and fight the King's forces, take poſſeſſion of the public Banks, and the Exciſe Office, and to ſeize and impriſon the Juſtice Clerk, the Lords of Council and Seſſion and Juſticiary, and the Lord Provoſt of Edinburgh. The remaining acts were, the methods taken to induce other people to aid in this conſpiracy, the diſtribution of publications for that purpoſe, and the meaſures adopted to procure arms.

The Lord Advocate briefly recapitulated the charge, and Mr. Anſtruther, as counſel for the Crown, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, detailed the circumſtances affecting the priſoner, applying the law, as he proceeded, and ſupporting his arguments by references to the beſt authorities.

He traced the law from the ſtatute of Edward III; contending that in order to convict a perſon of compaſſing and imagining the King's death, it was not neceſſary to prove ſome direct or poſitive deſign to poiſon or aſſaſſinate the King, or put an end to his life by any direct method. If the party intended to do that which in its natural conſequence endangered the life of the King; if he uſed means to accompliſh a purpoſe which placed his Majeſty in a ſituation of peril, and thoſe means were ſtated in the indictment, he muſt be found guilty; for men ſhall not be allowed to attempt to place the Sovereign in ſuch ſituations, and then ſay they did not compaſs the death of the King, becauſe they did not intend the natural and neceſſary conſequences

conſequences reſulting from their acts. In corroboration of theſe doctrines, he cited Juſtices Forſter and Hale, and to prove that conſpiring to levy war was a ſufficient overt act of treaſon, he cited a principle eſtabliſhed very early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and maintained by Hale, Hawkins, Holt, and by Pratt, lord chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, in Layer's caſe, which occurred in the reign of George I.

Proceeding then from the law to the facts in the caſe, Mr. Anſtruther related the formation, in Scotland, of a conſpiracy, not of a few individuals, but one which had ariſen, indeed, from a ſmall beginning, which at firſt put on the appearance of a deſire to purſue legal objects, but at laſt, from ſmall beginnings, had grown into a deſign to overſet the conſtitution of the country, and which, but for the vigilant interference of the magiſtrates appointed by the conſtitution, was nearly being carried into execution, and might, in its direct conſequences and immediate tendency, have deluged this kingdom from one end to the other with blood.

He related the mode of forming ſocieties, which called, or miſcalled, themſelves Friends of the People, and their petitions for reforms, which were not attended with ſucceſs. In 1793, a new ſcheme was adopted, the origin of which he attributed to a perſon of the name of Hardy, who was ſecretary to a ſeditious ſociety in London of great magnitude. The correſpondence of Hardy with Skirving was the firſt dawning of the plan which produced the Britiſh Convention, the proceedings and reſolutions of which Mr. Anſtruther enumerated ſo far as they ſhewed a deſign to reſiſt or change the government by force. He would prove, he ſaid, that the priſoner at the Bar adopted theſe reſolutions, followed out theſe plans, took means to collect that fund, and elect thoſe delegates who were to ſet the Legiſlature at defiance, and provided and collected arms to render this plan ſucceſsful, and their reſiſtance effectual.

After the Britiſh Convention had been diſperſed, the London Correſponding Society projected the formation of a new one, to meet on the ſame events, to reſiſt Government on the ſame pretences, to aſſume the ſame powers, and be compoſed in the ſame manner as the Convention at Edinburgh. To this Convention the priſoner was to ſend a delegate, and for the ſupport of ſuch a body was he to provide a fund.

The next important ſtep was the meeting at Chalk Farm, near London; and Mr. Anſtruther read the proceedings there, and the reſolutions and letters ſigned by Hardy, and diſperſed all over the country, and particularly one beginning with the words, "the critical moment is arrived," and inciting the people of Scotland to call another Britiſh Convention, and informing them that for this purpoſe they had appointed a Secret Committee.

If the caſe were to ſtop here, the anſwer would be, "what is all this to the priſoner?" but having ſhewn the exiſtence of a conſpiracy to overturn the Government, he would prove the priſoner's participation in it. Hardly ſo much as two years ago, he had pretended to

be a friend to the exiſting Government, and wrote to a perſon in a very eminent ſituation, offering to give him information reſpecting the proceedings of ſocieties, who then called themſelves Friends of the People. To this letter he received an anſwer, and had afterwards ſome correſpondence with Mr. Dundas, to whom perſonally he alſo gave ſome information. He had ſubpœna'd Mr. Dundas, and the jury would hear from him the whole tranſaction: particulars which Mr. Dundas had no objection to ſtate, though he might have ſheltered himſelf under his ſituation, and demurred till he knew what queſtions could be aſked.

That correſpondence, ſuch as it was, ceaſed about the middle of the year 1793; anterior to the meeting of the Britiſh Convention, and to all the treaſonable conſpiracies and reſolutions to reſiſt Government.

It was not to be proved that the priſoner was member of the ſociety of Friends of the People, and it would therefore be neceſſary to connect him with the acts of the Convention, to ſhew his intention of calling another Convention, and the means he took to collect delegates, and provide funds for their ſupport, and connect him with the conſpiracy againſt the exiſting Government of the State.

When the activity of magiſtrates and force of law had diſperſed the Britiſh Convention, it ceaſed to exiſt in form, but not in fact; for ſoon afterwards the ſocieties which had ſent members, and many of the members of the Convention itſelf formed themſelves into another body, for the purpoſe of carrying into effect various objects of the Britiſh Convention, of keeping its ſpirit alive, and of calling another Convention ſimilar to that which was juſt diſperſed. They called themſelves a Committee of Correſpondence, a General Committee, or a Committee of Union; the priſoner as a member; the objects of the Committee were to ſelect delegates to another Britiſh Convention to be called in England, and to provide a fund for defraying their expences. This Convention was not to be for the purpoſe of petitioning, or any other innocent or legal purpoſe, but it was a direct conſpiracy againſt the government and conſtitution of the country.

In proof of this, Mr. Anſtruther read from the books of the Committee, "the fundamental principles of the ſocieties," by which it was declared, that if a *repreſentative was attacked in diſcharge of his duty, his conſtituents were bound by nature, reaſon, and honour, to defend him.*

Not content with the formation of this Committee, another was choſen, of which the priſoner was alſo a member, called a Committee of Ways and Means. It was choſen by the Committee of Union from amongſt its own members; it was a ſecret committee, kept no books, committed nothing to writing, had a power of expelling any of its own members, was permanent, and had the power of filling up vacancies. It was to tranſact all the money matters of the Friends of the People, to collect money for defraying the expences of delegates, and for all the other purpoſes, engaged in by the Friends of the People; and particularly it was

was to collect money for the ſupport of what they called the *Great Cauſe*.

This Committee, conſiſting of five perſons, was choſen in March laſt, and elected Downie treaſurer. It then ſent round to different parts of the country to recommend rules which it had framed for the regulation of all other ſocieties. It directed the different Committees in the country to inform the Committee of Ways and Means how many friends they had, whoſe patriotiſm they could rely on with moſt implicit confidence, and who would ſpare no exertions in promoting the *Great Cauſe*.

Thus all the Friends of the People in Scotland were to truſt and implicitly obey the orders of the Committee, who were to diſburſe the money as they thought fit, and who diſperſed their directions from one end of Scotland to the other.

One of their early acts was to anſwer the letter of Thomas Hardy, for the purpoſe of opening a correſpondence with the London ſocieties, for the purpoſe of aiding their views and furthering their projects of calling another Britiſh Convention.

Another of the acts of the Committee of Ways and Means was an attempt to debauch the ſoldiers, to ſeduce the ſencibles who were then on their march to England, and quartered at Dalkeith. Watt, and other members of that Committee, met, compoſed, printed, and circulated a paper for that purpoſe. It attempted to inſtil into their minds an idea that if they left this country, the Government or its friends and ſupporters would butcher their wives and children whom they had left behind them, and inſtigated them to mutiny and revolt, holding out the promiſe of the ſupport of thouſands in their rebellion.

After the Committee had taken theſe meaſures, Watt himſelf laid before them a diſtinct and deliberate plan for deſtroying the Government of the country. Its outlines were theſe: a fire was to be lighted at, or at ſome place near, the Exciſe Office, to attract the ſoldiers in the Caſtle; when they marched out to extinguiſh the fire, they were to be met by a party of the Friends of the People; another party was to be ſtationed near the head of the Weſt Row, another at the Luckenbooths; the ſoldiers were to be incloſed between theſe bodies, to be ſurpriſed, deſtroyed, or made priſoners; this done, the judges, and particularly my Lord Juſtice Clerk, were to be ſeized and impriſoned; then they were to ſeize every Banking-Houſe in the city of Edinburgh, and to get poſſeſſion of the Caſtle itſelf; and a proclamation was to be iſſued and diſperſed by couriers all over the country, ordering all farmers and dealers of corn, grain, and meal, to bring in their grain and corn to market as uſual, upon pain of death, and commanding all country gentlemen to keep their houſes, or at leaſt not to depart from them to any diſtance exceeding three miles, under the ſame penalty. When this plan was carried, and when theſe objects were obtained, an addreſs was to be ſent to His Majeſty, commanding him to put an end to the war, change his miniſters, or take the conſequences.

Before this plan was to take effect, all the Friends of the People

were to be armed; a perſon of the name of Fairley was ſent on a circuit or embaſſy round the country; he carried with him the circular letter, and other papers, from the Committee of Ways and Means; he was empowered to collect money, and ſend it to the Committee of Ways and Means, for the ſupport of the *Great Cauſe*, to circulate the papers, to diſcover the ſentiments of the different ſocieties, to ſound them on the ſubject of arming, and to find out how many in each place might be depended upon for the execution of the grand plan, which was about to be executed, and which provided, as they termed it, for every thing. Mr. Watt, and the members of that committee, took upon themſelves to act, as if they were already in poſſeſſion of all the authority which the ſucceſs of their project could give them, and gave under their hands and ſeals the inſtructions to direct him in his peregrinations through the country. Fairley faithfully promiſed his embaſſy; he went to Stirling, to Campſie, to Saint Ninians, to Glaſgow, Paiſley, and other places; what he did at ſome of thoſe places, and particularly at Stirling, would be given in evidence. Upon his return, like a faithful meſſenger, he made his report to the Committee of Ways and Means, and reſtored, as he was directed, his inſtructions and credentials. Upon that, in order to induce the people more readily to arm, and to facilitate the plan, reports were ſpread among the Societies of the Friends of the People, that the gentlemen of Goldſmith's Hall were getting arms, that the French were landing, that the Friends of the People would be put in a double ſituation of danger, that they would be butchered by Ariſtocrats on one hand, and by the French on the other, becauſe the French would not know them; all theſe reports were ſpread for exciting the people to adopt the plan more readily. Mr. Watt, and the Committee of Ways and Means, about the time that Fairley was ſent for upon that miſſion, employed perſons for the purpoſe of making arms. Watt gave one Orrock an order for four thouſand pikes, and Mr. Brown, in another part of the city, was alſo employed.

About the ſame time of the miſſion of Fairley, another officer of the Friends of the People was elected, called a Collector; every diſtrict was to furniſh one for every ten or twenty of its members; they were to communicate directly with the Committee of Ways and Means, to have a permanent preſes, and be immediately under its authority. The buſineſs of theſe Collectors was to collect, to uſe their own phraſe, *ſenſe and money;* the opinions of the people, and what money they could; but another not leſs important part of their buſineſs, which was more ſecret, and only communicated to the permanent preſes of theſe collectors was, that they were to have the diſtribution of the pikes, and the command of the parties; a number of thoſe pikes would be produced before you, which Watt deſired to be carried down to the meeting of the collectors; the anſwer was, I will not take them now, I cannot truſt the collectors as yet.

Such, Mr. Anſtruther ſaid, were the facts he had to lay before the jury.

jury. If he proved them, he could hardly doubt they would amount to High Treason. He had ſtated them for the purpoſe of explaining to their underſtanding, the bearings of the evidence; but the jury were to lay them all out of their minds unleſs they were proved, and determine from the evidence, and that alone.

Evidence for the Crown.

Edward Lawzen proved the ſeizure of Hardy's papers in London, and identified the letter of Skirving referred to in the ſpeech of Mr. Anſtruther, and ſome others.

William Scott proved the apprehending of Skirving, and the ſeizure of his papers, and produced one of them, comprized in ninety-five pages, intitled, "Scroll Minutes of the Britiſh Convention." He identified, among other papers, reſolutions and letters from Hardy and others. He ſeized alſo the papers of Margarot and Gerald, and of Sinclair, and ſtated the circumſtances attending the diſperſion of the Britiſh Convention.

John Taylor, of Fleet-ſtreet, London, a member of the London Correſponding Society, proved Hardy to be ſecretary, proved his hand-writing in ſeveral letters, and in the certificates, that Margarot and Gerald were elected delegates to the Britiſh Convention. He explained the conſtitution of the London Correſponding Society, related their meeting at the Globe Tavern, on the 20th of January, 1794. They eſtabliſhed a permanent committee, to meet every day, in order to watch the motions of Parliament, and if they ſaw any bill introduced to bring over foreign troops, or ſuſpend the Habeas Corpus Act, or prevent meetings for conſtitutional information, then they were to oppoſe that, and repel force by force. He went on to prove the meeting at Chalk Farm, on the 14th of April, 1794, the paſſing of reſolutions, which, as well as thoſe at the Globe, were afterwards printed. The printed reſolutions varied from thoſe which he heard propoſed at Chalk Farm, by omitting theſe expreſſions, "that the Miniſters having adviſed the king, to ſuch conduct as brought Charles I. to the block, and drove the prince his ſon from the throne; therefore the Miniſters have been guilty of High Treaſon." This witneſs alſo proved the formation of a Committee of Emergency, and the exiſtence of military diviſions of the ſociety. The reſolutions at the Globe Tavern were then put in and read.

Edward Goſling, clerk to Mr. Wickham, a magiſtrate in London, proved the intentions of the Correſponding Society, to form a Convention, and arm for its protection, as had been done in Paris.

Alexander Aitchiſon, a member of the Britiſh Convention, and ſub-ſecretary to Skirving, proved the minutes and reſolutions of that aſſembly, and their diſperſion in December laſt. Early in January, the Committee of Union was appointed, of which Watt and he were members; its buſineſs was to preſerve certainly an union among the friends of reform, and to correſpond. They were alſo to collect money for the purpoſe of paying their paſt debts, and to pay the delegates to the Convention, which was to be held in England. This Convention was to be for the

ſame purpoſes as the late Britiſh Convention; had heard, in converſations out of doors, of arms, and ſeen two pikes at Roſs's houſe, where a Committee of Union met. He had heard converſations about arms, ſome ſaid the people were to take them up againſt the French, as well as againſt the Hanoverians and Heſſians; the opinion of others was, that they ſhould arm in favour of liberty, but no ſpecific reſolution was adopted. He had been at the Committee but once, and at Watts's houſe once, when Watt told him ſome buſineſs of importance would ſoon be on the carpet, and ſome perſons (but who he could not recollect) uttering ſimilar ſentiments out of doors, he abſtained from going again to the Committee. After a few more queſtions to this man, Mr. Anſtruther diſmiſſed him, ſaying, "The counſel for the priſoner are entitled to make any uſe they think proper of the evidence of this witneſs, but I ſhall not deſire the jury to pay much attention to any thing he has ſaid, unleſs he is confirmed by other witneſſes."

George Roſs proved the minutes of the Britiſh Convention, on the 28th of November, 1793, when on the motion of Margarot it was unanimouſly reſolved, "That a Secret Committee of three, and the ſecretary, be appointed to determine the place where a Convention of Emergency ſhall meet, that ſuch a place ſhall remain a ſecret with them and with the ſecretary of this Convention, and that each delegate ſhall, at the breaking up of the preſent ſeſſion, be entruſted with a ſealed letter, containing the name of the place of meeting; this letter ſhall be delivered unopened to his conſtituents, the receipt of which ſhall be acknowledged by a letter to the ſecretary, preſerved in the ſame ſtate, until the period ſhall arrive at which it ſhall be deemed neceſſary for the delegate to ſet off. Witneſs knew the priſoner, who had been in the habit of attending at his houſe, as member of a Committee of the Friends of the People, which met there. Orrock, M'Ewan, and Downie, were alſo members; it was called a Committee of Union. They continued to meet from the beginning of the year till the arreſt of Downie and Watt. Did not know that Watt was a member of the Britiſh Convention. After the diſperſion of that body, the ſocieties of Edinburgh, who ſent delegates to the Convention, continued to meet. Had received printed letters from Hardy, through one Stock, which, by his deſire, he circulated in the country.

A letter from Alexander Mitchell, at Strathaven, dated 9th April, 1794, and Hardy's circular letter, (mentioned in Mr. Anſtruther's ſpeech,) were read.

Alexander Mitchell proved that he had written his letter in anſwer to that of Hardy, and directed it to him at No. 9, Piccadilly, London.

Lockhart, the deputy ſheriff clerk, proved that in ſearching the priſoner's houſe, he had found twelve pikes in a locked preſs in his room, and ſeveral others in other parts of the houſe. He alſo found a ſount of types ſtanding.

William Middleton, ſheriff's officer, proved the ſame facts with reſpect to the priſoner's houſe, and that in ſearching Orrock's houſe, he diſcovered, in a concealed part

of

of the ſmithy, a great many more pikes.

James Walker, *James Clerk*, ſheriff depute, and *James Somerville*, a printer, proved, that from the types found ſtanding in Watt's houſe, an addreſs from the ſociety of Dundee to the ſoldiery, inciting them to mutiny, was worked off.

William Watſon, a member of the Convention, and once ſecretary to the ſociety at Dalkeith, reluctantly proved, that being in Edinburgh, at the time Lord Hopetown's fencibles were at Dalkeith, Downie took him to the houſe of the priſoner, to get ſome of the hand-bills, addreſſed to the fencibles. They did not obtain them there, but the witneſs received a parcel of them at the ſhop of one Kennedy, and diſtributed them to various perſons. He particularly gave one to William Johnſton, which a connected ſeries of evidence traced into the hands of —— Hardy, ſerjeant in Lord Hopetown's fencibles. It was proved to agree exactly with thoſe worked off from the types found in the priſoner's houſe.

Alexander M'Ewan, weaver, at the Water of Leith, member of the ſociety of Friends of the People there, and delegate to the Britiſh Convention, proved that after the diſperſion of that body, the ſociety at Leith Water continued to meet. He was a delegate from that ſociety to a Committee of Union, which met at George Roſs's; it formed a ſub-committee, afterwards called a Committee of Ways and Means. It conſiſted of ſeven; the priſoner was one. At the third meeting he produced a paper, containing a plan to ſeize the Lord Juſtice Clerk, the reſt of the Lords of Seſſion, and the Lord Provoſt; alſo to have a number of men placed at the Weigh Houſe, and a number at the Luckenbooths; to put a fire at the Exciſe-Office to draw the military from the Caſtle, and when they came down, thoſe placed at the Weigh-Houſe, with the others at Luckenbooths, were to incloſe them; at the ſame time numbers were to ſeize the different banks of this town, and to appoint commiſſioners to go and demand the caſh of them. At another meeting, the priſoner read the draft of a proclamation, which was to be iſſued after this plan had taken effect; ordering farmers and dealers in corn not to remove it on pain of death, and prohibiting country gentlemen from going above three miles from their places of abode, under the ſame penalty. It was alſo propoſed to addreſs the King to diſmiſs his miniſters, terminate the war, or expect bad conſequences. Witneſs accompanied priſoner to the houſe of Orrock, a ſmith in the Dean, from whom priſoner beſpoke pikes, requiring him to work as faſt as he could, for 4,000 were to be ſent to Perth, beſide thoſe which were to be diſtributed in Edinburgh. Knew Fairley; ſaw him when he returned from his miſſion; he gave an account of his tranſactions, of which the priſoner took a minute. Did not know exactly the duty of collectors, but had received money from the ſociety at the Water of Leith, and knew the contents of a paper intitled, "Fundamental Principles;" which was produced to the Committee by the priſoner.

——— *Boulthorne*, teacher, who was alſo a Member of the Com-

mittee, proved the plan propoſed by the priſoner, though in a leſs detailed manner than M'Ewan, ſaying, he conſidered the whole ſo frantic, and was thrown into ſuch confuſion, when it was propoſed, that it impaired his recollection. In conſequence of theſe tranſactions, witneſs deſiſted from attending committees, and had prepared an advertiſement to be inſerted in a newſpaper to that effect, but was prevented from publiſhing it by being under the neceſſity of applying to the priſoner for a few ſhillings to aſſiſt an intimate friend, who was going a journey into the Weſt. This friend was Fairley. Witneſs recollected the anſwer to Hardy's letter being drawn up: Watt was preſent, and it was conveyed to London by Stock. Watt was alſo preſent when the addreſs to the fencibles was prepared.

On croſs-examination, ſaid he had aſſigned as a reaſon for not attending the committee, that he intended to change his abode. Watt did not preſs his plan as one intended for immediate execution, but juſt read it, and put it up in a preſs.

Mr. *Sheriff Clerk* proved that on ſeizing Watt's papers, he found the drawing of pikes, and the proceedings of the Friends of the People, ſome of which were read.

John Fairley, a wright, living at Broughton, was a member of the Convention, and, after its diſperſion, appointed a collector: his office was to collect money, and the ſenſe of the people reſpecting univerſal ſuffrage and annual Parliaments. Proved Watt's activity in the committee, and his ordering pikes, which he ſaid were for the Friends of the People. Witneſs expreſſing ſome apprehenſion of bloodſhed, priſoner ſaid, he hoped there would be none; but thoſe who were active againſt the cauſe of the people, ſhould be impriſoned. If the ſoldiers were called out, they were to be harangued, and would doubtleſs be glad of freedom. The arms provided were to be ſhewn to the collectors, and Watt did ſhew ſome; the collectors were to exhibit them to other perſons, and, if aſked, ſell them, but otherwiſe bring them back. Witneſs did not like the project, and would not even take them to the other collectors. Witneſs acknowledged his being ſent into the Weſt Country with papers, which he diſtributed at various places. He had written inſtructions, which he was directed to find at Mr. Campbell's, a hatter. He proved the courſe he had taken, and that he had converſed with Dr. Forreſt, Mr. Thomſon, Mr. M'Croſs, Mr. M'Ewan, Mr. Wheeler, both Miniſters, a Mr. Haſty, and others, about the committees and their plans, and that he delivered papers to them. On his return, he reported his proceedings to the Committee, and left with them a liſt of the places and perſons he had viſited. His report being put in his hand, he read the following words and figns: "*S—g; ſupport by money; C—ge not great, ***\

be a Committee of Secrecy, and all were to be free; the plan he underſtood to be that which Watt had diſcloſed.

Dr. Forreſt, of Stirling, proved the laſt witneſs having called on him, and their converſations, and that he had ſhewn him his inſtructions, which were then put in and read, together with extracts from the "fundamental principles," and laws of the ſocieties, as ſtated in the ſpeech of Mr. Anſtruther.

Robert Orrock, a ſmith, member of the Leith Water Society, the Committee of Union, and the Britiſh Convention, proved the order given to him by Watt for pikes; he aſked witneſs how many he could make in a week, who ſaid, that with his two men, he could prepare fifty. One Martin Todd brought him a new pattern from Watt, but witneſs was alarmed in conſequence of ſome converſations with another ſmith, who told him that thouſands of pike-handles would be wanted. Three dozen, and afterwards five dozen, were ordered from witneſs, and priſoner deſired him, if inquiſitive people aſked what they were for, to ſay they were for the top of a gate, or a railing.

Martin Todd proved the delivery of an order for more pikes, from the priſoner to Orrock, and *William Brown* proved, that by the priſoner's order, communicated through Mr. Robertſon, he had made ſome pikes on the ſame account. His teſtimony was confirmed by William Robertſon.

Walter Miller proved the receipt by him of a letter, ſigned "T. Hardy," and ſent by poſt; and that he had remitted fifteen pounds from the Friends of the People at Perth, to the committee at Edinburgh. He thought the intent of the Convention was to procure a reform by legal means, and not to ſubvert the authorities in the kingdom.

Arthur M'Ewan re-examined; ſaid it was ſettled at one of the meetings of the Committee, that a correſpondence between Stock and Hardy was to be carried on by dividing a ſheet of paper into two columns, in one of which the proceedings of the Ariſtocrats, and in the other thoſe of the Democrats were to be ſtated.

End of the evidence for the Crown.

The PRISONER'S DEFENCE.

Mr. *Erſkine*, one of the priſoner's counſel, informed the Court that Mr. Hamilton only would addreſs them, and that not till the evidence for the priſoner was cloſed.

EVIDENCE.

Mr. *Sheriff Clerk* proved that in ſearching the priſoner's houſe, he found a ſcroll of a letter written by him, to Mr. Dundas. This letter, written by the priſoner, and found in his own poſſeſſion, could not be made evidence, but it was allowed to be read. It was dated the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1792, and the priſoner avowedly unknown to Mr. Dundas, but profeſſing himſelf warmly attached to the Conſtitution, ſtated ſome facts, as from his own knowledge, reſpecting the ſocieties formed in Scotland, and a pretext of petitioning Parliament for reform, requeſted that his correſpondence might be kept ſecret, and promiſing, from time to time, to inform him of their proceedings. The anſwer, which was read, bore date the 5th of September, 1792, and merely ſtated

ted that Mr. Dundas was obliged by the communication; he trusted the number of disaffected persons was not great, but said, it was still necessary to keep a watchful eye over them, and assured the prisoner his correspondence with him should be perfectly safe. Another letter from Mr. Dundas to Mr. M'Richie, the prisoner's agent, was read, in which the writer assured him, that after a distinct search, he could not find in his own possession any letter of Watt to him, or any copy of his to Watt: they were all put into the hands of the Lord Advocate.

The *Lord Advocate* proved, that in consequence of the letters written to Mr. Dundas, he had inquired the character of Watt, and written to him, and seen him several times, and paid a sum of thirty pounds for him. He never received from him any material information, except once, respecting some soldiers who had arrived from Chatham, and whom the prisoner accused of being inclined to mutiny, though on an investigation the charge turned out to be totally unfounded. The correspondence between the prisoner and Mr. Dundas was produced by the witness, but the prisoner's counsel did not wish that it should be read.

Mr. *Hamilton* (for the prisoner) began by observing on the novelty of the present case, as in nearly one hundred years, no trial had taken place in Scotland for treason, excepting one relating to the established coinage. He examined, and endeavoured to refute some of Mr. Anstruther's positions relative to that crime, and that nothing which had been alleged against the prisoner amounted to compassing and imagining the death of the King. In support of his argument he cited a great number of cases and authorities.

He then examined the charges in the indictment, and the evidence in support of them, with considerable ingenuity. All that related to the London Corresponding Society, did not, he contended, affect the present case, no connection being proved between that society and the prisoner. The project read by the prisoner for seizing the Castle, the Excise-Office, and the Banks, was merely a loose plan, nor had the witnesses proved that Watt had said any thing which could be construed into a plan of that nature having been agreed upon, digested, and put in train so as to be carried into ultimate effect. Mr. Hamilton also descanted on the improbability and absurdity of forming such a plan with such feeble means for carrying it into execution.

With respect to the pikes, he observed, that only 47 had been manufactured, and it was not in evidence that they were to be used by more than seven men; it was therefore ridiculous to suppose that seven men and 47 pikes could way-lay and kill all the military, take the Castle, and seize all the executive power of the country.

The address to the Hopetown fencibles was not, he affirmed, brought home by proof to the prisoner. A copy had been taken up in one Kennedy's shop, by Johnson, who gave it to Sandiland, and by him it was given to serjeant Hardy. But this hand-bill, though inflammatory and dangerous, was not treasonable, it did not form a sufficient

ſufficient ground for a caſe of conſpiracy to levy war.

The Advocate then inſiſted that the evidence for the priſoner proved him to ſtand in a peculiar ſituation, which excuſed him from all participation in the meaſures with which he was apparently connected. Mr. Dundas had very properly adviſed him to perſevere in the meaſures he had begun. He had done ſo; he had entered into correſpondence with the officers of the Crown, and fairly continued it. When a man was fairly embarked in any line of conduct, it muſt be preſumed that he followed it up, eſpecially when circumſtances were ſo ſtrong as to preclude every idea of his having betrayed his truſt. The argument might even be carried further;—for although ſuch a perſon ſhould be diſcovered acting, to all appearance, in manifeſt and direct oppoſition to his ſecret profeſſions, yet it was not from thence to be concluded, that he had made an abſolute and total dereliction.

For example:—ſuppoſe the unhappy times of the rebellion in the years 1745 and 1746, were to return, and it was neceſſary or expedient that one of the Royal army ſhould intrude himſelf into the enemy's army, in the character of a ſpy; how was he to diſcharge his duty as ſuch with effect to the party he meant to ſerve, and ſafety to himſelf? It would be neceſſary not only that he ſhould abandon all appearances of connection with his own party, but that he ſhould even adopt and go into every meaſure of that party he was employed to watch. He would be obliged to enroll himſelf in the corps of the adverſary, to forego his own diſtinction of dreſs, and adopt theirs as the only means of ſafety from detection.

The priſoner's correſpondence with Government had been carried on till January 1793: and Mr. Hamilton, after ſtating this fact, reviewed the priſoner's ſubſequent conduct, admitting that he might, in ſome circumſtances, have deceived himſelf, but chiefly through exceſs of caution in not communicating with the Sheriff Clerk ſo freely as he would have done with Mr. Dundas, or the Lord Advocate. Mr. Hamilton concluded with an animated appeal to the jury not to permit the war, the reports of domeſtic treaſon, or any other circumſtances of the times to bias their judgments.

The Lord Advocate *in reply* controverted the opinions of Mr. Hamilton with reſpect to the law of Treaſon, re-ſtated the matter of the charge ſo as to ſhew that it, in fact, imputed that crime to the priſoner, and appealed to the jury whether it was fit that a man proved to be engaged in ſo dangerous and extenſive a plot, ſhould be acquitted on the pretext that his plans were idle and abſurd rhodomontade. He then reviewed the tranſactions and reſolutions of the Scotch and Engliſh ſocieties, ſhewing their indiſputable determination to overturn the government of the country, and ſhewing their connection by their papers, and particularly by Hardy's circular letter.

Having eſtabliſhed this point, he adverted to the proceedings of the Committee of Union, ſhewing Watt to be eminently active and guilty. He then detailed the evidence which moſt affected the priſoner,

ſoner, obſerving as he went on, how little the force of it was abated by the palliative obſervations of his counſel.

The priſoner's defence conſiſted, he obſerved, in a ſtatement of a previous connexion between him and Mr. Dundas, and the Lord Advocate. He was ſuppoſed to be communicating intelligence, yet never called on the Lord Advocate from October to March, though they were both in Edinburgh, nor ever wrote a line to him afterwards, when he was in London. Could it be doubted, after hearing the evidence, that the priſoner was the principal actor and prime mover in all the plans? "If he ſtates," the Lord Advocate proceeded, "that in all this he was playing the part of a ſpy and informer, that he was gradually leading theſe men into the criminality of a ſcheme of treaſon for their ruin, and for his own advantage; I aſk you, Gentlemen, will the utmoſt exertion of mercy on your part, admit of your ſwallowing ſo incredible a ſtory, or reconciling it to the active ſhare he had in this buſineſs? If you can do ſo, good God, what opinion are you to form of the man before you, who could coolly and deliberately deviſe ſuch an infernal ſcheme, from which human nature revolts with horror; a ſcheme which was calculated to involve innocent, or at leaſt deluded men, in the moſt certain and dreadful ruin, whoſe lives he was to ſacrifice to his own ſordid views of advantage! No, Gentlemen; guilty as this man is againſt the life of his Sovereign, and the exiſtence of the State, he neither is nor can be guilty to ſuch a horrid extent as this defence would involve him. When you find him perſevering with his aſſociates in this conſpiracy, long after he had full opportunities of diſcovering it; when you find him long after the meaſure of iniquity was full, and the treaſon of thoſe it is ſuppoſed he meant to betray, perfectly complete, not only concealing the conſultation which of itſelf was ſufficient for that infamous purpoſe, but acting upon it in every particular, and deviſing and executing every ſtep which could lead to ſerious execution and inſure its being ſucceſsfully carried into effect; I leave it with you to conſider, if you can, like honeſt men, with the oath of God upon you, and with juſtice to your country, liſten to and believe ſo abſurd, ſo incredible, and ſo ſhocking a defence.

The LORD PRESIDENT, making ſome brief obſervations on the law reſpecting Treaſon, pronounced his opinion that the acts alleged againſt the priſoner fully amounted to that crime. He ſummed up the evidence with great perſpicuity and candour, and the jury, after retiring for ten minutes, pronounced a verdict—*Guilty.*

Trial of David Downie, *for High Treaſon; on the ſame indictment, and before the ſame Court as Robert Watt, 5th Sept.* 1794.

Mr. DUNDAS, junior counſel for the Crown, opened the pleadings.

The LORD ADVOCATE, in a ſhort addreſs, diſcloſed the law and facts in the caſe to the jury. His remarks on the law went merely to ſhew that the acts imputed to the priſoner would, if proved, ſubject him to the penal-

ties ordained againſt High Treaſon, and in his narrative of facts he exhibited the ſame ſeries of tranſactions as in the trial of Watt, ſhewing the participation and activity of the priſoner in all the events. If he proved this caſe, he would leave to the conſideration of the jury what muſt be the reſult of their opinions, and what the verdict which, under their oaths, they muſt give.

EVIDENCE for the CROWN.

The counſel for the Crown, propoſing to produce all the papers at once, to call the witneſſes to prove them, and then read them together, began with

Mr. *William Scott*, procurator fiſcal, who proved the ſeizure of ſeveral papers, and among them the minutes of the Britiſh Convention.

Mr. *Taylor*, from London, proved the Conſtitution, and various acts of the Correſponding Society, particularly their meetings at the Globe, and Chalk Farm, and the addreſſes which they publiſhed in conſequence.

——— *Lauzun*, the meſſenger, proved other papers, and *Alexander Aitcheſon*, identified ſeveral of the proceedings of the Convention.

Papers were then read which proved that, on the 17th of May, 1793, Hardy, on behalf of the Correſponding Society, ſolicited a renewal of correſpondence with the Friends of the People in Scotland, that it was granted, and a ſeries of letters paſſed till the appointment of delegates from London to the Britiſh Convention. The inſtructions to Gerald, and ſubſequent proceedings of the Convention, were put in, as were the reſolutions of the Correſponding Society, paſſed at the Globe and Chalk Farm, in which the Court of Juſticiary was ſtigmatized, and the conduct of the individuals convicted before it, highly extolled. The laſt paper put in was Hardy's circular letter, beginning, "Citizens, The critical moment is arrived."

George Roſs proved the meeting of the Committee of Union at his houſe, and that the priſoner was a member.

William M'Cubbin, a member of the committee, deſcribed it to be formed from all the ſocieties in Edinburgh, for the purpoſe of taking meaſures to call another Convention, to meet in England, and co-operating with the Committee of Collectors in forwarding money. The priſoner was a member, and appointed treaſurer.

William Binning, member of the Water of Leith Society of Friends of the People, proved their aſſembling after the diſperſion of the Convention; he proved the nature of the office of collector,—that ſix ſhillings had been collected in his ſociety,—and that he had given fifteen ſhillings to M'Ewan to be diſtributed to Mrs. Skirving, and other perſons, according to the directions of the Committee of Union.

Arthur M'Ewan gave evidence as before of the tranſactions of the Committee, proved that Downie was preſent when Watt diſcloſed his project of attack. Witneſs gave the money he received from Binning to Downie, whom he knew to be treaſurer. After Watt was arreſted, Downie ſaw the witneſs, who had been examined reſpecting Watt, and deſired him, if aſked, to ſay he had no acquaintance

tance with the prisoner. In the making of pikes, Brown was employed by Watt, and paid by Downie.

—— *Bonthorne* gave an account of the Committees of Union, and Ways and Means, of which he and the prisoner were members, and the prisoner treasurer. Proved the writing an answer to Hardy's circular letter, which was conveyed by Stoke. The rest of his evidence related to the transactions of the Committee, and the deputation of Fairley, and was similar to that he gave on Watt's trial.

—— *Gardner* proved the prisoner's hand-writing, and, on cross-examination, gave him a good character.

Peter Mathie also proved his writing.

James Hunter proved the payment to the prisoner of fifteen pounds, in pursuance of a draft, which was indorsed, and received by the prisoner.

Several letters of the prisoner were then read;—the first to Walter Miller, of Perth, acknowledging the receipt of the above sum, giving an account of a riot in the Edinburgh theatre, and stating that the late prosecutions had accelerated, instead of retarding, the great cause of freedom. Other letters and receipts proved the payment of money to the prisoner.

William Lockhart and *William Middleton* proved the seizure of pikes at Watt's and Orrock's. The last witness searched at the prisoner's, but found none.

Margaret Whitecross, late servant to the prisoner, saw a pike-head in his possession, but he called it a dividing knife, and locked it up.

Robert Orrock proved that Downie was present when a pike was produced, from which he undertook to make one; present when Watt gave the order for several, and that M'Ewan said he was to be paid by Downie.

William Brown made pikes by Watt's order, who gave him the amount in a draft on Downie, for 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* which was paid.

William Watson proved the prisoner to have taken addresses to the fencibles, from the shop of Ritchie, and given them to him; *William Johnstone*, that he received one from Watson; *James Sandilands*, that he received it from Johnstone; and serjeant *Hardy*, that it was given to him by Sandilands.

Bartholomew O'Connolly, *Archibald M'Fadzean*, and *John Geddies*, privates in Lord Hopetown's fencibles, proved that a copy of the address had been delivered to each of them at Dalkeith.

The paper was read, dated the 14th of April, 1794, advising the fencibles not to obey the orders of their Laird, but refuse going to England, and stay at home to defend their wives and families against foreign mercenaries, who would violate their wives, sisters, and daughters, and renew the horrors of the massacre of Glencoe.

John Fairley proved Downie to have been privy to his journey, that he gave him thirty shillings towards his expences, and he was instructed to correspond with Downie. He then gave an account of his progress in the country, and explained his minutes as before. Some of the papers he carried with him were put in and read, and the "fundamental principles," and some regulations of the societies.

Dr.

Dr. *Forrest* proved the interviews and converſations between him and Fairley, and three other witneſſes proved the connexion between the Correſponding Society, through the medium of Hardy, and the Societies in Scotland, of which the priſoner was ſo active and diſtinguiſhed a member.

EVIDENCE for the PRISONER.

The LORD ADVOCATE related the tranſactions with Watt, which took place in conſequence of his writing to Mr. Dundas.

The PRISONER'S DEFENCE.

Mr. *Cullen* began by obſerving how ſenſibly he felt the difficulties of his ſituation, when he found that not only the moſt eminent advocates in Scotland were employed againſt the priſoner, but that to their aid were called in gentlemen of great conſideration and ability from England. "If any thing," he ſaid, "could have added to the anxiety of my mind, it was what I came to learn of the character and ſituation of this poor man, whom I never had ſeen, nor knew any thing about, before I was appointed one of his counſel. A man advanced in years, in the decline of life, with old age coming faſt upon him. A man in a creditable ſituation, and who, for many years, has been a member of one of the moſt reſpectable incorporations in this city, with a character perfectly unblemiſhed and unimpeached. Add to all this, his having a wife and family of children; and I could not help thinking ſtrange, nay, incredible, that a perſon of ſuch a deſcription, at a period of life when innovations and commotions were ſurely no object to him, could be guilty of High Treaſon, and enter into ſchemes for the overthrow of that government under the protection of which he and his family were enjoying peace and ſecurity. The more that theſe things have made me believe him guiltleſs of any ſuch wild and criminal deſign, the greater has my deſire become to do juſtice to his defence, and under all this anxiety I much fear my inability to diſcharge my duty properly.

The learned Advocate then entered into a minute and ingenuous inveſtigation of the law of Treaſon, endeavouring to ſhew that that which was imputed to his client was merely conſtructive, and deſcanting on the danger of departing from the very words of the Statute of Edward III.

Having concluded this ſubject, Mr. Cullen adverted to the charge as affecting the priſoner. The deſire to propoſe reforms in the Conſtitution of Parliament, had been extenſively prevalent, and the jury were not to ſuppoſe that men friendly to reform, were neceſſarily hoſtile to Government. In ſocieties, the wild opinions of ſome were not to be imputed to all, and if ſome members of the London Correſponding Society, or any other men, had formed a plan for calling a General Convention to ſuperſede the Houſe of Commons, it was not leſs mad and abſurd, than wicked and criminal. The wild and intemperate language and proceedings at the Globe and Chalk Farm, juſtly attracted the notice of Government, but it was to be obſerved, that a General Convention had, in fact, never met, and was impoſſible to determine what *would have been* the conduct of a ſet of men who *had not aſſembled*. The priſoner was not a member

member of the Corresponding Society, nor had he any thing to do with their resolutions at the Globe, nor at Chalk Farm.

Adverting to the attempts to re-assemble, after the British Convention had been dispersed, Mr. Cullen did not attempt to vindicate those acts, but cautioned the jury against considering them as High Treason. None of the proceedings of the Committees of Union and Ways and Means, had exceeded those of the Convention, yet Margarot, Gerald, and their associates had not been accused of a greater crime than Sedition. The witnesses, he observed, had been examined with a view to prove that the Committees had endeavoured to collect money, but this amounted to nothing; the collection would be culpable or innocent according to the intended purpose. It was not to be inferred that the intention must be blameable because the parties assembled under improper circumstances. No declaration of theirs announced a resolution to overthrow the Government, and if they entertained such a project, the greatest sum they ever collected towards the execution of it, was only 15*l*. It was a curious circumstance that their embassador Mr. John Fairley, had travelled *on foot* to Stirling, Glasgow, Paisley, and a variety of other towns, and all the recompence bestowed on this *confidential minister*, this negotiator, who was sent through the land to atchieve such mighty things, was no more than fifteen shillings sterling! Surely the cheapest embassy of which diplomatic history can furnish an example.

The project of seizing the Castle, the Banks, and other public offices, appeared to the learned advocate not less ludicrous than the conduct of the party in Mr. Bayes's play, who first *concealed an army at Knightsbridge*, and then *brought them to the door in disguise*.

Referring to the evidence respecting Watt, the whole affair seemed to be explained. He had made an application to Government, and hoped to be rewarded for giving information. He had asked for a place for himself, and for 1,000*l*. for a man who could make an important discovery; these demands were unsuccessful; but could he have induced the Committee of Ways and Means to appear to sanction the wild plan he proposed, he would have gone to the Lord Advocate, and said, "Here is the important discovery I mentioned to you, and I hope I shall now obtain my reward."

On the subject of pikes, Mr. Cullen argued that the evidence did not prove any guilty intent in the prisoner, and the law allowed every man to procure arms for his own defence. But the whole quantity bespoken on this occasion amounted only to about fifty; Watt alone had ordered them, and it appeared from beginning to end to be one of his wild, absurd chimeras.

The paper to the fencibles, he contended, could not be made evidence to convict the prisoner, as it was not one of the overt acts expressly laid in the indictment, which by the statute of King William was absolutely required. To seduce any of his Majesty's forces from their duty was certainly criminal, but neither in the eye of the law, nor of common sense, could it be deemed High Treason.

After

After ſome further obſervations on Fairley's embaſſy, and on the evidence and law, Mr. Cullen, towards the concluſion of his able addreſs, exhorted the jury not to magnify into High Treaſon an offence of a much leſs criminal complexion. "Let us ever remember," he ſaid, "that we are to look if there is the wicked imagination of the heart, and if we cannot diſcover there the malignant and atrocious crime of compaſſing and imagining the death of the King, we cannot pronounce that it is the crime of High Treaſon. Let cool judgement diſarm reſentment, and teach us that the preſervation of the law is of infinitely greater moment than the puniſhment of any individual.

FOR THE CROWN.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER, in reply, concurred in ſeveral poſitions laid down by Mr. Cullen, and heartily exploded the doctrine of conſtructive treaſons. He diſtinguiſhed, however, in ſome points of law laid down by the priſoner's counſel, and inſiſted on the guilt which a man incurs who is privy to a treaſonable conſpiracy, and does not diſcloſe or impede it. In his review of the evidence, he brought all the acts of the Committee of Ways and Means ſtrongly home to Mr. Downie, their treaſurer. He knew the acts of the laſt Convention, and was to provide for defraying the expences of delegates to another. The wildneſs and extravagance of Watt's ſcheme did not prove its non-exiſtence, the projects which had ended in the diſſolution of the French Empire, and the murder of the King, were not leſs apparently abſurd, yet the reſult was well known. In the preſent caſe a Secret Committee was formed, inveſted with unlimited powers; to them was Watt's project diſcloſed. What ſaid Downie on this occaſion? Did he, like M'Ewan or Bouthorne, teſtify fear, or take meaſures for withdrawing himſelf? No ſuch thing appeared in evidence. He continued meeting the Committee, concurred in all their acts, paid for the pikes, and was privy to the miſſion of Fairley, and ſupplied him with money. Another ſtriking circumſtance was, that, a pike being ſeen in the priſoner's houſe, he called it a dividing knife. Mr. Anſtruther then made ſome forcible obſervations on the paper to the fencibles, and, deſcanting on the whole evidence, concluded that the facts were fully proved, and amounted to High Treaſon.

The LORD PRESIDENT ſummed up; and after retiring for half an hour, the jury returned a verdict *guilty*, but recommended the priſoner to mercy.

6th. The Court having adjourned till noon, Robert Watt and David Downie were brought up for judgement. The counſel for the former took two objections to the conviction, which were overruled by the Court, and the ſentence uſual in ſuch caſes was paſſed on the priſoners.

The trial of Thomas Hardy, *for High Treaſon, at the Seſſions Houſe, in the Old Bailey, on the 29th of October, and on the following days, till the 5th of November*, 1794.

On the 10th of September, 1794, a Special Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer was iſſued under the

Great Seal of Great Britain, to inquire of certain *High Treasons and Misprisions of Treason* within the county of Middlesex.

On Thursday the 2d of October, the Special Commission was opened at the Sessions House, in Clerkenwell. Present,

The right honourable sir JAMES EYRE, knt. lord chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas;

The right honourable sir ARCHIBALD MACDONALD, knt. lord chief baron of the Exchequer;

The honourable sir BEAUMONT HOTHAM, knt. one of the barons of the Exchequer;

The honourable sir FRANCIS BULLER, bart. one of the justices of the Court of Common Pleas;

The honourable sir NASH GROSE, knt. one of the justices of the Court of King's Bench;

The honourable sir SOULDEN LAWRENCE, knt. ditto; and others his Majesty's justices, &c.

After the commission had been read, the sheriff delivered in the pannel of the grand jury, which was called over; when the following gentlemen were sworn.

The GRAND JURY.

Benjamin Winthorp, esq.
John Henry Schneider, esq.
Edward Ironside, esq.
Benjamin Kenton, esq.
Rawson Hart Boddam, esq.
John Aris, esq.
William Pardoe Allet, esq.
John Perry, esq.
Henry Peter Kuff, esq.
Thomas Winslow, esq.
Thomas Coles, esq.
Samuel Hawkins, esq.
George Ward, esq.
Thomas Boddam, esq.
Joseph Lancaster, esq.
Robert Wilkinson, esq.
George Galway Mills, esq.
Henry Wright, esq.
John Hatchett, esq.
Rowland Stephenson, esq.
John Campbell, esq.

After the grand jury had been sworn, lord chief justice Eyre addressed them in a speech of great ability, on the cause of their being assembled, and the nature and extent of their duties.

Monday, 6th October, the grand jury returned a true bill against Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, John Augustus Bonney, Stewart Kyd, Jeremiah Joyce, *Thomas Wardle*, *Thomas Holcroft*, John Richter, *Matthew Moore*, John Thelwall, *Richard Hodgson*, and John Baxter, for High Treason.

Those whose names are printed in Italics, were not in custody; but on the ensuing day, Thomas Holcroft voluntarily surrendered himself in court, and was committed to Newgate. All the prisoners chose for their counsel the hon. Thomas Erskine, and all chose Mr. Vicary Gibbs as his coadjutor, except Jeremiah Joyce, who selected Mr. Felix Vaughan, and John Baxter, who nominated Mr. Gurney.

On the 24th of October, Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, John Augustus Bonney, Stewart Kyd, Jeremiah Joyce, John Richter, and John Thelwall, (having received on the 13th a copy of their indictment, and a list of jurors and witnesses for the Crown,) were removed by Habeas Corpus from the Tower to Newgate.

25th Oct. The culprits in custody were brought into court, and arraigned on their indictment, which was composed of several counts; and charged that the prisoners,

ſoners, contriving and intending traitorouſly to diſturb the peace and common tranquillity of the kingdom, to excite inſurrection, rebellion, and war within the kingdom, and to ſubvert and alter the legiſlature, rule, and government happily eſtabliſhed, and to depoſe the King from his Royal State, title, power, and government, and to bring and put him to death, did, with ſeveral perſons unknown, conſpire, compaſs, and intend to ſtir up and excite inſurrection, rebellion, and war againſt the King, within the kingdom, to ſubvert and alter the Government, depoſe the King, and put him to death. And to fulfil this wicked treaſon, and treaſonable compaſſings, they had been guilty of the following acts:

1ſt. Meeting, conſpiring, conſulting and agreeing among themſelves, and with perſons unknown, to cauſe and procure a Convention of divers ſubjects of the King, who ſhould, without and in defiance of the authority, and againſt the will of the Parliament, alter the legiſlature and government, and depoſe the King:

2d. Compoſing, writing, and publiſhing divers books, pamphlets, letters, inſtructions, reſolutions, orders, declarations, addreſſes, and writings, containing incitements, encouragements, and exhortations to perſuade the King's ſubjects to chuſe and depute perſons as delegates to compoſe and conſtitute ſuch Convention:

3d. Meeting, conſulting and deliberating of and concerning the calling and aſſembling of ſuch Convention, and when and how and where it ſhould be held, and by what means the King's ſubjects might be induced to ſend delegates:

4th. Conſenting and agreeing to meet, confer, and co-operate among themſelves, and with divers other traitors, towards calling and aſſembling ſuch Convention:

5th. Cauſing and procuring to be made, and conſenting and agreeing to the making and providing of, divers arms, to wit, guns, muſkets, pikes, and axes, for the purpoſe of arming divers ſubjects of the King, to the intent that they might oppoſe and withſtand the King in the due and lawful exerciſe of his royal power and authority, and ſubvert and alter, without and in defiance of Parliament, the Legiſlature and Government, and depoſe and aſſiſt in depoſing the King:

6th. Meeting and conſpiring to levy and make inſurrection, rebellion, and war within the kingdom, againſt the King.

And in another general count theſe overt acts were all charged again, with ſome formal variations.

To this indictment the priſoners all pleaded *not guilty;* and their counſel having declared their intention, that the caſe of each ſhould be brought on ſeparately, the Attorney General declared he would firſt proceed againſt *Thomas Hardy;* and to accommodate the priſoners, the enſuing Tueſday, the 28th of October, was fixed for entering on the buſineſs.

28th Oct. The following jury was ſworn to try the priſoner Hardy:

Thomas Buck, eſq. Acton; foreman,
Thomas Wood, coal merchant,
William Frazer, eſq. Queen-ſquare,
Adam Steinmetz, biſcuit baker,
Newell Connop, diſtiller,
John Mercer, mealman,

Thomas Sayer, Bow,
Richard Carter, esq. Paddington-ſtreet,
Nathaniel Stonard, brewer,
Joſeph Nicol, farmer,
John Charrington, brewer,
Joſeph Ainſley, esq.

The priſoner having been formally arraigned, and Mr. Wood having opened the indictment, the Attorney General (Sir John Scott) addreſſed the jury in a ſpeech, the delivery of which occupied nine hours.

He began by demanding their ſerious attention to this great and weighty cauſe.

The priſoner was charged, generally, "with the offence of compaſſing His Majeſty's death." In conſequence of the apprehending of this priſoner, ſome others who were charged in the ſame indictment, and others whoſe names were not found there, an Act of Parliament had paſſed, empowering His Majeſty to detain ſuch perſons as he ſuſpected were conſpiring againſt his Government, which Act aſſerted, that a traitorous and deteſtable conſpiracy had been formed for ſubverting the exiſting laws and government, and for introducing that ſyſtem of anarchy and confuſion which had ſo fatally prevailed in France. Such a meaſure was never adopted, but in thoſe caſes where Parliament thought it wiſe that we ſhould part with our liberty for a while, that we might not loſe it for ever.

After ſome other obſervations, and deprecating every prejudice againſt the priſoner, the Attorney General explained the law of Treaſon, beginning with the office of the King, his power of legiſlation joihtly with the Lords and Commons, and his claim to that allegiance, by which his ſubjects were bound, in the language of the ſtatutes, to defend him "againſt all traitorous conſpiracies and attempts whatſoever, which ſhould be made againſt his perſon, his crown, or his dignity."

The conſtitutional cuſtom of England had made the crown hereditary, and the law and conſtitution had aſcertained thoſe duties which were expreſſed in the coronation oath; "to govern the people of his country *according to the ſtatutes in Parliament agreed upon, and the laws and cuſtoms of the ſame;* that to his power he will cauſe law in juſtice and mercy to be adminiſtered; that he will maintain the Laws of God, and the true profeſſion of religion eſtabliſhed by law."

The King being thus obliged, according to Mr. Juſtice Foſter's explanation, to govern according to the laws and ſtatutes *in Parliament* agreed upon, according to the laws and cuſtoms of the ſame, and no other, it was manifeſt that he could not act or permit himſelf to act as King according to any rules of Government formed by any bodies of men, aſſuming any other character, functions, or ſituations. It ſeemed alſo to follow, not only that thoſe who conſpire to remove the King out of the Government altogether, but that thoſe who conſpire to remove him, unleſs he will govern the people according to laws which are not ſtatutes in Parliament agreed upon, and the laws and cuſtoms of the ſame, or as the head of a Government framed and modified by any authority, not derived from that Parliament, do conſpire to depoſe

depoſe from *that royal ſtate, title, power, and government, which the indictment mentions,* and to ſubvert and alter the rule and government *now eſtabliſhed* in theſe kingdoms. He *ought not* ſo to govern—he cannot ſo govern,—he is bound to reſiſt ſuch a project at the hazard of all its conſequences; he muſt reſiſt the attempt; reſiſtance neceſſarily produces depoſition, it endangers his life.

Having made ſome further obſervations on general principles of law, the Attorney General recited the principal proviſions of the ſtatute 25th Edward III.

Parliament, in framing this ſtatute, had been anxious to reſerve to itſelf the right of judging of all treaſons not ſpecified in the ſtatute, and the two moſt reſpected expounders of the law, lord Hale and ſir Michael Foſter, had powerfully argued under the moſt ſolemn proteſts, againſt extending the operations of this ſtatute by a parity of reaſon. "And I," ſaid the Attorney General, "do moſt diſtinctly diſavow making any charge of *conſtructive treaſon*; I do moſt diſtinctly diſavow ſtating in this indictment *any like caſe of treaſon* not ſpecified in the ſtatute; I do moſt diſtinctly diſavow ſtating any thing that can be called *cumulative treaſon* or *analogous treaſon*; I do moſt diſtinctly diſavow *enhancing any thing, by a parity of reaſon, into treaſon, which is not ſpecified in that ſtatute;* I do moſt diſtinctly diſavow *enhancing crimes of any kind, or a life ſpent in crimes,* (if you chuſe ſo to put it) *into treaſon,* if it be not treaſon *ſpecified in the ſtatute;* and the queſtion between us I ſtate diſtinctly to be this;—whether the defendant is guilty of a *treaſon ſpecified in the ſtatute,* and whether the evidence that is to be brought before you amounts to that proof that will be ſatisfactory to your minds and conſciences, your minds and conſciences being prepared to admit no proof but what you think you ought to receive under the obligation of an oath; proof high enough that he may be probably attainted of open deed, of a treaſon ſpecified in the ſtatute."

The indictment, he proceeded, charges the defendant with compaſſing and imagining the King's death, and with having taken meaſures to effectuate that purpoſe: now I take it to be clear that depoſing the King, entering into meaſures for depoſing the King, conſpiring with foreigners and others to invade the kingdom, going to a foreign country to procure the invaſion of the kingdom, or propoſing to go there to that end, and taking any ſtep in order thereto, conſpiring to raiſe an inſurrection either to dethrone or impriſon the King, or oblige him to alter his meaſures of Government, or to compel him to remove evil counſellors from, are and have all been held to be deeds proving an intent to do that treaſon, which is mentioned in the ſtatute to be overt acts of treaſon, in compaſſing the King's death. Such was the opinion handed down by thoſe excellent judges Hale and Foſter, who would rather have ſuffered death (for they both valued the liberties of their country) than have charged "a like caſe of treaſon" in an indictment; yet they had concurred, as all the judges of England had done, and the Parliament alſo, in the conſtruction

and expoſition of the ſtatute (and, in fact, executions had been made upon it) that all theſe were overt acts of the ſame treaſon that was ſpecified in the ſtatute. The law held, that he who did an act, meaning to do it, which might endanger the King's life, compaſſed and imagined the death of the King, if he did an act, which might endanger his life, if, in the ordinary courſe of things, and, according to the common experience of mankind, the meaſure which he took in purſuance of a purpoſe to take it, would bring the King to his grave. This was not, therefore, raiſing conſtructive treaſons, but ſtating overt acts, which were meaſures taken in purſuance of treaſonable purpoſes, and which meaſures muſt be as various in their kinds as the ways and means by which, in facts and open deeds, the human heart manifeſts its intent to commit ſome one or other of the treaſons ſpecified in the ſtatute. The reſerving clauſe was extremely material; and if Courts and Juries had done wrong in executing or interpreting the ſtatutes, they had done it againſt a prohibition in the ſtatute, and under the eye of that Parliament which had forbidden them to do it. The concluſion therefore was, that they had done it rightly. The judgements of the courts of law were perfectly familiar to Parliament. Acts had been made over and over again, in order to bring back the expoſitions of the law to the true conſtruction of the ſtatute of Edward III; but we had lived to this hour without Parliament thinking that they were to make ſo perfectly a dead letter of the ſtatute, as that they ſhould ſay that an overt act, which expreſſed and imported the imagination of the mind to do the treaſon ſpecified, ſhould not be taken to be an act of high treaſon within the ſtatute, becauſe the ſtatute only mentions the thing which is to be compaſſed and imagined, and does not mention the ways and means by which the human heart may ſhew and manifeſt that it does compaſs and imagine what the ſtatute ſpeaks of. The queſtion of compaſſing the king's death was this;—whether the jury were fully and conſcientiouſly ſatisfied, that they had that evidence by which they might find that the acts laid as overt acts of compaſſing the particular ſpecified treaſon, mentioned in the indictment, were meaſures taken in purſuance of, and to effectuate that treaſon ſpecified at once in the ſtatute, and in the indictment.

The Attorney General could not comprehend, he ſaid, what was meant by conſtructive overt acts, though he underſtood conſtructive treaſons, and illuſtrated the obſervation by the inſtance of pulling down all priſons, or houſes of any other deſcription; this was conſtructive treaſon, it being, as Mr. Juſtice Foſter had obſerved, againſt the King's Royal Majeſty, not forced againſt his perſon.

He then repeated various other acts which were overt acts of compaſſing the King's death. "Depoſing him,—entering into meaſures to depoſe him,—conſpiring to impriſon him,"—though that might be done without an actual intent to put him to death;—"to get his perſon into the power of conſpirators;"—all this was treaſon in the opinion both of Mr. Juſtice Foſter and lord Hale.

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The Attorney General then recapitulated the various overt acts charged in the indictment, and proceeded to obſerve that if, according to the authorities he had cited, a conſpiracy to depoſe the King were treaſon, what then could a conſpiracy to ſubvert the monarchy, including in it the depoſition of the King, be, but an overt act of High Treaſon?

If meaſures had been taken, after the revolution, to depoſe King William and reſtore King James, there could be no doubt that they would have been High Treaſon; but if the project had been, not for reſtoring King James, but for ſending William back in his character of Prince of Orange, and re-eſtabliſhing the Commonwealth, he could not conceive upon what principle, or what authority, it would be contended, that this would not have been High Treaſon. And he truſted he ſhould ſhew by evidence, that this was meant by thoſe charged in the indictment, when they ſpoke of "a full and fair repreſentation of the people," whether they adopted or omitted the words "*in Parliament.*"

The indictment, beſides charging a conſpiracy to depoſe the King, in expreſs terms, charged a conſpiracy to call a Convention, *againſt the will, in defiance of, and againſt the authority of Parliament, for the purpoſe of depoſing the King*, and charged that they had written letters, and taken other meaſures for the purpoſe of ſeducing the ſubjects of the King to ſend delegates to ſuch Convention.

The Convention meant to be called, was collected from the evidence to be a Convention of perſons, who were to aſſume the character of a Convention of the People, claiming as ſuch, all civil and political authority, propoſing to exerciſe it by altering the Government, otherwiſe than by acts of the preſent conſtitutional legiſlature, otherwiſe than by thoſe ſtatutes, according to which the King has ſworn, at the hazard of his life, to govern. All who took a ſtep to aſſemble it, were guilty of a conſpiracy to depoſe the King from the character which he holds in the conſtitution of the Sovereign Power of this kingdom, as by law eſtabliſhed, that law by which he was ſworn to govern. Either the Convention muſt be obedient to the King and Parliament, and conſequently fail in its purpoſes, or it muſt effect them by depoſing the King; and then a conſpiracy to call ſuch a meeting was an overt act of High Treaſon.

Another diſtinction would claim attention. It was of no conſequence whether the firſt meeting propoſed to be aſſembled *was deſigned to be a Convention that ſhould aſſume all civil and political authority, or was only to deviſe the means of forming a conſtituent aſſembly, a body, which ſhould aſſume it*; for any act taken towards aſſuming it againſt the will, in defiance of, and againſt the authority of the King and Parliament, and removing him from that ſituation in the character of Sovereign, which he has in this country; any act taken towards the formation of a body, which was to aſſume ſuch authority, was an act of conſpiring the depoſition of the King. It would appear in evidence, that the Convention which the perſons indicted were charged with conſpiring to form, was a Convention to alter the whole

form of Sovereign Power in the country,—to form, or to deviſe the means of forming *a repreſentative Government*;—to veſt in a body, founded on univerſal ſuffrage, and the alleged inalienable, or, as they were called *impreſcriptible*, rights of man, all the *legiſlative* and executive Government; and ſuch a conſpiracy muſt undoubtedly be High Treaſon; it depoſed the King in the deſtruction of the regal office in the Conſtitution of the State. Even had it been intended to retain the name and office of King, in the perſon of the preſent King, but creating a new Legiſlature to act with him, ſuch an attempt would be a conſpiracy to depoſe him. He could not act in ſuch a ſituation without violating his coronation oath; if he did, he was not King of England as by law eſtabliſhed; if he refuſed, he muſt reſiſt, and in conſequence of his reſiſting, his life muſt be in danger.

The deſign to aſſemble a Convention, for purpoſes which the King muſt, in virtue of his coronation oath, reſiſt at all hazards, was not all; it would be proved that the *expreſs* object of calling the Convention, of appointing a Committee of Conference and Co-operation, was ultimately and finally *the depoſition of the King*.

As a further overt act, was charged that of *compaſſing the King's death*; which muſt be by a conſpiracy to levy war—not conſtructive war. A riſing to compel the King to alter his meaſures of Government, amounted to levying war within the ſtatute, and was an overt act of compaſſing the King's death: and it would be proved that theſe objects were intended to be carried by actual force. It was not a caſe aiming merely at intimidating the Legiſlature; application in any ſhape to Parliament was not only diſavowed, but the very competency of Parliament, if applied to, to make a law to new-model the Government, was denied: the idea of that competency was held to be irreconcileable to the very principle on which thoſe perſons aſſembled.

The project was imported from France, in the latter end of 1791, or in 1792, and it conſiſted in the formation in London, with affiliated ſocieties in the country, of clubs, which were to govern Great Britain on the principles of the French Government, and the eſtabliſhment of the alleged *inalienable and impreſcriptible Rights of Man, inconſiſtent in their very nature with the being of a King, or of Lords in Government,—depoſing therefore, the moment they came into execution, in the act of creating a Sovereign Power, either mediately or immediately, the King, and introducing a Republican Government, with a right of eternal reform, and therefore with a proſpect of eternal revolution.*

The Attorney General then entered into a detail of the formation and proceedings of the two leading clubs. By the leading clubs he meant the *Conſtitutional Society*, and the *London Correſponding Society*, which was modelled by ſome leading members of the other, and received its corporate exiſtence under their handwriting. Theſe ſocieties enliſted into their *affiliation* many ſocieties in the country, formed of men who profeſſed various opinions, doubts, and principles. Some profeſſed "*that they owed ſubmiſſion to no*

power

power but what they had themſelves immediately conſtituted;" to theſe the leading ſocieties gave anſwers couched in dark, cautious, prudent, but ſatisfactory and intelligible terms. Thoſe who profeſſed attachment to monarchy, and fears that the views of the ſocieties were hoſtile to the Conſtitution, were ſoothed into fraternization by aſſurances, "*that all would be ſet right by a full and fair repreſentation of the people in Parliament.*" The ſocieties inliſted alike thoſe who expreſſed a wiſh to know "*whether they propoſed to reform the Houſe of Commons,*" and thoſe who inquired "*whether they deſigned to rip up monarchy by the roots.*"

Nor was this all: they had for the ſame purpoſes diſperſed round the country publications which they adopted for their own, and which they circulated in a maſs, in a manner totally deſtructive of the liberty of the preſs; a liberty which, for the ſake of the people, ought to be under the correction, though not undue correction, of the law.

The jury would not fail to obſerve the malignant art, the induſtrious malignity, with which diſcontent had been ſpread by theſe two ſocieties in London. The paſſions and intereſts of individuals had been aſſailed and taught to be aſſailed, according to their ſtations in life—not merely upon Government, but for the purpoſe of ſubverting Government—upon tithes—corn bills—taxes—game laws—impreſs ſervice—any thing that could be repreſented as a grievance, as well as the Government itſelf, and to this intent, that in aid and aſſiſtance of each other, ſocieties, as they expreſſed it, "*might overſpread the whole face of the iſland,*" and "*that the iſland might become free,* BY THE SAME MEANS BY WHICH FRANCE BECAME SO."

Finally, the Attorney General ſtated, as a principle by which they ſhould conſtrue the written evidence, that the language ought to be conſidered in its obvious ſenſe. If it admitted a double interpretation, it muſt be conſidered according to the nature of the principle which that language was calculated to carry into execution. Each paper muſt be conſidered with reference to the context of the ſame paper, and with reference to the contents of all other papers forming the evidence of the ſame ſyſtem which the paper produced was meant to prove.

"Now," he proceeded, "if you ſhould find that in detailing the objects of this Society, in detailing what they meant to do, and in detailing how they meant to execute what they meant to do, they ſhould in fact have ſtated that they meant neither that which was legal, nor that which was conſtitutional, nor that which was other than Treaſon, it will be in vain that they have thought fit to aſſert at other times, when they have uſed general language, that what they meant to effect was legal, and that they meant to effect it in a legal and conſtitutional manner. Their principle was, that equal active citizenſhip is the right of all men, and upon this principle their repreſentation of the people was to be aſked for. Now it requires no reaſoning to ſtate, that a repreſentation of the people, founded upon the principle of the equal active

active citizenship of all men, must form a Parliament into which no King nor Lords could enter. But it is not enough for me to tell you that, in reasoning, this is the consequence; I shall satisfy you, that the application of the principle of equal active citizenship, *according to them*, was to be the foundation of a *representative government*, rejecting the King and Lords out of the system."

The Attorney General then detailed the mass of evidence. The reason for including all the persons to be tried in one indictment, arose, he said, out of a letter, dated 27th March, 1794, written by the prisoner, as secretary of the London Corresponding Society, to the Society for Constitutional Information. It stated, "that the moment was arrived when a full and explicit declaration was necessary from all the friends of freedom, *whether the late illegal and unheard-of prosecutions and sentences** should determine them to abandon the cause, or excite them to pursue *a radical reform*, with an ardour proportionate to the magnitude of the object, and a zeal as distinguished on their part, as the treachery of others in the same glorious cause was notorious." The society was therefore to declare whether they would act in conjunction with other societies, and whether they concurred with the Corresponding Society," in seeing the necessity of a speedy Convention for the purpose of obtaining, *in a constitutional and legal method*, a redress of those grievances under which they laboured, and which could only be removed by a *full and fair representation of the people of Great Britain*. To this letter were subjoined three resolutions, the last of which declared, "that it was the decided opinion of the society, that, to secure themselves from future illegal and scandalous prosecutions, to prevent a repetition of wicked and unjust sentences, and to recal those wise and wholesome laws which had been wrested from them, and of which scarcely a vestige remained," there ought to be immediately *a Convention of the People by delegates deputed for that purpose, from the different societies of the friends of freedom*. In these resolutions the Constitutional Society concurred without deliberation, and invited the Corresponding Society to send a delegation of members to hold a conference. Two Committees met, and resolved *that the project for calling a Convention of the People should be carried into effect; and a joint Committee of co-operation of both societies was formed by resolutions of both.*

The Attorney General then recounted the earlier transactions of the London Corresponding Society; it was doubtful whether it existed before the month of March 1792; but at that period it received what its members called a *constitution*, from a gentleman named *Tooke*, and a code of laws from a gentleman named *Vaughan*.

Their correspondence with the Constitutional Society was then recapitulated, and it was remarked as a curious circumstance, that to a letter couched in terms extremely modest, and purporting to be written from the Corresponding to the Constitutional Society,

* Meaning those which had taken place in Scotland.

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the ſignature "Thomas Hardy," was written by Mr. Horne Tooke.

After detailing their vote of the 23d of March 1792, "thanking Thomas Paine for his maſterly book, intitled the Rights of Man," and the ſubſequent vote that the proceedings of the ſociety ſhould be regularly tranſmitted to all their Correſponding Conſtitutional Societies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *France*; the Attorney General noticed ſome of the principles laid down in Paine's book. He particularly noticed his aſſertions that, "becauſe the Conſtitution of England could not be ſhewn in a volume, it therefore did not exiſt;—that Mr. Pitt's bill for reforming Parliament was uſeleſs, becauſe it proceeded on *the erroneous principle that Parliament was able to reform itſelf*;—and that, the Britiſh Government not exiſting on principles of univerſal ſuffrage, *the nation ought not to ſubmit to it*, but the *Parliament was not able to form a Government that would exiſt on thoſe principles.*"

It was very remarkable that, although various ſocieties had exiſted in other parts of the kingdom, none had aſked or invited the affiliation with the Conſtitutional Society, but all began about March 1792, to aſk, and invited it with that and with the Correſponding Society, as ſoon as the latter was formed. In the detail of the proceedings of the Country Societies at Manchester, Sheffield, and Norwich, it appeared remarkable that all about the ſame time, and the two latter on the very ſame day, ſhould concur in praiſing Paine's book, and in requeſting to be affiliated with the London Societies. Another Society was formed in the borough of Southwark, which, on the 19th of April 1792, framed its conſtitutional declaration, by copying *verbatim* the preamble to the French Conſtitution of 1791.

The original intention of the London Correſponding Society was to adopt that ſyſtem which had been found ſo efficacious in France; to unite, firſt, ſmall bodies of men; as ſoon as they came to a greater number, to divide them into ſmaller parties, and ſo to ſpread themſelves by degrees from town to town, from village to village, from hamlet to hamlet, *till*, as they explained it, *there ſhould not be an unenlightened man in the country.* In purſuance of this plan, Mr. Felix Vaughan, who had aſſiſted in framing the code, Mr. Margarot, Mr. Richter, a Mr. Martin (againſt whom the jury had alſo found a bill), and Mr. Hardy himſelf, were, in the courſe of the month of April, appointed delegates. There was a choice of delegates for the whole body.

The Conſtitutional Society, having very ſuddenly affiliated ſeveral ſocieties with themſelves, felt an inclination to affiliate with another ſociety, that which was called the "Friends of the People," meeting at the Freemaſon's Tavern: but this ſociety, to its credit, refuſed the aſſociation; lord John Ruſſel obſerving, in a letter written on the occaſion, "We mean to preſerve the forms of the Conſtitution, which it is clear you do not, and therefore we muſt decline all correſpondence with you."

Having recited much of the correſpondence between the parent Societies in town, and thoſe which were affiliated in the country,

try, the Attorney General noticed the reſolution of the Conſtitutional Society, formed 11th May, 1792, that there ſhould be a communication from them with the Jacobin Club at Paris, and read their addreſs, which was preſented to the Jacobins by Mr. Watt, beginning with the words, "brothers and fellow-citizens of the world."*

After this, Paine publiſhed his "addreſs to the addreſſers," in which he not only aſſerted the folly, abſurdity, and wickedneſs of the Britiſh Government, but ſtated a plan and form for organizing a National Convention. This publication became the ſubject of a proſecution; but the ſocieties immediately entered into ſubſcriptions for the ſupport of Paine, and conſidered themſelves as engaged in propagating his works in that way, in which no work ever was propagated, to the intent to produce that Convention, without which the nation, in no organization of its Government, could be ſaid, according to them, to exiſt in a ſtate of freedom.

As the ſocieties increaſed in miſchief, ſeveral members quitted them, expreſsly obſerving that as they meant to deſtroy the government of the country, it was impoſſible any longer to remain with them: but it did not appear that they had ever condeſcended to explain themſelves, or to affirm that the ſeceders were miſtaken. They continued to publiſh their reſolutions in all newſpapers; they republiſhed the works of Paine, and ſent them down by hundreds and thouſands, to be diſtributed by perſons of all profeſſions, in a manner adapted to render detection impoſſible, and to make the law of the country unequal to the miſchief which it was to meet.

At this time a proclamation was iſſued by the Executive Government, to retain theſe publications; but the ſociety, ſtill cloaking themſelves under the words "a full and fair repreſentation of the people," which words they had never condeſcended to explain, which words never exiſted in any text of any writing of theirs, with the mention of a King, or other houſe of legiſlature,—they vilified the proclamation, and made the very means the Executive Government took to ſuppreſs the miſchief, a mean by which they ſhould ſpread its effect more widely and diffuſely than otherwiſe they could have done. In proof of this aſſertion, the Attorney General read or referred to their letters and proceedings, and thoſe of the country ſocieties on this ſubject, ſhewing alſo, that in proportion as the French advanced in the career of Republicaniſm, the ſocieties in England expreſſed more decided approbation, and particularly after the depoſition of the King on the 10th of Auguſt 1792, ſoon after which Mr. Barlow preſented them with his "letter to the National Convention of France" and his "advice to privileged orders." Theſe works contain doctrines decidedly Republican; they ſtate it as a folly in the French Conſtitution of 1791, to have admitted *that a King could be retained in a Government intended to be free*, and that the maxim, *the King can do no wrong*, ought to be, *the King can do no good*. For theſe publications the ſocieties voted him

* See A. R. Vol. XXIV. Part II. p. *145.

their

their thanks, made him an honorary member, and afterwards deputed him, with Mr. Froſt, to declare their ſentiments at the bar of the National Convention of France.

The Attorney General then related the manner of voting that addreſs of the two Societies. That of the Correſponding Society was delivered by Barlow and Froſt on the 9th of November, 1792;* the Conſtitutional Society did not concur in the ſame addreſs, but ſent one ſeparately; both were, however, in the ſame ſpirit; full of admiration of the late tranſactions in France, of deteſtation of the powers armed againſt her, and of hopes that the effects of the new ſyſtem would produce an intire change in the nature of Government, and give riſe to a triple alliance between America, France, and Britain; an alliance, *not of crowns, but of people.*

It could not be matter of ſurprize, that letters ſuch as theſe ſhould produce opinions in France of the attachment of individuals in England to the French form of Government; nor was it very extraordinary that on the 19th of November, 1792, the Convention ſhould paſs the famous decree of fraternization with all ſubjects in all countries who choſe to reſiſt the Governments under which they lived.

The popular ſocieties in different parts of France were ſtruck with the ſame ſentiments, and wrote their congratulations and applauſes to the ſocieties in London. That of Laon, thanking the Conſtitutional Society for a gift of ſome ſhoes, and a promiſe of ſome arms to the ſoldiers of the Republic, hoped the time was not far diſtant "*when the ſoldiers of liberty ſhould teſtify their gratitude by devoting their arms and their blood to thoſe fellow-citizens of the Conſtitutional Society who, like them, acknowleged no rights but the rights of man.*" The ſociety at Macon wrote in ſimilar terms, "*hoping that thoſe with whom they correſponded would ſoon become their allies, and that, by united efforts, they ſhould go on delivering the univerſe from the yoke of tyrants.*" And the ſociety at Apt exhorted them to "*lift themſelves up againſt that perfidious Court of St. James's, whoſe infernal policy, like that which found its doom in the Thuilleries, had made ſo many victims in the two nations, which it diſunited in order to rule over them. The popular ſocieties of France,*" they added, "*deſire ardently the epoch that ſhall permit them to addreſs their voice to the National Aſſembly of Great Britain, and to offer to the ſoldiers of liberty of your nation, arms, bayonets, and pikes.*" Such was the private correſpondence with the popular Societies of France, entered in the books of the Conſtitutional Society.

Nine days after the French Convention had paſſed their decree of fraternization with rebels of all countries, Mr. Barlow and Mr. Froſt attended at their Bar, and pronounced an addreſs, congratulating them on the progreſs of liberty, and predicting that ere long, addreſſes of felicitation would croſs the ſeas to a National Convention in England; a prediction which the preſident, who in his anſwer treated them as gene-

* See an Extract from it in Vol. XXXV. P. *77.

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rous Republicans, confidently re-echoed.

Beſides theſe acts, efforts were made to excite perſons in all parts of England to ſend ſimilar addreſſes, and many were ſent, and a confidential correſpondence was maintained between Mr. Froſt and Mr. Tooke, on the reception met by him and Paine in France; and Mr. Froſt alſo wrote to Petion, then mayor of Paris, reſpecting the gift of ſhoes, treating the war as the common cauſe of England and France; a ſentiment which Petion extended by declaring it the cauſe of all people who cheriſhed liberty.

At this period the proceedings of the ſocieties had excited conſiderable alarm throughout the country, which it was thought neceſſary to tranquillize. For this purpoſe Mr. Vaughan, on behalf of the Conſtitutional Society, wrote a declaration of principles, which was printed, and ordered to be poſted in all parts of the town at midnight: but a man named Carter, who was employed to poſt them, was taken in the act, proſecuted, convicted, and lay in priſon ſix months, as the publiſher of a libel. The paper profeſſed great indignation at the imputation of intending to aboliſh the King and Parliament, but contained theſe expreſſions: "The Houſe of Commons may have been the ſource of our calamity, it may prove that of our deliverance; *ſhould it not, we truſt we ſhall not prove unworthy of our forefathers, whoſe exertions on the cauſe of mankind ſo well deſerve our imitation:* this expreſſion, the Attorney General ſhewed, by the context of other papers, to mean nothing but a threat that if Parliament did not give them redreſs, they would have it by force. In concluſion they exhibited reſolutions "*diſclaiming the idea of wiſhing to effect a change by violence, but truſting to the good ſenſe of the people to procure, when fully enlightened, without diſturbing the public tranquillity, an effectual and permanent reform.*" The intentions of that and ſimilar ſocieties, they ſaid, had been of late groſsly calumniated by thoſe who were intereſted to perpetuate abuſes, and their agents; and therefore, leſt ſuch groſs aſperſions ſhould check the progreſs of liberal inquiry, it was peculiarly expedient for that and ſimilar ſocieties, *publicly to aſſert the rectitude of their principles.* If this paper were to be relied on, the jury muſt aſk themſelves what was the definite meaning of any one paſſage.

About the ſame time was an addreſs from Mancheſter, noted in Mr. Tooke's hand-writing to have been read in the Conſtitutional Society; it was ordered to be printed, and a hundred thouſand copies diſtributed in Great Britain and Ireland. The Morning Chronicle and Morning Poſt, the uſual vehicles of ſuch publications, refuſed to print it on account of the danger; but it was printed in London.

Having noticed the terms of this addreſs, and the induſtrious ſubtilty with which the ſocieties cauſed their publications to be printed in the country, or even in Scotland, if found too dangerous for London, the Attorney General noticed an anſwer written on the 2d of November, 1792, from the Correſponding Society, to an affiliated Society at Stockport, and

and corrected in the hand-writing of Mr. Horne Tooke. It concluded with this phraſe, "*Freedom, though an infant, makes Herculean efforts; the vipers Ariſtocracy and Monarchy are panting and writhing under its graſp: may ſucceſs, peace, and happineſs attend thoſe efforts!*"

At this period the Attorney General briefly recapitulated his previous ſtatement, noticed the addreſs of the ſocieties in enliſting reformers of every claſs, though in fact always purſuing the plan of deſtroying Monarchy by a National Convention; and their induſtry in ſtrengthening themſelves by affiliation, till, according to their own accounts, there was hardly a county where they had not affiliated Societies, making great numbers.

In 1793, theſe ſocieties began to think of making applications to Parliament; but while they were doing ſo, they diſcuſſed whether it was of any uſe to do ſo, and the Correſponding Society took the opinions of the affiliated bodies on three diſtinct propoſitions. The Stockport Society had already declared that nothing could be done but by a Convention, and received the anſwer already adverted to, when the Correſponding Society propounded the following queſtions:—Are we to make an application to Parliament?—Are we to make an application to the King?—or, Are we to have a Convention? The application to the King was conſidered futile;—things were not deemed ripe for a Convention;—and therefore applications were to be made to Parliament, and all poſſible efforts made to gain ſignatures to petitions for the reform of Parliament on the principles of annual repreſentation and univerſal ſuffrage. Thoſe who were ſolicited to ſign them, were, however, to be told that they were not meant to have any effect, but that they were all mere waſte paper.

On this ſubject a letter was written, 5th March, 1793, from the Society at Norwich, ſtrongly wiſhing for a Convention; and an anſwer, firſt ordered to be prepared by Mr. Froſt, and afterwards peruſed and ſettled by counſel, was returned (16th April); in which it was declared that it was in vain to look for redreſs to that Parliament of which they complained, or to the Executive Power, which was implicitly obeyed, if not anticipated in that Parliament. "As to a Convention, they regarded it as a plan the moſt deſirable and moſt practicable, ſo ſoon as the great body of the people ſhould be *courageous*, and virtuous enough to join them in the attempt."

To explain what ſort of thing was meant by a Convention, as contra-diſtinguiſhed from a Parliament, it was neceſſary to look back to the 25th of January, 1793, when England was on the eve of a war with France, and when the Conſtitutional Society voted that *citizens* St. André and Barrere, members of the French National Convention, who had depoſed and voted for the murder of their King, *were two of the moſt judicious and enlightened friends of human liberty, and ſhould be admitted honorary members, and their ſpeeches, given in the Moniteur of the 4th, 6th, and 7th of January, 1793, ſhould be inſerted in the books of the Society.*

From

From theſe ſpeeches, which were delivered on the trial of Louis XVI, the Attorney General read extracts, ſhewing the opinions which the orators entertained, and which the ſociety thus applauded and adopted, reſpecting the rights and inviolability of Kings, and the powers of a Convention, which was expreſsly declared *to have unlimited powers with reſpect to every meaſure of general ſafety;—ſuch as the execution of a tyrant. It would be no longer a Convention, if it had not power to condemn a King.*

Paſſing over a great number of letters, which proved the demand and grant of affiliations to Leeds, Tewkeſbury, Coventry, and an incredible number of other places in England, the Attorney General directed the attention of the jury to a letter of the 17th of May, 1793, which began the correſpondence with Scotland. On that day, Parliament having rejected the petition of the Correſponding Society, and a Mr. Urquhart being about to leave London, Mr. Hardy and Mr. Margarot wrote by him to the Society in Edinburgh, requeſting a renewal of correſpondence for the purpoſe of obtaining a reform of Parliament, and declaring that "*as their petitions had been unſucceſsful, they muſt direct their attention to ſome more effectual means.*" This letter was accompanied by one ſtill more ſtrenuous and explanatory, from Mr. Skirving, who preſſed with eagerneſs the formation of a Convention, and hoped it would be ſucceeded by an aſſembly of commiſſioners from all countries in the world, but to which none were to have acceſs who would not previouſly affiliate in one great and indiviſible aſſembly.

A correſpondence on the ſubject of a Convention was then commenced with many of the affiliated ſocieties. On the 10th of June the Correſponding Society wrote to Birmingham, on the 25th to Norwich; on the 28th an addreſs to the nation was voted, and Mr. Horne Tooke and a Mr. York were directed to prepare it; on the 6th of July the Society having received a letter from Norwich, anſwered it by exhorting them to renounce unavailing complaints, and prepare, *in an orderly and courageous manner*, for an event which they deſcribed as extremely probable,—the landing of an army of foreign mercenaries for the purpoſe of depriving the people of their rights; and on the 31ſt of July the ſame Society, in a letter to Hereford, explicitly declared their political opinions, reprobated the Iriſh Convention Act, and affirmed that a ſimilar attack on freedom in this country *would render every exertion juſtifiable.*

In October 1793, the Scotch Convention met, Mr. Sinclair and Mr. York were ſent as delegates from the London Conſtitutional Society. The Correſponding Society was not backward in forming this Convention, and by the reading of Hardy's letters it would appear that he had no inconſiderable ſhare in contriving its meeting. The inſtructions given to the London delegates by the Correſponding Society were, on no account to depart from the original object and principle of the Society, that of obtaining annual Parliaments, and univerſal ſuffrage,—to ſupport the opinion that repreſentatives

tatives in Parliament ought to be paid by their conſtituents,—and that *it was the duty of the people to reſiſt any Act of Parliament repugnant to the original principles of the Conſtitution, as would be every attempt to prohibit aſſociations for the purpoſe of reform.*

The Attorney General then detailed the proceedings and reſolves of the Convention, as they were deſcribed in the trials at Edinburgh, connecting them with the acts and votes of the Societies in England, and ſhewing the leading ſhare taken by Mr. Margarot and Mr. Gerald, the delegates from the Correſponding Society. Margarot communicated to his conſtituents the proceedings of the Scotch Convention, writing continually for that purpoſe to Mr. Hardy. On the appointment of a Secret Committee to convoke the Convention in caſe of the landing of any foreign troops, Margarot did not write explicitly, but ſaid, "letters convey but very imperfectly, and with no great degree of ſafety, what we might wiſh to inform each other of." Mr. Sinclair, with equal ſpeed, appriſed the Conſtitutional Society of the proceedings of the Convention, and adviſed them to purſue the meaſure which had been adopted in Scotland, of forming a Secret Committee. Such was the ſtate of their proceedings when the magiſtracy of Scotland interfered, diſperſed the Convention, and brought the leading members to trial. Even then propoſitions were made in theſe Societies to reſcue the convicts, and in the correſpondence from Scotland, and the correſpondence from the ſhips before they ſailed would be found, not only the ſtrongeſt invitation to the Societies to do ſome ſtrong act, but the ſtrongeſt and moſt unequivocal declarations by the two Societies that thoſe ſtrong acts muſt be done.

Theſe ſentiments were expreſſed in letters from Margarot to Hardy, dated the 11th, 22d, 24th, and 27th December, 1793; and the Societies in London having approved all the acts of the Scotch Convention, Mr. Hardy, on the 11th January, 1794, wrote to Norwich, uſing the following expreſſions:—"I think our opponents are cutting their own throats as faſt as they can.—*Now is the time for us to do ſomething worthy of men: the brave defenders of liberty South of the Engliſh Channel are performing wonders, driving their enemies before them, like chaff before the whirlwind.*" Margarot alſo wrote to Norwich that the French fleet, amounting to ſeventy ſail, was rumoured to be at ſea, and as there were probably many tranſports, a deſcent might be the conſequence.—"*For God's ſake, my worthy friends,*" he continued, "*do not relax in the cauſe of freedom. Continue as you have begun; conſolidate your own Societies—unite with others—perſevere, and make no doubt, but ſooner or later, your endeavours will be crowned with ſucceſs.*

On the 17th of January, 1794, the Conſtitutional Society paſſed reſolutions, importing "*That the law ceaſed to be an object of obedience whenever it became an inſtrument of oppreſſion.*

That the Society *recalled to mind with the deepeſt ſatisfaction the merited fate of the infamous Jefferies,* once Lord Chief Juſtice of England, who at the era of the glori-

ous revolution, for the many iniquitous sentences he had passed, *was torn to pieces by a brave and injured people.*

That *those* (meaning the judges in Scotland) *who imitate his example, deserve his fate.*

That the safety of Englishmen was endangered whenever their brethren in Scotland, for a conduct which entitled them to the approbation of all *wise*, and the support of all brave men, were sentenced to Botany Bay.

That the Society saw, with regret, but without fear, the period fast approaching *when the liberties of Britons must depend not upon reason*, nor on their powers of expressing it, *but on their firm and undaunted resolution to oppose tyranny by the same means by which it was exercised.*

The minutes of these resolutions having been preserved, were read as originally written, to shew by the variations the dexterity used by the Society, in stating in different terms sentiments exactly the same.

Some other letters were afterwards written by Margarot to Hardy, particularly one on the 20th of January, where he says, "*Armed associations are set on foot by the rich; why should not the poor do the same?*"

On the 20th of January a general meeting and anniversary dinner was held at the Globe Tavern in the Strand; Hardy was present; an address to the people of Great Britain and Ireland was voted, censuring the war and all the late public acts in the coarsest terms, and declaring that, as no other redress could be obtained, *they must look for it from their own laws, and not from the laws of their plunderers, enemies, and oppressors.* "That there was no redress for a nation so circumstanced, but from a fair, free, and full representation of the people," a phrase which, from the context, the Attorney General insisted must mean a Convention. They resolved, therefore, "That during the ensuing Session of Parliament the General Committee of their Society should meet daily, *for the purpose of watching the proceedings of the Parliament, and of the Administration of the Government of this country.*"

That upon the first introduction of any bill or motion inimical to the liberties of the people, such as for landing foreign troops in Great Britain or Ireland, for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, for proclaiming martial law, or for preventing the people from meeting in societies, for constitutional information, *or any other innovation of a similar nature*, that on any of these emergencies the General Committee should issue summonses to the delegates of each division, and also to the secretaries of the different Societies affiliated, and corresponding with their Society, forthwith to call a *general convention of the people*, to be held at such place and in such a manner as should be specified in the summons, for the purpose of taking such measures into their consideration.

It was also resolved that 100,000 copies of the address should be printed, and concluded by publishing their toasts; among which were "the rights of man,"—"the British Convention,"—"success to the arms of freedom against whomsoever directed,"—and, "the virtuous and spirited citizens now in confinement

confinement for matters of opinion," alluding, among others, to Mr. Frost, who had been recently committed for saying in a public Coffee-House, "No King. None in England! I am for liberty and equality every where," and whom the Society had passed a formal resolution to support.

The Constitutional Society immediately adopted the resolves of the Corresponding Society, and on that occasion the letter first read by the Attorney General, and dated the 27th March, 1794, was written. This he contended was sufficient to prove a conspiracy for calling together "*a Convention of the People, by delegates deputed for that purpose from the different Societies of friends of freedom, assembled in the various parts of the nation.*" The Societies had declared their opinion that *redress was not to be obtained from the laws of England, but they were to have redress against their oppressors, plunderers, and enemies, by their own laws*;—by that sort of representation of the people, which is formed by a convention of the people summoned from those affiliated Societies.

"When I lay this evidence before you," the Attorney General proceeded, "if I stopped here, I should be glad to learn why this is not a step taken for the execution of such a purpose as I have before stated;—a step taken for constituting a body, or a step taken towards devising the means of constituting a body which was, like the Convention mentioned in the speech of Barrere, to supersede the legislature, to depose the King, to suffer him to have no existence, but what their good will and pleasure would allow him.

But it would be found that in April 1794, there was a meeting at Chalk Farm, in the open air, which was a step in further prosecution of the functions of that committee of co-operation. There were, as it would appear from a letter found in Hardy's possession, meetings at the same time, in the open air, at Leeds, Wakefield, Huddersfield, Bradford, Bristol, and various other places. A circular letter was sent by the prisoner to the remotest parts of the kingdom, for assembling their Convention. It was in these words:—"The critical moment is arrived, and Britons must either assert with zeal and firmness their claims to liberty, or yield without resistance to the chains that ministerial usurpation is forging for them." Will you co-operate with us in the only peaceable measure that now presents itself with any prospect of success? We need not intimate to you, that notwithstanding the unparalleled audacity of a corrupt and overbearing faction, which at present tramples on the rights and liberties of the people, our meetings cannot in England be interrupted without the previous adoption of a Convention Bill, a measure it is our duty to anticipate, that the ties of union may be more firmly drawn, and the sentiments and views of the different Societies throughout the nation be compared, while it is yet in our power, so as to guide and direct the future operations of the friends to freedom. Rouse then to one exertion more; and let us shew our consciousness of this important truth:—"if we are to be beaten down with threats, prosecutions, and illegal sentences, we are unworthy—we are incapable of liberty." We must, however, be

expeditious: Heſſians and Auſtrians are already among us; and if we tamely ſubmit, a cloud of theſe armed barbarians may ſhortly be poured in upon us: let us form then another Britiſh Convention; we have a central ſituation in our view, which we believe would be moſt convenient for the whole iſland; but which "we forbear to mention, (intreating your confidence in this particular,) till we have the anſwer of the Societies with which we are in correſpondence. Let us have your anſwer then by the 20th at fartheſt,—earlier, if poſſible,—whether you approve of the meaſure, and how many delegates you can ſend, with the number alſo, if poſſible, of your Societies.

"We remain yours,

"*In civic affection*,

"The London Correſponding Society.

"THOMAS HARDY, Secretary."

"For the management of this buſineſs we have appointed a Secret Committee; you will judge how far it is neceſſary for you to do the ſame."

The next proceedings were at Chalk Farm, where the Committee of Correſpondence and Co-operation met, and where a leading ſhare in the proceedings was taken by Mr. Thelwall, a very active member of the Correſponding Society, one of the Committee of Correſpondence, and one who had been extremely active in the tranſactions of the 20th of January. His character the Attorney General delineated, by reading one of his own letters to a perſon in America. "I have redoubled my zeal," he ſays, "there is not at this time a man in England that goes bolder lengths, and expoſes himſelf to more danger in the cauſe of liberty than myſelf. I have been for four or five months paſt almoſt the ſole labourer upon whom the fatigue, the danger, and the exertion of the London Correſponding Societies, *the only avowed Sans Culottes in the Metropolis*, have reſted, and have been otherwiſe ſo active in the cauſe as ſcarcely to have paſſed a week without threats and conſpiracies from the Government and its purblind adherents. Let me know," he adds, "ſomething about the ſtate of politics and ſociety in America. I fear you are ſomewhat ſhort of the true Sans Culotte liberty; that you have too much veneration for property, too much religion, and too much law."

Here the Attorney General finiſhed his detail of the written evidence, though, as he obſerved, he had not noticed all that he ſhould produce, particularly to ſome hand-bills and ſongs, and ſlightly adverted to ſome of the parole evidence which he was to offer. Having cloſed this part of his caſe, made ſome obſervations on the credit due to witneſſes, and noticed incidentally a new conſtitution framed for the Correſponding Society, in which a Royaliſt was deſcribed as an enemy, and a Democrat as a friend to the liberties of his country, the Attorney General concluded by ſaying, "If you find all theſe facts, and, under the direction of that wiſdom which preſides here, find that the caſe, being proved in fact, is alſo made out in law, you will do that on behalf of the public which is due to yourſelves, to the public, to your poſterity, and theirs. But

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on the other hand, if after hearing this cafe fully ſtated, and attempted to be fully proved, or you ſhould be finally of opinion that the offence is not made out, according to the hallowed interpretation of the ſtatute of Edward III; I ſay then in the concluſion, I join, from my heart, in the prayer which the law makes on behalf of the priſoner,—God ſend him a ſafe deliverance!

EVIDENCE for the CROWN.

Thomas Maclean, the meſſenger who ſeized the papers of Daniel Adams, Secretary to the Conſtitutional Society;—*John Gurnell*, a meſſenger, and *Edward Lauzun*, a meſſenger extraordinary, who ſeized Hardy's papers;—identified many of thoſe which had been adverted to in the addreſs of the Attorney General, eſpecially the letters, addreſſes, and proceedings of the Societies, and of Hardy, as Secretary to the Correſponding Society. His hand-writing in the letter of the 27th of March, 1794, and ſeveral other papers were proved by *Alexander Grant*. The corrections of Mr. Horne Tooke in one of the papers were proved by *William Woodfall*.

Alexander Grant, who was a printer, and member of the Correſponding Society, diviſions No. 2, meeting at the Bell, in Exeter-ſtreet, the houſe of Mr. Byde, who was alſo a member, proved that by the direction of Mr. Richter, he printed five hundred copies of the addreſs of the Correſponding Society, dated 29th November, 1792, and beginning, "Friends and fellow-countrymen." He delivered them to and was paid by Hardy, and was informed by Hardy that Carter was taken up for poſting them.

The paper and ſeveral others, being the letters of Skirving and Margarot, and others, with Hardy's letters, dated from the 4th March to the 25th July, 1793, were put in, identified, and read.

At this period, on the application of Mr. Erſkine, it was ordered that the Court ſhould adjourn; but the ſheriffs having provided beds, the jury were not permitted to ſeparate, but allowed to retire under the attendance of four bailiffs, and this was done on an explicit ſtatement that it was ſolicited as a favour on the behalf of the priſoner, and that by his conſent, the record ſhould be made up as of the firſt day of the trial.

The Court adjourned at a quarter paſt twelve o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, 29th *Oct.*

EVIDENCE for the CROWN (continued).

This whole day was occupied in reading and proving papers and publications referred to in the ſpeech of the Attorney General. Some of the moſt material were the proceedings of the Convention in Scotland; the proceedings of the Conſtitutional Society, proving their connexion with the Correſponding Society; and the reſolutions and letter to Thomas Paine, thanking him for the offer of the profits ariſing from the ſale of "the ſecond part of the Rights of Man;" the reſolution to addreſs the French National Convention; and Barlow's Works, from which ſeveral extracts were read, from the firſt part, and the whole dedication, treating with contempt the King and Conſtitution of Great Britain, and decrying hereditary government and monarchy in general.

The votes of the Conſtitutional and Correſponding Societies, in approbation of theſe works; the proceedings of the two Societies on the propoſal of addreſſes to the National Convention of France; the appointment of Barlow and Froſt to deliver the addreſſes, their letters, giving an account of the tranſaction, and the Preſident's anſwer; the reports of the proceedings of the Popular Societies at Laon, Apt, and Macon; the correſpondence between Horne Tooke and Petion, reſpecting the gift of one thouſand pounds from the Conſtitutional Society; a draft of an addreſs from Mr. Tooke to the Preſident of the French Convention, offering four thouſand livres (175*l.*) on his own account; the election of St. André, Barrere, and Roland, to be honorary members of the Conſtitutional Society, and the printed ſpeeches of thoſe men on the King's trial, in conſequence of which the Society pronounced them judicious and enlightened friends of human liberty, and cauſed their harangues to be entered in their books.

Proof was then exhibited of the correſpondence with the affiliated Societies in the country, with Simon Butler and Oliver Bond in Ireland, ſent by the hands of Hamilton Rowan, the inſtructions given by the Conſtitutional Society to York and Sinclair, delegates to the Convention in Scotland, their reſolutions of the 17th January, 1794, beginning with the declaration, "*that law ceaſed to be an object of obedience when it became an inſtrument of oppreſſion;*" and their reſolution "that *the moſt excellent* addreſs of the Correſponding Society of the 20th January, ſhould be inſerted in their books, and *the King's ſpeech to his Parliament under it.*"

It was alſo proved that at the ſame Society, on the 7th March, 1794, "Mr. Tooke gave notice that he would, at the next meeting of this Society, move that two books ſhould be opened; *one of them (bound in black) in which ſhould be entered all the enormities of thoſe who deſerved the cenſure;* and in the other, the merits of thoſe who deſerve the gratitude of the Society; the reſolutions and correſpondence relative to Meſſrs. Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald, ſtyling them "friends and fellow-citizens, and declaring their enemies to be the enemies of public liberty, men who were conſpiring againſt the happineſs of mankind;" and the anniverſary dinner of the Conſtitutional Society at the Crown and Anchor, when John Wharton, M. P.* was in the chair. A numerous band played *ça-ira*;—the *Carmagnol*;—the *Marſeillais march*;—the *Democrat*;—and a new piece of muſic called the *Free Conſtitution*, were alſo proved. Among the toaſts given were "*The Rights of Man*;"—*the armies contending for liberty*;—*may the abettors of the preſent war be its victims!*—*Lord Stanhope*; but this was amended to *Citizen Stanhope*, and drunk with vehement applauſe;—*Mr. Wharton*;—*Hamilton Rowan*, and the *Patriots* of Ireland;—*John Horne Tooke*;—and *Thomas Paine*.

At paſt twelve o'clock the Court adjourned, and the jury, complaining of their accommodations, were permitted to retire under guard of ſheriff's officers, to the Hummums in Covent Garden. This was by conſent of the counſel on both ſides.

* The title Eſquire was omitted in the publication of the Society.

THURSDAY, 30th *October.*

EVIDENCE for the CROWN (continued).

The Attorney General opened the business of the day by producing proof of the delegation of the prisoner, Margarot, Martin, and Richter, from the Correspondjug Society, with Mr. Vaughan and some others to draw up a Constitution, which was put in. It was preceded by a declaration of *principles* and *wishes*. "All men," it was said, "are by nature free, equal, and independent of each other. No majority, however great, can justly deprive the minority of any part of their civil rights; whenever it is attempted, the social bond is broken, and the minority have a right to resist. *Every power intrusted to a magistrate implies a responsibility for the exercise of that power.*" The principal grievances felt by the British nation were enumerated under the titles—*The Corn Act—Game Laws —Excise Laws and Stamp Duties*—the *Meeting Act* and the *Impress Service*. The only probable remedy was annual Parliaments, elected by universal suffrage, and the mode of obtaining this remedy was to *associate*. The members of the Society were therefore to meet in divisions, consisting, as nearly as convenient, of thirty members each; and the management of affairs was to be vested in one *Committee of Delegates;* one *Select Committee;* and one *Council*, subject to a *reference of the divisions*, and to a *trial by jury*.

The Constitution then established the form of electing a member; and the test to which he was, in the first place, to submit, obliging himself to endeavour, by all justifiable means, to promote a reform of Parliament, agreeable to the above principles. No *political appellations* were to be assumed by any of the members. *Republican, Democrat*, and some others were excepted, and each defined in a manner explanatory of the sense of the Society. "*Subject*," it was said, "can only be applied to a member of a State whose Government has been instituted by foreign conquest, or the prevalence of a domestic faction."

A letter was next put in, directed "to Citizen Hardy, N° 9, Piccadilly, London," and found in his house, in the following words:—"Fellow Citizen; The barefaced Aristocracy of the present Administration has made it necessary that we should be prepared to act on the defensive against any attack they may command their newly-armed minions to make upon us. A plan has been hit upon, and if encouraged sufficiently, will, no doubt, have the effect of furnishing a quantity of pikes to the patriots, great enough to make them formidable. The blades are made of steel, tempered and polished after an improved form. They may be fixed into any shafts (but fir ones are recommended) of the girt of the accompanying hoops at the top end, and about an inch more at the bottom.

"The blades and hoops (more than which cannot propely be sent to any great distance) will be charged one shilling. Money to be sent with the orders.

"As the institution is in its infancy, immediate encouragement is necessary.

"*Qrders may be sent to the Se-*

cretary of the Sheffield Conſtitutional Society. [Struck out.]

"RICHARD DAVISON.

"Sheffield, *April 24th*, 1794.

"To prevent poſt ſuſpicion, direct to Mr. Robert Moody, joiner, Cheney-ſquare, Sheffield."

In proof of the writing of theſe letters, the Attorney General called

William Cammage.—Examined by *Mr. Law.* He was a member of the Conſtitutional Society at Sheffield, acted as ſecretary till about May laſt. The buſineſs of the Society was managed by a committee, the leading perſons of which committee wrote letters which the witneſs uſed to ſign.

They choſe Matthew Campbell Brown a delegate to the Scotch Convention. The Society being threatened to be diſperſed in their meetings by an oppoſite party, thought it neceſſary to have arms for their own defence. He and other perſons were ſhewn the blades of pikes, of which three dozen were made by one Hill. He proved the laſt letter to be Daviſon's hand, and had ſeen it in Daviſon's poſſeſſion at Sheffield. Daviſon deſired that a letter from Hardy might be directed to Moody, and the proper ſecretary's name, which was Broomhead, was ſtruck out, becauſe they thought ſome letters to him had been intercepted. Moody put handles to three dozen pikes; they were ſomewhere about ſeven feet long, made of fir; the blades about ten inches; they were about the ſame ſhape as a bayonet, fluted and pointed. Daviſon was gone off. Being aſked as to a night-cat, he ſays he knows what it is; it ſtands four ways; the uſe of it, he ſays, is to act againſt cavalry, by being thrown into the ſtreet.

Croſs-examined by Mr. Erſkine.

A Parliamentary Reform was his object; neither he nor any other member had an idea of any thing being meditated againſt the King or the Houſe of Lords, or of carrying their reform on by force, or to overthrow the inclinations of the people at large, and the inclinations of Parliament. They thought they had a right to have arms for their own defence, upon the Bill of Rights. The cheapneſs recommended the pikes. As to the cat, he did not know that any were made from the model.

William Broomhead.—Examined by *Mr. Garrow.* Is a cutler, and member of the Conſtitutional Society at Sheffield; was ſecretary for the laſt five months before he was apprehended, which was in April; the object of the Society was a Parliamentary Reform, by meeting and endeavouring to enlighten each other, and to ſpread the knowledge of grievances. The term univerſal ſuffrage he did not hear of till the Edinburgh Convention. Knows Yorke, who ſometimes goes by the name of Redhead; he uſed to attend the weekly meetings, but was not a ſettled inhabitant of Sheffield. Theſe meetings were held in a ſmall and in a large room; there was an elevation for the ſpeaker, which ſome called *the Pulpit*, ſome *the Tribune*, and from this Tribune Mr. Yorke addreſſed the Society. Yorke was at the meeting upon the Caſtle-Hill, expatiated largely upon the corruptions which had crept into the Conſtitution; he was peculiarly energetic, fiery, warm, and ſtrong, but ſaid nothing contrary to the

law

law and conſtitution. *It was ſettled at a previous meeting that the witneſs ſhould make a motion for a petition to the Houſe of Commons, in order that it might be overruled,* for the purpoſe of introducing another motion in its place, which was done. The new motion was a petition to his Majeſty for a reform in Parliament; it was drawn up before they aſſembled; it was ſent to Earl Stanhope, but he did not think fit to preſent it. They afterwards agreed that Yorke's ſpeech ſhould be printed, which was produced and proved. Copies were ſent to ſeveral perſons; twenty-four or more packets were ſent to the priſoner. Witneſs heard a report of arms in the Society, but never ſaw a pike till he was brought to London, though they were talked of; *ſaw a model of a night-cat, which was only like a play-thing for a child, it had four ſpikes; one Charles Rhodes produced it, and it was talked of in a careleſs idle way.* Remembers Yorke ſaying we were in a low deſpicable ſituation, and rather than ſubmit to it he would go up to London with the people that were there; heard this with pain, for he fears God and honours the King. Proved a pamphlet which was produced; ſays that upon the Faſt Day the people aſſembled at the top of the town; there were a thouſand or two; they acted as deſcribed in that paper. The paper was found upon Hardy, and is intitled, "*Faſt Day as obſerved at Sheffield; a ſerious lecture delivered at Sheffield, February the 28th, 1794, being the day appointed for a General Faſt; to which are added a hymn and reſolutions.*"

The lecture began with an obſervation that "In every age of the world truth had met with oppoſers when it chanced to claſh with the intereſts of *a venal tribe of Kings, Courtiers, Prieſts, and their accomplices.*" The Almighty had once been pleaſed, by an act of omnipotent power, to overturn the malice and wicked intentions of *that infamous tyrant Ahab, and his ſatellites.* The lecturer then deſcribed the overthrow of the Prieſts of Baal, and concluded, "It is in this point of light," ſaid the orator, "I view with concern *a combination of Kings apparently leagued againſt the cauſe of freedom; a combination which I believe to be odious in the ſight of Heaven, although for its ſupport we are commanded a ſecond time from the Throne* (not of God) *to faſt and pray for the ſucceſs of our arms over our brethren.*

After this lecture a hymn was ſung in full chorus by the whole aſſembly, and then, William Carnage having been called to the Chair, eleven reſolutions were paſſed, deſcribing war as a wretched artifice of Courts, the ordinance of faſts on ſuch occaſions as a ſolemn proſtitution of religion. The landing of Heſſian troops (a ferocious and unprincipled horde of butchers) had a ſuſpicious and alarming appearance, and it was high time for the people then aſſembled to be on their guard, ſince thoſe armed monſters might, in a moment, be let looſe upon them. After thanking Lord Stanhope and Mr. Sheridan for their Parliamentary exertions, they reſolved "that the people have no remedy for their grievances, but a REFORM IN PARLIAMENT, a meaſure which we determine never to relinquiſh,

linquish, though we follow our brethren in the same glorious cause to *Botany Bay*. Both the Corresponding and Constitutional Societies passed resolutions (20th and 21st March) highly approving this method of employing usefully the days set apart for fasts.

William Broomhead, proceeding with his evidence, said that the members of the Society at Sheffield never exceeded 600, though stated in their publications to be much greater. They were to collect a penny a week each, to make a fund; and the pamphlets were sold, but had not a very extensive sale.

Witness then gave an account of the proceedings at Sheffield, in the open air, on the 7th of April, 1794, which are also in print, and were found upon the prisoner. From this pamphlet, extracts were read: it was intitled "*Proceedings of the public meeting held at Sheffield, in the open air, on the 7th of April*, 1794," and also an "address to the British nation, being an exposition of the motives which have determined the people of Sheffield to petition the House of Commons no more on the subject of Parliamentary reform."

In the introductory part of the pamphlet, the assembly was styled *a general meeting of the friends of justice, liberty, and humanity*, and it was affirmed that, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, *from ten to twelve thousand people* were assembled, and an address to the King read, in which the subscribers declared themselves deeply affected at the sentences passed on *Citizens* Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald. The friends of those sufferers, it was said, had brought their case before Parliament, without producing the desired effect, the principal servant of his Majesty having opposed the measure with all his corrupt but irresistible influence; and intreated his Majesty to interfere in behalf of those *innocent* men, *Citizens* Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald, with that power of pardoning which was sometimes *graciously extended even to real and palpable criminals*. After some other expressions of the same kind, they concluded; *If our wishes be attended to, we are persuaded it will, in some good degree, hush the murmurs which unreasonable severity in a Government never fails to excite; and it may also avert that storm which it is but too evident has long been awfully gathering, and which may burst forth in a moment when your Majesty thinks not.*

Mr. Yorke's speech formed another part of the pamphlet, and resolutions were moved and recommended by him, declaring, among other things, "that the people *ought to demand as a right, not petition as a favour, for universal representation*." This resolution was recommended to general adoption, in the address to the British nation; and two copies of the pamphlet had been seized in envelopes, addressed 'To *Mr.* Vaughan, *esq.* counsellor at law,' and "*To the honourable Charles Fox.*"

William Broomhead.—Cross-examined by Mr. *Gibbs*. Said there was a hand-bill circulated for the purpose of exciting the people against the Society; calling on them to arm against *foreign* and *domestic* enemies; from this, arms came to be talked of to oppose illegal force.

The

The people of this Society had no more idea of making any attack upon the King or the Houſe of Lords, or of altering the Government in that reſpect, than he had of flying to the Sun;—their object was Parliamentary reform in the Houſe of Commons; there was no intent, to his knowledge, to uſe any force: but what wicked people might have done in caſe a Convention had been called, he could not anſwer for.

Re-examined by Mr. *Garrow*.—Says the Society at Sheffield might, for aught he knew, have ſent to the Society of Friends of the People, to ſay they would have nothing more to do with them, they were not fit for their purpoſe. After the hand-bill of their opponents, the Society advertized in the ſame words, calling on the people to arm againſt *foreign invaders* and *domeſtic enemies*. They did not apply to any magiſtrate before they armed.

Henry Alexander.—Examined by Mr. *Wood*. Became a member of the London Correſponding Society, belonging to the diviſion which met at Robins's Coffee-Houſe, Shire-lane, in November 1793. Yorke was there when there were between ſixty and a hundred people. He was taking leave of the Society; talked of going to Belgium; witneſs underſtood him that he was to head the French army, and that they would be ripe for a Revolution by Chriſtmas. Yorke hoped to come to London at the head of them, and talked of having the honour of being a member of the Convention in France; hoped he ſhould come at their head hither; *that the Society would join them; that Mr. Pitt's, the other Miniſter's, and the King's head, would be upon Temple Bar*; that the King and Queen of France had met with what they deſerved; that the Sans Culottes were a ſet of brave fellows; he hoped when he came, that the Society would not ſhrink from what they pretended to be; *it was impoſſible to do any thing without ſome bloodſhed*.

Croſs-examined by Mr. *Erſkine*.—Said that when firſt he was led to the Society, he had no wiſh for a Parliamentary reform, but was introduced by Whitehorn, and made a member very ſuddenly; he afterwards attended, with a determination to give information to Government, which he did.

George Widdiſon.—Examined by Mr. *Bower*. Is a hair-dreſſer and turner at Sheffield; made a dozen of pike-ſhafts for Gale; carried one to Yorke, who ſaid it would do.

Croſs-examined by Mr. *Erſkine*.—Was a friend to the King,—the Society, in general, were; the firſt notion they had of univerſal ſuffrage was taken from the Duke of Richmond's plan, which was read in the Society, and generally approved of; he never underſtood that it was meant to do any thing by force; he thought at firſt that it might be done without tumult or commotion, but had changed his mind. Did not underſtand that the object of the Convention was to aſſume the functions of Parliament. He made a pike for himſelf, which he thought neceſſary. He had been threatened in different companies; the *Ariſtocrats* ſaid if there was an invaſion they would deſtroy their enemies at home firſt, as the French did.

Henry Hill.—Examined by Mr. *Law*. Is a cutler at Sheffield; a member

member of the Society; made 130 pikes for Davison; had two-pence apiece for workmanship. Davison said he did not know but they might have the same occasion for pikes in London as they had in Sheffield.

Cross-examined by Mr. *Gibbs*.—The Society always appeared friendly to the King; all they wanted was a more equal representation in the Commons: they followed the Duke of Richmond's plan. Pikes were prepared on account of the opposite party using threats; they had come in the dead of the night; called the place where he was Jacobin's Hall, and called them Levellers and Jacobins; there were an armed set of people who paraded the street, and fired into people's houses, and when going home at twelve o'clock at night, shot under a person's door; they never intended to attack the Magistrates.

Robert Moody.—Examined by Mr. *Garrow*. Is a joiner at Sheffield, and was member of the Society; stated what passed at the meeting upon the Castle Hill, when the populace drew Yorke home. Many of them probably could not hear any thing that passed. Camage brought to witness four or five pikes, and bespoke three dozen of handles. There were dragoons in the neighbourhood of Sheffield; he saw a model of a night-cat, it was an instrument to throw in the street, to prevent horses travelling, and from the appearance he thought it might have that effect.

Cross-examined by Mr. *Erskine*.—Never heard that any night-cats were, in fact, made, but this thing, which seemed to be a model, lay in the shop open; there was no talk of pikes till after the threats had been made use of.

John Edwards.—Examined by Mr. *Garrow*. Is a silversmith, and member of the London Corresponding Society; knew that the prisoner was secretary, and in April 1794, received from him a direction to a man at Sheffield; understood that several members of the Corresponding Society wished to furnish themselves with pikes. A meeting was to have taken place on the Friday before the prisoner was taken up, at the Parrot, in Green Arbour Court, in the Old Bailey, where every one was to lay down a shilling, and then the blades were to be sent up from Sheffield. Knew persons named Gosling, Hillier, Baxter, and Spence; mentioned the circumstance of pikes to Baxter, Spence, and Hillier. Understood from some of the members that there was a place in the Borough where they might learn the use of the musket: Goodwin, a member of the Constitutional Society, told him of the place; and he had heard at his division something of the association by Franklow, called the Lambeth Association; and saw Franklow in a blue coat and red collar, with white waistcoat and breeches, at the dinner at the Globe Tavern, on the 20th of January 1794. In the division, N° 22, it was proposed to form an association like the Lambeth Association, but no person agreed to it.

There was a Secret Committee for the management of some affairs of this Society; Martin, Thelwall, Baxter, Moore, Hodgson, or Lovett, were elected; they received letters, and every thing was

left

left to them. They met for some time at Compton-street, afterwards at Thelwall's, in Beaufort Buildings. The Corresponding Society deputed five persons to meet six from the Constitutional Society. Witness was present at the meeting at Chalk Farm; it was to have been held in Store-street, Tottenham Court Road, but was prevented by Mr. Addington, a justice of the peace, in Store-street; supposes there were two thousand persons, or upwards, at Chalk Farm, in a kind of trap-ball ground, connected with the Long Room; some members of the Corresponding Society were there, particularly Moore, Hodgson, Thelwall, Lovett, and Richter. Lovett was called to the chair. He does not recollect whether Mr. Hardy was there or no; and did not hear the proceedings. He received about the time of this meeting a paper from Baxter, which was read in these words:—

For the Benefit of JOHN BULL.

At the FEDERATION THEATRE, in EQUALITY-SQUARE,

On Thursday the 1st of April, 4971,

Will be performed a new and entertaining Farce, called

LA GUILLOTINE,

Or, GEORGE'S HEAD in the BASKET!

Dramatis Personæ.

Numpy the Third, by Mr. GWELP,

(Being the last time of his appearing in that character).

Prince of Leeks, by Mr. GWELP Junior,

Duke of Dice, by Mr. FREDDY (from Osnaburg).

Duke of Jordan, by Mr. WILLIAM HENRY FLOGGER,

(From the Creolian Theatre).

Uncle Toby, Mr. RICHMOND.

Grand Inquisitor, Mr. PENSIONER REEVES.

Don Quixote, Knight of the Dagger, by Mr. EDMUND CALUMNY,

And Chancellor of the Exchequer, by Mr. BILLY TANLIGHT.

Municipal Officers, National Guards, &c.

By Citizens XGF, NADIREHS, YERG, ENIKSRE, &c.

Banditti, Assassins, Cut-throats, and Wholesale Dealers in Blood,

By the EMPRESS of RUFFIANS, the EMPEROR of HARM-any, THING of PRUSSIA, PRINCE of S. CASH-HELL, &c.

Between the Acts,

A New Song, called "*Twenty more,—kill them!*"

By BOBADIL BRUNSWICK.

Fight Rope Dancing, from the Lamp Post, by Messrs. CANTERBURY, YORK, DURHAM, &c.

In the course of the evening will be sung, in full Chorus, ÇA-IRA;

And, BOB SHAVE GREAT GEORGE OUR ——!

The whole to conclude with a GRAND DECAPITATION of PLACEMEN, PENSIONERS, and GERMAN LEECHES.

*** Admittance, Three-pence each Person.

Vive la Liberté! Vive la Republique!

Cross-

Croſs-examined by Mr. *Erſkine.*—Had no intention to uſe arms againſt Government, but to defend himſelf againſt illegal attacks. Hardy was always very quiet in the diviſion; never uſed improper expreſſions; made no propoſitions for arms or pikes, and witneſs did not know that Hardy ever ſaw the above hand-bill, nor think he would have approved of it.

Samuel Williams.—Examined by Mr. *Bower.* A gun-engraver, and member of the London Correſponding Society; knew Franklow, who was alſo a member, and had applied to him to make him ſome arms. Gave Hardy an order for ſome ſhoes; and Hardy deſired him to bring a gun, which he ſold for him, and bid him bring two or three more, which he ſold likewiſe.

Went to Spence's, in Little Turnſtile, to inſtruct perſons in the manual exerciſe, at the requeſt of Franklow; they exerciſed in a one or two pair of ſtairs room, between eight and ten on Thurſday evenings; thinks the curtains of the room were down. He became a member by Mr. Hardy's recommendation, about a fortnight or three weeks after his firſt ſeeing him. Went to exerciſe the Society called the Royal Lambeth Aſſociation, at Franklow's houſe, N° 1, China Walk, Lambeth, by recommendation of Hardy. A condition of the aſſociation was, not to go beyond the pariſh of Lambeth; they propoſed to form ten diviſions. Their converſation was about a Parliamentary reform; *but from converſation with Franklow, he underſtood, that if they did not get a reform in Parliament, they would have it by force of arms. None but members of the London Correſponding Society attended this Lambeth Aſſociation.*

Frederick Polydore Nodder.—Examined by Mr. *Bower.* Had ſeen Williams at Sampſon's, exerciſing arms.

Samuel Williams re-examined.—Proved a converſation in Hardy's ſhop, Hardy being preſent; when the witneſs was aſked how long he would be in procuring a thouſand muſkets, but declined the order, as being beyond his capital to manage. Hardy did not appear to take any part in the converſation.

George Saunderſon.—Examined by Mr. *Bower.*

Croſs-examined by Mr. *Erſkine.*

Was at Shelmerdine's, in the Borough, upon the 2d of April; he ſaw there about ſeven or eight ſtand of arms, and about twenty-ſix or twenty-ſeven members of the Correſponding Society exerciſing. Underſtood they were to obtain a reform of Parliament at the point of the bayonet. They adjourned to the houſe of one Day, in Worceſter-ſtreet, where a private Committee ſettled certain places where they were to aſſemble; one was at Spence's, another at a ſhed in Weſtminſter near Tothill Fields Bridewell; he attended pretty conſtantly, ſometimes at Spence's, ſometimes in Weſtminſter, from the 11th of April to about the 1ſt of May; they were taught the manual exerciſe by one Orr, a member of the Correſponding Society, who had ſerved with the French army. Shelmerdine was a hatter; he frequently changed his men; and one reaſon for removing from his houſe was, that they thought ſome of his men might not be ſtaunch to the cauſe.

At a meeting of the diviſion in Shire-lane, when there had been news of a defeat of the Britiſh army, the Society treated it as good news; one of them ſaid he had the pleaſure to inform the Society that one of the King's Meſſengers had been killed in the country; another ſaid, if it had been his own ſon he ſhould have been glad; there were frequent intimations to take care of ſpies, and meet at one houſe, that is, nine of them to meet at the houſe of the tenth; they talked of blowing a ſpy's brains out. The witneſs, on his croſs-examination, ſaid he was a ſpy.

Edward Goſling.—Examined by Mr. *Garrow.* Was admitted a member of the Correſponding Society on the 15th of April 1794; Mr. Wickham, a magiſtrate, had deſired him to be propoſed; he attended afterwards to diſcover whether they really had any intention to arm. At the diviſion he belonged to, there was ſome converſation about the meeting at Chalk Farm, which had been on the day before; that *it was ſaid to be neceſſary to arm for the purpoſe of defending the Convention, as they had done in France. The Convention was to be called in about ſix weeks;* they talked of repelling force by force, if Mr. Dundas ſhould bring his Scotch laws into England; the expreſſion uſed was, "The infamous and ever to be deteſted Court of Juſticiar. in Scotland;" one or two hundred thouſand copies of the proceedings and reſolutions of that day were ordered to be printed.

On the Monday after this he was at another diviſion; Dr. Hodgſon was recommended by the Committee to be relieved; he and Hillier went to ſee Hodgſon in Newgate, and found with him Lloyd, Rouſſel, and a Captain Williams, an American. Hodgſon aſked the witneſs if he had ſeen a copy of the new Conſtitution, by which the Correſponding Society was to be divided into ſmall diviſions, to learn the uſe of arms at one another's houſes; that it was almoſt ready; that they were to be called tithings; that their object was to keep ſpies from getting into the Society; their numbers were increaſing, and would ſoon be irreſiſtible. The witneſs obſerved that there were no men of property among them, to which Rouſſel replied, that *as ſoon as they were organized, money ſhould not be wanting.* Lloyd gave a toaſt, "*the world a republic or a deſert.*" Hodgſon ſaid, *he hoped ſoon to ſee a Revolutionary Tribunal eſtabliſhed in this country, for he hated all others.*

Witneſs was that evening at the diviſion he belonged to. One Wright, a delegate, aſked him if he had arms; he ſaid no; Wright told him *it would be neceſſary that all ſhould have arms, as poſſibly they might very ſoon be compelled to uſe them:* Gordon was their ſecretary, who ſaid he was going to America, and *was very ſorry to leave the Society juſt as they were going to act as well as to think, and to regenerate their country.*

On the 25th of April he was at Hillier's houſe, N° 80, or 81, in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet; there was a perſon named Wickſly, a drunken man, and a man named Barnet; Wickſly ſaid he had received a letter from Sheffield, ſtating that there had been a numerous meeting there, and that they had determined to petition no more for a Par-

a Parliamentary reform; *that there were some knives making of a peculiar construction at Sheffield;* the letter contained a drawing of the knives, *they were to be fixed to poles, and they talked of their use being to cut the reins of the horses. The principal dependence of the Society consisted in securing the Royal Family, and both houses of Parliament. Hillier said if they could resist the first shock from the army, there would be no danger afterwards; the King being secured, the army would have no head to look up to,* and would be glad to accept the additional pay that would be offered them; that men would not fight for sixpence a day if they could have a larger sum; nobody objected to all this.

On the 9th of May, had a conversation with Baxter, at Hillier's house. Baxter said the Committee of Correspondence and Co-operation were preparing an address to the army, with some strong resolutions, and determined men were wanted to propagate the opinions contained in those resolutions. One Moore had been particularly active and successful in getting over the army; they had most to fear from the young recruits, they had succeeded best with the old soldiers; if one third of the army was got over, the others would not do much. Baxter asked witness if he knew who would buy a pike; witness said he should have no objection to purchase one, but it would be of no service unless he knew how to use it; Baxter said if he would go the Thursday or Friday following, to the Parrot, in Green Harbour Court, in the Old Bailey, and ask for one Edwards, he would be called out to him; he was to tell Edwards that Baxter had sent him, then he was to have a pike, and that he would be introduced to others with whom he might learn the use of them. Witness observed they might have a Parliamentary reform without coming to blows, upon which Baxter said, "*Is there a man in the Society that believes a Parliamentary reform is all we want?—no, not one.*" He said many men of property had hitherto kept back on account of the sanguinary conduct of the French, but they were now willing to come forward, as they were convinced a revolution might be effected in a few hours; that he, Baxter, did not wish the King or any of his family to lose their own lives, he might go to Hanover, but it must be expected that some blood must be shed, for some persons had offered such insults to the people that human nature could not overlook. Among these were Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Reeves. The witness attended most to Baxter's conversation, because he was one of the Committee of Correspondence and Co-operation.

Witness communicated these circumstances from time to time to Mr. Wickham, and gave him intelligence of what passed.

Cross-examined by Mr. *Erskine.*—The intent of this cross-examination was to affect the credibility of the witness.

He stated that he was employed to write for Mr. Wickham; before that, for Mr. Colquhoun, the magistrate; and before that, had kept a broker's shop.—Asked *if he had never dealt in naval stores?*—Answered,—never: but admitted he had said so to a Mr. Worship, who was secretary of a division of the

the Correſponding Society, and from whom he wiſhed to purchaſe a print, and who, he feared, would not let him have it, if it were known that he was employed by a magiſtrate.—Denied ever having uſed an expreſſion imputed to him, *that he would think no more of cheating the King than of guillotining him.*

Aſked *if he had always gone by the name of Gosling?*—Anſwered, that he had aſſumed that of *Douglas*, and carried on the buſineſs of a hair-dreſſer in that name, near ſeven years. The reaſon of his doing ſo was, that his father kept a ſhop in the city, chiefly in the wig-making and ſhaving line, but that he, being deſirous of improvement, went to the weſt end of the town, and not chooſing that it ſhould be known that he worked as a journeyman, while his father kept four or five men, he aſſumed the name of *Douglas*, which he took from a play-bill. In this name he had borrowed ten pounds or guineas from a Mr. Lincoln, and given him a note ſigned *George Douglas.*

Aſked *if he had not been in the conſtant habit of going from one Society to another, uſing inflammatory expreſſions to excite people to ſay things which he wanted them to ſay?*—Poſitively denied it.

Aſked *if he had known a Mrs. Coleman?*—Anſwered, A woman of that name rented a ſhop of him, lived there three or four months, and then died; he made her will, by which ſhe bequeathed her whole property to Burroughs, a couſin of her own, and to James Leech, a ſon of witneſs's wife.—Aſked *whether he was ever charged with having forged that will?*—Poſitively denied it.

Aſked *how long he had known Cox, a cheeſemonger?*—Could not tell how long, but had dealt with him ſome time for butter, cheeſe, and hams, which his wife retailed in a ſeparate ſhop. Some of the hams had large holes in them, which were filled up with mortar and ſtones; but in this Mr. Cox had cheated him.

Witneſs was then croſs-examined at great length about the purchaſe of naval ſtores belonging to the King, which he poſitively denied.

Re-examined by Mr. *Garrow.*—Shewn a print of the manual exerciſe and platoon firing; ſaid this was the one produced by Worſhip; the ſoldiers had caps on their heads, meant for the Cap of Liberty, and Worſhip explained it by ſaying that the men were Sans Culottes, and the caps on their heads to be coloured red.—Never was proſecuted for forging Mrs. Coleman's will, nor was a ſuit ever inſtituted to diſprove its validity; her brother came to town and appeared ſatisfied; and witneſs poſitively ſwore that it was, as far as he had any thing to do with it, a fair, honeſt tranſaction.

At half paſt one o'clock in the morning the Court adjourned.

FRIDAY, 31*ſt October.*

EVIDENCE for the CROWN (continued).

John Groves.—Examined by Mr. *Law.* Was at the Globe Tavern, 20th January 1794, became a member of the Correſponding Society early in February, in order to make a diſcovery. In general their converſation was, univerſal ſuffrage, and annual Parliaments. Was preſent at Thelwall's lecture; it was a general abuſe of Adminiſtration and the branches of the

Legiſlature; he ſpoke of the King in terms of contempt; he uſed the word *Solomon*, ironically; ſaid the Houſe of Lords was an *Ariſtocratic branch*, which ſwallowed up almoſt all other functions of the Government; recommended a Convention to procure annual Parliaments and univerſal ſuffrage; and recommended a new modelling of the Houſe of Commons.

Was at Chalk Farm on the 14th of April; Hardy was there; Lovett in the chair; printed papers were diſperſed; there was a letter from the Correſponding Society to the Friends of the People, earneſtly ſoliciting concurrence and aſſiſtance in aſſembling *a Convention of the Friends of Freedom*, for the purpoſe of obtaining, in a legal and conſtitutional method, a full and effectual repreſentation; the anſwer was read, civilly declining the propoſal. This anſwer was received with general ſilence, no approbation was expreſſed, but ſome began hiſſing.

The reſolutions concluded in theſe words:—"It is the firm conviction of this Society, that a ſteady perſeverance in the ſame bold and energetic ſentiments which have lately been avowed by the friends of freedom, cannot fail of crowning with ultimate triumph the virtuous cauſe in which we are engaged, ſince whatever may be the intereſted opinion of *hereditary* ſenators, or *packed* majorities of *pretended* repreſentatives, truth and liberty, in an age ſo enlightened as the preſent, muſt be invincible and omnipotent.

An addreſs to Gerald was alſo voted; votes of approbation were carried in favour of Mr. *Hamilton Rowan*, Mr. *Curran* his advocate, the Society of *United Iriſhmen*, and ſeveral other perſons; and two hundred thouſand copies of the proceedings and reſolutions were ordered to be printed and publiſhed.

Witneſs went to a houſe in Store-ſtreet, Tottenham Court Road, where the meeting was to be held; went part of the way with Thelwall; there was a written paper upon the door of the houſe in Store-ſtreet, that the meeting was to be held at Chalk Farm; the principal perſons who ſpoke and acted were Lovell, Richter, Thelwall, and Hodgſon; Thelwall made two or three ſpeeches; a clamour went round that there were ſpies and informers there; Thelwall ſaid he was for admitting all ſpies and informers, becauſe the number of the members of the London Correſponding Society could be no agreeable news to the Miniſter; Richter, reading the reſolutions, ſtopped to make ſome obſervation of his own; Hardy ſaid, "Read, Sir, without comment."

Witneſs returned to the Diviſion Room, in Compton-ſtreet; Thelwall, who was in the chair, taking a pot of porter in his hand, blew off the head of it, and ſaid, "*This is the way I would have all Kings ſerved*, or, *This is the way I would ſerve all Kings*." Thelwall gave as a toaſt, *the lantern, or lamp-iron, at the end of Parliament-ſtreet*; he called for ſome one to cover it by giving another toaſt; and ſomebody cried out *the Treaſury Bench*; theſe toaſts were drunk by all preſent; he had a private converſation with Green, a member, in the Coffee-Room; he talked of annual Parliaments and univerſal ſuffrage, but ſaid theſe were only to be conſidered

ſidered as ladders to obtain their ends.

There was a kind of ſhed at Chalk Farm, in which they were eating bread and cheeſe, and drinking porter; ſeveral perſons there pulled out cutting inſtruments, correſponding with each other; a ſort of French knife, called *couteau ſécret*, which, when the claſp was opened, it prevented its joint working, ſo that it was fixed ſtraight forward; Pearce had one; ſomebody ſaid they were bread and cheeſe knives; upon that obſervation there was a ſmile; he looked upon them as harmleſs inſtruments; aſked where they were to be had, and was told at Green's, a perfumer, in Orange-ſtreet, Leiceſter Fields. Witneſs went to Green's for one of theſe knives; Green ſaid he had ſold between two and three hundred; told him to ſpeak very low; the parlour door was open, which was adjoining the ſhop, and he added with a ſmile, "*for my wife is a damned Ariſtocrat.*"

There was a diviſion meeting in February, when an addreſs from Stockport was read. It was dated 5th January 1794, intitled "*Rights of Swine;*" its general contents were exceedingly inflammatory, and it concluded in theſe words: "Hearken! O ye poor of the land! Do you fret and whine at oppreſſion?—Yes.—Then as ye do, ſo did your fathers before you;—and if you *do no more*, your children may whine after you.—Awake! Ariſe! arm yourſelves with truth, juſtice, and reaſon;—lay ſiege to corruption, and your unity and invincibility ſhall teach your oppreſſors terrible things!—Purge the repreſentation of your country;—claim as your inalienable right, univerſal ſuffrage and annual Parliaments. And whenever you have the gratification to chooſe a repreſentative, let him be from among the lower order of men, and he will know how to ſympathize with you, and repreſent you in character.—Then, and not till then, ſhall you experience univerſal peace and inceſſant plenty."

Witneſs ſaid, that the priſoner came to his houſe, in Crown Court, Covent Garden, and brought him a ticket for the dinner, on the 2d of May, at the Crown and Anchor; he paid for it; it was the annual dinner of the Conſtitutional Society, and about twenty of the Correſponding Society were invited; ſome bad news came while they were there; it ſeemed to give univerſal ſatisfaction; Mr. Wharton was in the chair; Mr. Horne Tooke and the priſoner Hardy were there; during almoſt the whole of the dinner, the *Marſeillois March*, *ça-ira*, and the *Carmagnol* were played by a band of muſic, and that it was a continual ſcene of clapping. After dinner, Mr. Horne Tooke, addreſſing the company, obſerved, that he ſuppoſed one out of fifty in the room might be conſidered as a Government ſpy, and to them in particular he wiſhed to addreſs himſelf; and the witneſs, in conſequence of his addreſſing himſelf to Government ſpies, did attend to what he ſaid; he begged the company to take notice that he was not inebriated, for having ſomething to ſay he took care to refrain from his glaſs; and for fear of being miſtaken, and being taken to be in a ſtate of intoxication, he begged every body preſent to take particular notice of

what he said; he called the Parliament *a scoundrel sink of corruption*, and the opposition *a scoundrel sink of opposition*; a junction between *these two scoundrel parties* was formed for the purpose of destroying the rights and liberties of the country. He spoke about the House of Lords, the hereditary nobility; he asked if that skip-jack Jenkinson, could be considered as one of the hereditary nobility; he said the fame of the House of Lords as of the House of Commons; he said the junto between the two parties was *in order to amuse* or abuse that poor man the King; the junction of parties in the House of Commons was *in order to abuse and deceive the people of this country*. This speech was received with great applause; there was a long sung to the tune of "God save the King," but not those words; Mr. Horne Tooke sung an additional verse,—but he had forgot what it was.

Cross examined by Mr. *Gibbs*.—Follows the business of a conveyancer, and has done so two and twenty years, is not an attorney; asked *whether he was a solicitor?* said he did not understand the question; was not a solicitor in Chancery, but admitted he was a solicitor at the Old Bailey, a solicitor for prosecutions and prisoners. When Thelwall and he conversed, Thelwall rather fixed himself upon him, than he upon Thelwall; there were a number of very respectable gentlemen at the Crown and Anchor; Mr. Tooke spoke highly of the hereditary nobility of the country, who, he said, had lost their weight in the State, by the introduction of the new nobility into the House of Lords, by means of their conduct in the House of Commons; he spoke highly of the office of the King in the Constitution, but said that the King had lost his true weight in the Constitution, by means of corruption.

A song was then read, which was found at Hardy's house, in a letter addressed to him, without a date, and of which the following are stanzas:

The starving wretch, who steals for bread,
But seldom meets compassion:
And shall a Crown preserve the head
Of him who robs a nation?
Such partial laws we all despise;
See Gallia's bright example;
The glorious sight before our eyes,
We'll on every tyrant trample.

CHORUS.

Come rouse to arms; 'tis now the time
To punish past transgressions.

Proud Bishops next we will translate
Among priest-crafted martyrs,
The guillotine on Peers shall wait,
And Knights we'll hang in GARTERS.
The despots long have trod us down,
And Judges are their engines;

These

These wretched minions of a Crown
Demand a people's vengeance.

CHORUS.

Come rouse to arms, 'tis now the time
To punish past transgressions.

John Thompson produced a pike, found in the possession of Hillier: and *William Carnage*, being re-examined, deposed, that while he was at Edinburgh, he saw in the possession of Margarot, in the Tolbooth, a clasp-knife, similar to those described by other witnesses. He made no secret of it, but ate his dinner with it.

George Lynam.—Examined by Mr. *Bower*. Became a member of the Corresponding Society in October 1792; was at the Unicorn, Covent Garden, at the Division N° 2, Hardy's Division; the room was full; there might be seventy or eighty people; Hardy appeared as secretary; *Paine's address to the French nation* was voted to be published, and delivered out to all the divisions; a paper called *the Rights and Duties of Man*, was to be continued weekly: the delegates had received addresses, approving of the *Society's address to the National Convention*, and said, "*the more addresses were sent to the Convention, the better.*" [It is to be observed, that by the constitution of this Society it was divided into a great number of subdivisions, as many as they had opportunity to make, consisting of not less than thirty members in a subdivision; each of these divisions chose a delegate to represent them in a General Committee of Delegates, which General Committee of Delegates acted for the Society at large; and all matters thought proper to be communicated to the divisions, were brought back to each division by the delegate of that division, and communicated there.—That is the way in which this machine is framed and carried on.]

Witness proceeded to prove the transactions at several other meetings.—2d Nov. At the Rainbow, Fleet-street, a long letter, said to have been written from the Society at Stockport to that at Sheffield, was read, in which it was said, that *it would be a good thing to send the London delegates down to teach the farmers' politics.* This letter was from the editors of the Sheffield paper called the Patriot. Six honorary members of the Corresponding Society were admitted to the Society at the Crown and Anchor.

A certificate of the Corresponding Society was then put in, by which Hardy's election to be a delegate from division N° 2, was proved.

The witness proceeded, describing from notes the transactions at many other meetings.—Nov. 12th, division N° 2 met. A letter was read from Mr. Barlow; his address to the Convention, very inflammatory, received with loud plaudits.—21st Nov. At a meeting of division N° 12, there was talk of *a congress* to be held in Scotland. Judge Ashhurst's charge to the Grand Jury was read. Reported that a society at Norwich wanted to know if the Corresponding Society meant to come into the Duke

of Richmond's plan, *or to rip up Monarchy; they ſuſpected this was to draw them into ſome unguarded expreſſion,* and DECLINED ANSWERING.

11th Dec. At the diviſion No. 23, it was reported that *the London Correſponding Society's rules had been introduced among the ſoldiers.*

20th Dec. After ſeveral intermediate meetings of diviſions, the delegates met at No. 31, Compton-ſtreet; Hardy was preſent. There was a communication from Norwich, that five guineas had been ſent up to have Mr. Fox's ſpeech on a Parliamentary reform ſent down to the perſons from whom the money came; and they were to publiſh ſome hand-bills to expreſs a determination to perſevere. Five hundred copies of Mr. Fox's ſpeech were ſent accordingly. Diviſion No. 16, *propoſed to give tickets to ſoldiers to admit them gratis,* if they choſe to enter; but that they ſhould be warned of their danger; this was not agreed to. It was obſerved by Margarot, *reſpecting Mr. Fox, that he had gone as far as could be expected; but that they were not obliged to him; for he was forced to avow what he had done.* At a meeting of the delegates on the 27th of December, the priſoner being there, *each delegate was to take the ſenſe of his diviſion, on the propriety of admitting ſoldiers, and on what terms.*

3d January, 1793. Meeting of delegates at Compton-ſtreet; Margarot, preſident; Hardy, ſecretary; Field, ſub-ſecretary. A motion came forward for a declaration to the public; two diviſions objected to it, becauſe it ſaid, *Rather have a Conſtitution without a King, than a King without a Conſtitution. This we ſay, if reduced to be Republicans.*" Margarot had received a letter, giving notice of five delegates being arrived from the Roman Catholics in Ireland, who were of the ſame mind with themſelves; and the application was to ſee whether a communication could be opened with them.

10th January, 1793, Old Compton-ſtreet; ſeventeen delegates attended, of whom Hardy was one. Margarot reported that he had ſent a letter to the Friends of the People, at Free Maſon's Tavern. The anſwer was read, that they expected to obtain an effectual reform; *the Society was deſired not to mix foreign politics with home politics, and to avoid foreign correſpondence. It was remarked, that the Society at Free Maſon's Tavern never brought forward their principles; and it was determined never to correſpond with them.* Bell obſerved, that *the addreſs to the National Convention of France proved that the Societies meant their laws here; to which Margarot ſaid, no doubt; others ſaid nothing.* It was reported that one of the Iriſh delegates had agreed to correſpond. At a meeting of the 14th of January, at Hardy's, Hardy ſaid he had diſperſed fifty addreſſes of the Society, and twelve of Kierſant's ſpeech.

31ſt January. The reply to the anſwer of the Friends of the People read; *it objects that they were not explicit; and inquired how far they mean to go with their deſign. The general ſenſe of the Friends of the People did not go as far as the London Correſponding Society, or Conſtitutional Society; they thought that it muſt come to a ſtruggle.* Margarot

garot ſaid they were getting on too faſt again; *a petition is not the mode*, but yet it was agreed a petition *ſhould be preſented, to keep the public mind agitated upon the ſubject of reform.*

5th February, diviſion No. 23 met in Crown-ſtreet. It was reported that *there were certain religious ſocieties in the kingdom, whoſe ſentiments led ſtrictly to Republicaniſm; they were numerous in Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Briſtol, Mancheſter, Hull, Derbyſhire, and particularly in London; the Societies in London were juſt now beginning to organize themſelves agreeably to the principles in France.* It was ſaid that Paine's works had been publiſhed in Sweden.

7th February. Meeting of the delegates in Queen-ſtreet, Seven Dials. Hardy there. A ſchiſm of the Society was apprehended; the delegates were anxious to preſerve the diviſions No. 16 and 25, as poor diviſions; Margarot ſaid, *They will be of great ſervice if we ſhould go to war.* Many ſaid it was eventually expected that there would be a riſing in the country, Mr. Fox has obſerved in the Houſe of Commons, ſaid a delegate, *that the people have a right to alter the Government when they pleaſe;* the Scotch and the Iriſh have done it. It was agreed that a circular letter ſhould be ſent to all the Societies in London, to meet, two or three from each, and come to ſome determination. The queſtion to be debated at each diviſion,—What is the beſt way of proceeding?—and that meeting to be advertiſed.

14th February. To be determined at the next meeting whether they were to petition Parliament; obſerved, *that it will engage the public attention for the preſent.* Agreed to demand a conference with the Conſtitutional Society; *they are drawing up the ſtate of the repreſentation, and are going as far as we.* The Friends of the People do not go ſo far. The Borough Society does not go ſo far. *Holborn Society ſay they are for Republicaniſm.*

At ſeveral ſubſequent meetings meaſures were reſolved on for the purpoſe of procuring ſignatures to a petition to Parliament, chiefly becauſe it would *cauſe the ſubject to be agitated every week.*

29th April. The anniverſary dinner of the Conſtitutional Society, at the Crown and Anchor; Lord Sempil in the chair. *They talked very boldly, and laughed at the fears of the public, and were ſure a revolution would take place in this country.* Their toaſts were; "*the Rights of Man.*"—"*May deſpotiſm be trampled under the hoofs of the ſwiniſh multitude!*" &c.

2d May. Mr. Fox wrote to Hardy that the petition which had been brought to him went to a radical reform, bywhich would be underſtood Univerſal Suffrage, which he was not a friend to; he would preſent the petition if they deſired it; but thought it would be better for ſome other member: they then requeſted Francis to preſent it.

23d January. Meeting of delegates; the priſoner was there. A box for the ſubſcription for the ſupport of the delegates in Scotland was opened; the amount was 13*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* and nine bad ſhillings; *it was propoſed to publiſh the names of thoſe who had given evidence againſt the patriots; this was objected to by Thelwall, as it might*

produce massacres. It was proposed to choose two sub-delegates to attend the perpetual committee, to watch the Parliament every night. This proposal was not carried; it was proposed that the Committee should be made perpetual.

26th January. Meeting of delegates; Hardy present; *it was proposed to divide the metropolis into divisions;* Thelwall moved to appoint a permanent committee of delegates, to consider of the measures to be pursued during the present posture of affairs, *and to be a secret one;* those of the General Committee of Delegates already chosen to be filled up by other delegates, to be invested with discretionary power to report the Committee of Delegates; but the Committee of Delegates have power to dissolve them when they please; the Secret Committee were Martin, Baxter, Williams, Thelwall, and Moore; this Secret Committee were to consider what measures were to be adopted to call a General Committee of Delegates when they thought proper; a *Sub-Committee* of three proposed to consider of raising subscriptions for the delegates in Scotland, referred to the Secret Committee with full powers; Thelwall proposed a Committee of two as a *Committee of Exigence,* to report to the General Committee, but not to publish any thing,—but this was withdrawn.

6th February. Meeting of delegates; Hardy present; a motion from the *Permanent Committee to appoint others who are not to be known.* As it was dangerous, they were to be dissolved, and to name others, and their names not to be mentioned.

Cross-examined by Mr. *Erskine.*—The principal endeavour was to get from the witness an account of the person to whom he had been in the habit of disclosing the memorandums he made of the proceedings of the Society,—but this he refused to communicate, and was protected by the Court.

A paper was then put in, intitled, "Extract of a Letter, dated Sheffield, 13th October, 1792," signed "The Editor of the Patriot," containing these expressions: *Freedom, though an infant, makes Herculean efforts; and the Vipers Aristocracy and Monarchy are panting and writhing under its grasp.* May success, peace, and happiness attend those efforts!

John Coates.—Examined by the *Attorney General.* Apprentice to Franklow, in China Walk, Lambeth; proved that his master was frequently out late of nights; *that there used to be exercising with fire-arms up stairs twice a week, about eight o'clock in the evening;* that Shelmerdine and Williams were two of the persons who used to be there; there were about eight or nine of them; the window-shutters were shut; his master used to go to Worcester-street in the Borough; the arms were kept on the first floor; cartouch-boxes upon the board in the cutting-room. Williams had an uniform, and he saw his master in regimentals one Sunday morning in the house.

Thomas Green.—Examined by the *Attorney General.* Is a member of the Corresponding Society, a perfumer, and deals in cutlery. Had three dozen spring-knives from Sheffield; sold fourteen of them; one to Hardy; sent him six in a package, he was to take one, and if he could dispose of the

the reſt, he might; four of them were returned after Hardy was apprehended. Sold one to Groves.

Croſs-examined by Mr. *Erſkine*.—Had been in the habit of uſing ſuch a knife ſeven years. Denied that he told Groves he had ſold two or three hundred, or that he requeſted him to ſpeak low, for his wife was a damned Ariſtocrat. The knives lay publicly in his ſhop in a ſhew-glaſs.

Edward Hodſon.—Examined by Mr. *Law*. Is a member of the Correſponding Society; proved the printing of the following paper, which was delivered to him in MS. by another member, named Hodgſon.

"The Ins tell us we are in danger of invaſion from the French. The Outs tell us that we are in danger from the Heſſians and Hanoverians. In either caſe we ſhould arm ourſelves; get arms and learn how to uſe them."

George Roſs.—Examined by Mr. *Garrow*. Lives at Edinburgh, was a member of the Friends of the People, and the Britiſh Convention. Delegates from other Societies in Scotland attended, and ſome from England; he received ſome letters from one Stock, at Edinburgh, who was a member of another Society of the ſame nature; ſent ſeveral of them into the country; one to a perſon of the name of Miller, at Perth. The letter was produced, and a printed copy having been found in the poſſeſſion of the priſoner, it was read in theſe words. It began, "Citizens, The critical moment is arrived;" and was exactly as recited by the Attorney General.

Croſs-examined by Mr. *Erſkine*.—This witneſs, as well as the laſt, affirmed that he had nothing in view but a reform of the Houſe of Commons by peaceable means, without injury to the King or the Lords; admitted, however, on his re-examination, that he knew of and was preſent at the paſſing of the votes of the Britiſh Convention for a *Secret Committee of Emergency*, to meet in caſe of the Convention being diſperſed.

Arthur M'Ewan.—Examined by Mr. *Garrow*. Lives at the Water of Leith; was member of the Convention; gave an account of its diſperſion by the magiſtrates; of the Committee of Union, of which Watt was a member; of the Sub-Committee, called a Committee of Ways and Means; of Watt's plan as detailed in his trial, and the purchaſing of pikes in Scotland.

Croſs-examined by Mr. *Erſkine*.—A Parliamentary reform was the object of the Society, which they meant to obtain by petition; moſt were for Univerſal Suffrage and annual Parliaments, but ſome were for triennial. Nothing was ſaid touching the King or Lords.

At half paſt one in the morning, the Court adjourned, and on the requeſt of Mr. Erſkine agreed not to meet again till noon.

SATURDAY, *1ſt November*.

EVIDENCE for the CROWN (continued).

Charles Schaw, John Noſt, William Walker, Ewan Evans, Ann (his wife), and *Thomas Tourle*, formed a chain of evidence by which a paper found upon Martin, ſince the apprehenſion of Hardy, was rendered evidence in this cauſe, by being proved to have been in Martin's poſſeſſion before Hardy was apprehended. It purported to

to be a set of resolutions intended to have been brought forward at the meeting at Chalk Farm. These resolutions, among other things, declared, that the office of the King of England was not instituted by the people merely as an office of profit and honour to the King, but he was so appointed as CHIEF TRUSTEE and guardian of the Constitution and rights of the people; and that important and laborious duties are annexed to the regal office, the objects of which are to promote the good of the people, and preserve *their rights in full vigour from innovation and corruption.*

The form of the coronation oath, and manner of taking it, were then recited; and it was voted that King George III. had taken that oath.

It was then affirmed that *the Constitutional Rights of the People had been violated*; and it was *the duty of the people* to assemble, and inquire *which of the declarations of the Constitution had been violated, and by whom*; and also whether such innovations, infringements, and violations, had been committed from the *negligence or corruption of those who had been entrusted with the Government of the State.*

And the last resolution was, *That it is the right and the bounden duty of the people* TO PUNISH ALL TRAITORS AGAINST THE NATION, and that the following words are now NOT a part of the oath of allegiance, to wit, "*I declare that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatever to take arms against the King.*"

John Edwards and *William Middleton* were re-examined to prove some circumstances relative to a paper previously proved, and respecting the pikes found at the house of Orrock. *William Lockhart* and *James Clark* produced pike-blades and battle-axes, with poles to fix them on, which were found in the possession of Watt. The election of Gay to be a member of the Constitutional Society was also proved: and the Attorney General declared he had finished the evidence on the part of the prosecution.

The PRISONER'S DEFENCE.

The hon. THOMAS ERSKINE concurred heartily in the eulogy pronounced by the Attorney General on the Constitution of our wise forefathers, and particularly on the trial by jury, ascribing the anarchy which was desolating France to the dominion of a barbarous State necessity, under which no man could say that his life, his liberty, his reputation, or any one human blessing is secure to him for a moment. If accused of *federalism*, or *moderatism*, or *incivism*, or of whatever else the changing fashions or factions of the day might lift up into High Treason against the State, he must see his friends, his family, and the light of Heaven no more:—the accusation and the sentence being the same, following one another as the thunder pursues the flash.—Such was the calamity which he invoked the jury to avert from his client, protesting, in his name, against all appeals to speculations concerning consequences when the law commanded them to look only to intentions. If the State be threatened with evils, let Parliament administer a prospective remedy: but let the prisoner hold his life UNDER THE LAW.

Adverting

Adverting then to the indictment, Mr. Erſkine obſerved, that it charged the priſoners with *conſpiring to put the King to death*, uniformly charged all the different acts as committed in fulfilment of the ſame traitorous purpoſe,—to bring the King to death. The jury would therefore have three diſtinct matters for conſideration. —Firſt, what ſhare the priſoner had, in concert with others, in aſſembling any Convention or meeting of ſubjects within this kingdom. Secondly, what were the acts to be done by this Convention, when aſſembled. And thirdly, what was the view, purpoſe, and intention of thoſe who projected its exiſtence. This third conſideration, indeed, comprehends or rather precedes and ſwallows up, the other two; becauſe before it could be material to decide upon the views of the Convention, as pointed to the ſubverſion of the rule and order of the King's political authority (even if ſuch views could be aſcribed to it, and brought home even perſonally to the priſoner), we ſhould have to examine whether that criminal conſpiracy againſt the eſtabliſhed order of the community was hatched and engendered by a wicked contemplation *to deſtroy the natural life and perſon of the King;* whether the acts charged and eſtabliſhed by the evidence, were done in purſuance and in fulfilment of the ſame traitorous purpoſe.

"The ſubverſion of the King's political government, and all conſpiracies to ſubvert it, were crimes of great enormity, which the law was open to puniſh, but neither of them was the crime in queſtion. The priſoner is not charged with a conſpiracy againſt the King's political government, but againſt his natural life. He is not accuſed of merely taking ſteps to depoſe him from his authority, but with having done ſo with the intention to bring him to death. The act of conſpiring to depoſe the King may indeed be evidence, according to circumſtances, of an intention to deſtroy his natural exiſtence; but never, as a propoſition of law, can conſtitute the intention itſelf. How far any given act or courſe of acting, independently of intention, may lead probably or inevitably to any natural or political conſequence, is what we have no concern with; theſe may be curious queſtions of caſuiſtry or politics, but it is wickedneſs and folly to declare that conſequences unconnected even with intention or conſciouſneſs, ſhall be ſynonymous in law with the traitorous mind, even where the traitorous mind alone is arraigned, as conſtituting the crime.

As law on this momentous ſubject, Mr. Erſkine laid down three propoſitions;

1ſt. That the branch of the ſtatute 25th of Edward III, which declares it High Treaſon when a man doth compaſs or imagine the death of the King, of his lady the Queen, or of his eldeſt ſon and heir, was intended by the ſtatute to guard by a higher ſanction than felony the natural lives of the King, Queen, and Prince, and that no act (either inchoate or conſummate) of reſiſtance to or rebellion againſt the King's regal capacity, amounts to the High Treaſon of compaſſing his death, unleſs where they can be charged and proved as overt acts committed by the priſoner,

prisoner, in fulfilment of a traitorous intention to destroy the King's natural life.

2d. That the compassing the King's death, or, in other words, the traitorous intention to destroy his natural existence, is the treason, and not the overt acts which are only laid as manifestations of the traitorous intention, or, in other words, as evidence competent be left to a jury to prove it; and that no conspiracy to levy war against the King, nor any conspiracy against his regal character or capacity, is a good overt act of compassing, unless some force be exerted, or in contemplation against the King's person: and that such force exerted, or in contemplation, is not substantively the treason of encompassing, but competent in point of law to establish it, if the jury, by the verdict of guilty, draw that conclusion of fact from the evidence of the overt act.

3d. That the charge in the indictment, of compassing the King's death, is not therefore laid as legal inducement or introduction, to follow as a legal inference from the establishment of the overt act, but is laid as an averment of a fact; and as such the very gist of the indictment; to be affirmed or negatived by the verdict of guilty or not guilty.

In support of these opinions, Mr. Erskine cited the authorities of Hale, Forster, and Coke, and detailed the history of the statutes against Treason, till the system became perfect by the abrogation of all doubtful and constructive modes of offence. He cited the case of Sir John Friend, the first great State trial after the Revolution, and descanted on that of Lord George Gordon, which had been adverted to by the Attorney General. He had many other authorities, he said, laboriously extracted from law-books, but must stop here, lest he should consume his strength in the preliminary part of the case, and leave the rest defective.

The prisoner, and the others named in the indictment, were charged with a conspiracy *to hold a Convention in England*, which never was held, and consequently, the intention was the whole cause. It was distinctly admitted by the Crown, that a reform in the House of Commons was the *ostensible* purpose of all their proceedings, and therefore it would rest with the Crown to shew by legal proof that ostensible purpose, and the whole mass of correspondence upon the table was only a cloak to conceal a hidden machination to subvert by force the entire authorities of the kingdom, and to assume them to themselves.

In treating of the propriety of a reform, Mr. Erskine observed, that the great Earl of Chatham began and pursued the fame and glory of his life upon this very cause, and left it as an inheritance to the present Minister. To him the Constitutional Society owed its earliest credit with the country, if not its very birth. The Duke of Richmond too had been the advocate of universal suffrage and annual Parliaments, and urged his plan with a boldness that would leave in the back ground the strongest figures in the writings on the table. This plan had been declared by the witnesses for the

Crown to be the only one which they had purſued, and if they were not worthy of credit, it were better for the Advocate and his audience to return home, for the cauſe was over.

Mr. Erſkine then cited paſſages from Mr. Burke's pamphlet, intitled "Thoughts on the cauſe of the preſent diſcontents," written in the year 1770, and deſcanted at length on the RIGHTS of the PEOPLE, affirming that the collecting them together to conſider of their rights could not be detrimental to the Sovereign. Mr. Locke defended King William's title upon no other principle than the Rights of Man; and from the revered work of Mr. Locke, and not from the Revolution in France, one of the papers in the evidence, the moſt ſtigmatized, moſt obviouſly ſlowed, for it is proved that Mr. York held in his hand Mr. Locke upon Government, when he delivered his ſpeech on the Caſtle-Hill, at Sheffield, and that he expatiated largely upon it.

Without feeling that it was neceſſary to defend every expreſſion, ſome of which were undoubtedly raſh and inflammatory, Mr. Erſkine vindicated the right of the Society to form Conventions or Meetings, and adjuſt a plan of rational union, to conſider of a petition to the Houſe of Commons, or to conſider how they ſhould proceed when the Houſe of Commons died a natural death, and the people re-entered into their rights.

Having deſcanted on theſe topics at ſome length, and ſupported his opinions by a quotation from Locke on Government, Book II. Chap. XIII. Sect. 157, 158, Mr. Erſkine ſpoke of the original addreſs and reſolutions of the Correſponding Society, which they had themſelves ſent to Government; a proceeding very unlikely had their deſigns been criminal: for there exiſts no inſtance of a plot or conſpiracy given up, in its very infancy to Government.

If the whole inſtitution of the Correſponding Society were looked at, it would be found to correſpond exactly with the plan of the Duke of Richmond, as expreſſed in the letters to colonel Sharman, and the high ſheriff of Suſſex. There was then in court a diſtinguiſhed member of the Houſe of Commons, who, in 1780, ſat publicly at Guildhall, with many others, ſome of them magiſtrates of the city, as a Convention of Delegates for the ſame objects; and, juſt before the Convention began to meet at Edinburgh, there was a Convention regularly aſſembled, attended by delegates from all the counties of Scotland, for the expreſs and avowed purpoſe of altering the Conſtitution of Parliament; the Lord Chief Baron of Scotland was in the Chair, the hon. Henry Erſkine (brother to the counſel), dean of the faculty of Advocates, was preſent; they met in conſequence of a petition for the alteration of the election laws being rejected by the Houſe of Commons, and ſtyled their meeting "*A Convention of Delegates choſen from the counties of Scotland, for altering and amending the laws concerning elections.*" Their meetings were regularly publiſhed, and their firſt reſolution was brought to London, and its inſertion in the Morning Chronicle, as an advertiſement, paid

paid for by Sir Thomas Dundas, lately created a peer. Had any man treated theſe proceedings as treaſonable or ſeditious, he would have been conſidered as an infamous libeller; why then were different conſtructions put on ſimilar tranſactions? Why is every thing to be held up as *bonâ fide* when the example is ſet, and *malâ fide* when it is followed?

But it might be ſaid that the *rights of ſubjects* had never been invaded, but the alarm aroſe from the claim of the *Rights of Man*, and it might be inferred that, becauſe theſe rights had been aſſerted in France by the overthrow of a Government that oppreſſed and ſubverted them, therefore they could only be ſo aſſerted in England, although we were, fortunately, not driven to theſe terrible alternatives, poſſeſſing, as we do, the happier forms of a free Conſtitution. This was the language of many of the papers complained of, particularly of one written by Mr. Felix Vaughan; and though in that ſpirited compoſition there might be expreſſions which might not be critically juſtifiable, yet there was not a man in court more zealouſly devoted to the Conſtitution, King, Lords, and Commons, than Mr. Vaughan.

It was the phraſe, *Rights of Man*, that was objected to, and that as a *new* one: but Mr. Burke, in ſupporting Mr. Fox's India Bill, had extolled the *natural*, as oppoſed to the *chartered* Rights of Man; and the Duke of Richmond, in his letter to the high ſheriff of Surrey, reſted the rights of the people of England on the ſame horrible and damnable principle of the Rights of Man. His Majeſty's family was called to the throne on the principle that the ancient Kings of this country had violated theſe ſacred truſts; it was the denial of thoſe principles aſſerted at the Revolution in England by Mr. Burke, that brought forward the author of the Rights of Man; but for this, Mr. Paine's literary labours had cloſed. Mr. Burke queſtioned the right of the people of France to act as they had; Mr. Paine took the other ſide, and having, during the American Revolution, imbibed principles of Republican Government, he mixed with the controverſy many harſh reflections on monarchy, as eſtabliſhed even in England. Men might aſſert the right of every people to chooſe their Government without deſtroying their own, and this would account for many expreſſions uttered by the priſoners, "many," ſaid Mr. Erſkine, "which I have uttered myſelf, and ſhall continue to utter every day of my life, and call upon the ſpies of Government to record them."

Mr. Erſkine then treated on the letter from Norwich, dated 11th November, 1792, with the anſwer dated the 26th, which he affirmed, in contradiction to the Attorney General, to be perfectly innocent, clear, and unambiguous.

The Convention at Edinburgh was next to be adverted to. The Attorney General had conſidered all the great original ſin of this conſpiracy and treaſon to have originated with the Societies in London. The views of the Correſponding Society with regard to this Convention, and conſequently the views of the priſoner, muſt be collected

collected from the written inſtructions to the delegates; for he who conſtitutes an agent, *is only bound by what he does within the ſcope of his agency.* The words of inſtruction were, "The delegates are truſted, on the part of this Society, to aſſiſt in bringing forward and ſupporting any conſtitutional meaſure for procuring a real repreſentation of the Commons of Great Britain." The papers of the Scotch Convention were all ſeized by Government, and from what had been diſcloſed, it was impoſſible to believe that ſuch a meeting meant to aſſume and maintain all the functions and authorities of the State. They were a few peaceable, unarmed men, diſcuſſing, in a conſtitutional manner, the means of obtaining a reform in Parliament, and who, to maintain the club, collected a little money; a few ſhillings one day, as many pence another: in their firſt ſeſſions this great Committee of Supply produced *fifteen pounds*, from which were to be deducted *two bad ſhillings*.

No member of this Convention was indicted for High Treaſon, or even a breach of the peace; but the law of Scotland, arbitrary as it is, was diſturbed to find a name for their offence, and the rules of trial violated to convict them. Mr. Erſkine would not vindicate all that had been publiſhed during and in conſequence of theſe trials, but allowance ought to be made for a ſtate of heat and irritation. The Societies came to various reſolutions,—ſome good,—ſome bad,—but all irregular, and among others, to one comparing the Scotch judges to Jefferies, and wiſhing they might ſhare his fate. What then? Irreverend expreſſions againſt judges are not acts of High Treaſon; if they had aſſembled round the Court of Juſticiary, and hanged them in the execution of their offices, it would not have been treaſon within the ſtatute. Putting aſide the inſult upon the judges now in authority, the reprobation of Jefferies is no libel, but an awful and uſeful memento to wicked men.

The next matter alleged againſt the Scotch Convention and the Societies was, their having ſent addreſſes of friendſhip to the Convention of France. Theſe Mr. Erſkine treated very lightly, and not at much length; they came no lower, he obſerved, than November 1792, when the countries were at peace, and it was to be lamented that they were but acts of private ſubjects, and not ſanctioned by the State itſelf.

Proceeding to the propoſitions to hold a ſecond Convention in Scotland, Mr. Erſkine conſidered that, and the ſuppoſed ſupport of it by force, as the only overt treaſons ſtated on the record. He recapitulated the tranſactions relating to it; the letter to Hardy from a country correſpondent, his anſwer of the 27th of March, 1794, with the reſolutions annexed, and the appointment of Committees to maintain conferences on the behalf of the two Societies. Theſe Committees met at Thelwall's houſe on the 11th of April, and publiſhed reſolutions; they agreed to meet every enſuing Monday and Thurſday; they had no meeting, however, till the 28th of April, when a Convention Bill was in

projection,

projection, and Heſſians landed on our coaſts; and then they ſhook hands, talked of news and diverſions, wiſhed each other good day, and walked home. The ſame alarming ſcene was repeated three following days of meeting, and would have taken place again on the 12th of May, but Mr. Hardy was arreſted, and his papers were ſeized.—Such were the whole proceedings of ten gentlemen, appointed by two peaceable Societies, converſing on the ſubject of a Conſtitutional reform in Parliament, publiſhing the reſult of their deliberations, and without any other arms than one ſupper knife. Although this conſpiracy had for its object the ſudden annihilation of the exiſting authorities of the country; although the motions of all theſe Societies had been watched for two years together; though their ſpies had regularly attended, and collected regular journals of their proceedings; yet when the firſt report of the Parliamentary Committee was finiſhed, the Habeas Corpus Act ſuſpended upon the foundation of the facts contained in it, there was not to be found in it, from one end to the other, even the inſinuation of arms. This circumſtance made a great impreſſion upon all the thinking diſpaſſionate part of the public, and the materials of the firſt report were thought to furniſh but a ſlender argument to ſupport ſuch a total eclipſe of liberty: no wonder then, that the diſcovery of a pike in the interval between the two reports ſhould have been highly eſtimated. A man of great wit, very publicly reporting the event, ſaid, that the diſcoverer, when he firſt beheld the long-looked-for pike, was tranſported beyond himſelf with enthuſiaſm and delight, and that he hung over the rufty inſtrument with all the raptures of a fond mother, who embraces her firſt-born infant, "and thanks her God for all her travail paſſed."

In conſequence of this diſcovery, perſons were, very properly, ſent by Government into all parts of the country, to inveſtigate the extent of the miſchief; the fruit of this inquiry was before the Court, and that he would inveſtigate in a diſtinct ſumming up of the evidence.

Notwithſtanding all the declamations on French anarchy, it was very clear that the people of Sheffield were unanimous for univerſal repreſentation in a Britiſh Houſe of Commons. This appeared from all the witneſſes except one, George Widdiſon, who ſeemed to be a plain, blunt, honeſt man. He was at firſt for univerſal ſuffrage, but afterwards changed his opinion, though all the other Sheffield people were for the Duke of Richmond's plan.

At the meeting on Caſtle Hill, there were two parties in the country. One in conſequence of the King's proclamation took extraordinary ſteps for the ſupport of magiſtracy, fearing a revolution ſimilar to that in France; the other, viewing the matter differently, thought thoſe events were uſed as a pretext for extinguiſhing Britiſh liberty. Heart-burnings aroſe, the Societies were diſturbed in their meetings, private dwellings were violated, individuals daily inſulted, their houſes threatened to be pulled down, and their peaceable meetings beſet by pretended magiſtrates, without pro-

ceſs

ceſs of law. Hence the demand of the Society for arms, and hence Daviſon's letter to Hardy. To this letter, however, it appeared Hardy had returned no anſwer. "Good God!" Mr. Erſkine exclaimed, "what is become of the humane ſanctuary of Engliſh juſtice,—and where is the ſenſe and meaning of the term *proveably* in the ſtatute of King Edward—if ſuch evidence can be received againſt an Engliſh ſubject on a trial for his life? If a man writes a letter to me about pikes, or about any thing elſe, can I help it? And is it evidence (except to acquit me of ſuſpicion) when it appears that nothing is done upon it? Mr. Hardy never before correſponded with Daviſon; he never deſired him to write to him. How, indeed, could he deſire him, when his very exiſtence was unknown to him? He never returned an anſwer; he never forwarded the encloſed to Norwich; he never even communicated the letter itſelf to his own Society, although he was its ſecretary, which ſhewed he conſidered it as the unauthorized officious correſpondence of a private man; he never acted upon it at all, nor appears to have regarded it as dangerous or important, ſince he neither deſtroyed it nor concealed it. Gentlemen, I hardly know, I declare, in what language to expreſs my aſtoniſhment, that the Crown can aſk you to ſhed the blood of the man at the bar upon ſuch foundations. Yet this is the whole of the written evidence concerning arms; for the remainder of the plot reſts for its foundation upon the parole evidence, the whole of which I ſhall purſue with preciſion, and not ſuffer a link of the chain to paſs unexamined.

Mr. Erſkine then recapitulated the ſubſtance of the evidence delivered. After going through the teſtimonies of Carnage, Broomhead, Widdiſon, Hill, and Edwards; he obſerved this was the ſum of the evidence reſpecting pikes, and ſo far from eſtabliſhing the facts, it would have been a ſatisfactory anſwer to almoſt any teſtimony which could have been produced for the Crown.

So far as this evidence proceeded, it was ſimple, uniform, natural, and conſiſtent, but a far different complexion was given to it when obtained through the medium of ſpies and informers, and of men, independently of their infamous trade, of the moſt abandoned and profligate characters. On this ſubject he quoted an animated paſſage from Mr. Burke, and then inveſtigated the teſtimony of Alexander, whom he accuſed of groſs prevarication, and Groves, whom he threatened with an indictment for perjury; Green, he obſerved, had contradicted him, and thus the knives were completely diſpoſed of. He animadverted alſo on the teſtimony reſpecting the gun which Williams left with Hardy, and that reſpecting Franklow, who attended in his uniform at the Globe Tavern, whilſt the cartouch-boxes and other accoutrements of theſe ſecret conſpirators lay openly on his ſhop board, expoſed to the view of his cuſtomers and neighbours. The evidence of Lynam he ſtigmatized as deſtroying itſelf by its own intrinſic inconſiſtency; and the tranſactions in Scotland, he affirmed, were not brought home to the

priſoner. His circular letter, which found its way into Scotland, was made a foundation for letting in againſt Hardy the evidence which hanged Watt. And to what did M^cEwen's teſtimony amount? Mr. Watt, a man who is hanged, ſaid, that he wiſhed to correſpond with Mr. Hardy in a ſafe manner; ſo that becauſe a ruffian and a ſcoundrel whom I never heard of or ſaw, chuſes at the diſtance of 400 miles to ſay that he wiſhes to correſpond with me, I am to be involved in the guilt of his actions! It is not proved or inſinuated that Mr. Hardy ever ſaw, or heard of, or knew that ſuch men were in being as Watt and Downie: nor is it proved or aſſerted that any letter was in fact written by either of them to Hardy, or to any other perſon. No ſuch letter has been found in his poſſeſſion, nor a trace of any connexion between them and any member of any Engliſh Society. The truth is, I believe, this,—that nothing was intended by Watt but to entrap others to obtain a reward for himſelf, and he has been amply and juſtly rewarded.

"My whole argument," Mr. Erſkine proceeded, "amounts to no more than this,—that before the crime of compaſſing the King's death can be found by you, the jury, whoſe province it is to judge of its exiſtence, it muſt be believed by you to have exiſted in point of fact. Before you can adjudge a fact, you muſt believe it—not ſuſpect it—or imagine it—or fancy it,—but believe it;—and it is impoſſible to impreſs the human mind with ſuch a reaſonable and certain belief as is neceſſary to be impreſſed before a Chriſtian man can adjudge his neighbour to the ſmalleſt penalty, much leſs to the pains of death, without having ſuch evidence as a reaſonable mind will accept of as the infallible teſt of truth. And what is that evidence?—Neither more or leſs than that which the Conſtitution has eſtabliſhed in the Courts for the general admiſſion of juſtice; namely, that the evidence convinces the jury beyond all reaſonable doubt, that the criminal intention conſtituting the crime, exiſted in the mind of the man upon trial, and was the main ſpring of his conduct.

Then making ſome obſervations on the law of evidence, the effect of precedents, the ſtate of European politics, the loſs of Brabant by the Emperor, and of America by Great Britain, on which occaſion he again quoted Mr. Burke; Mr. Erſkine concluded with a prayer to Providence to direct and fortify the judgement of the jury, and a promiſe to give clear evidence of the views of the Societies, and of the conduct and character of the priſoner.

EVIDENCE for the PRISONER.

Florimond Goddard.—Examined by Mr. *Gibbs.*—Croſs-examined by Mr. *Attorney General.* Is a member of the Correſponding Society of the ſame diviſion as Hardy; attended very regularly; Hardy was very rarely abſent; was perfectly well acquainted with him, called on him almoſt every Sunday; was a remarkably peaceable man,—a friend to order; when the meeting was diſperſed, Hardy deſired that they would not even bring a ſtick with them; his object was a Parliamentary reform in the Houſe of

Commons, and it was no part of his view to make any alteration in the Houſe of Lords; he meant nothing againſt the Crown. Was at the Globe Tavern and Chalk Farm; every thing was peaceable; the reſolutions in print contain a correct account of what paſſed, he thought all that was tranſacted at both places agreeable to the law of the land. Has heard the ſong, "God ſave the Rights of Man;" has heard of the ſong, "Plant, plant the tree," but never heard it ſung; a man uſed to attend the Society with a pack of ſongs; witneſs had all Thelwall's ſongs, and thought there was no harm in them.

Francis Dowling.—Examined by Mr. *Gibbs.*—Croſs-examined by the *Attorney General.* Is a member of the Society, in Hardy's diviſion, gave the ſame general account of their views and proceedings as Goddard. Knew nothing of any exerciſing; nor of any Secret Committee; nor of the Sheffield letter; nor of Carter, and the bill he poſted. The general conduct at Chalk Farm was peaceable; he voted for the reſolutions becauſe others did, but did not hear them diſtinctly.

Alexander Wills.—Examined by Mr. *Gibbs.*—Croſs-examined by Mr. *Bower.* Is a member of the Correſponding Society, and a dancing-maſter. Gave the ſame account of its general objects as the preceding witneſſes, but had deſiſted from attending for more than a year and a half. Knew nothing of Hardy, but that he was ſecretary, and had made him a pair of boots, very good and cheap. He became a member for the ſake of hearing clever men ſpeak, and occaſioned a good deal of animadverſion by ſaying that he had ſubſcribed for the relief of Carter, but did not know whether he had given a ſhilling, half-a-crown, a guinea, or five guineas, though it afterwards appeared that he had given leſs than five ſhillings.

Archibald Hunter.—Examined by Mr. *Gibbs.* Is a member of the Correſponding Society, and gave the ſame account of it, and the ſame character of the priſoner as the other witneſſes.

Croſs-examined by Mr. *Law.*—Knew nothing of the letter from Sheffield about pikes, nor of the paper about the Ins and the Outs.—Aſked *what buſineſs he followed?* *A.* None at all; no buſineſs at all. *Q.* May I take the liberty of aſking how you get your livelihood? *A. I am an independent man.* Q. You live upon your *property?* *A.* Yes. Q. In the funds, or mortgages, or what? *A.* That is out of the queſtion; ſometimes my property is in my pocket, ſometimes in land, ſometimes in the ſtocks, and ſometimes in houſes.—After this witneſs had given an account, in his manner, of the meetings at the Crown and Anchor, the Globe, and Chalk Farm, and being aſked whether he had ever followed any buſineſs, anſwered, after much prevarication and ſhuffling, that twelve years ago he had been a perfumer and hair-dreſſer.

Alexander Fraſer.—Examined by Mr. *Gibbs.* Is a taylor, gave the ſame account as the others of the priſoner, and of the Society, but had ceaſed to be a member ſince April 1793.

William Barclay, a ſhoe-maker, had known Hardy fifteen years,

during seven of which he was the witneſs's foreman; ſaid he had borne a very good character, and was, as witneſs underſtood, *a quiet man as can be.*

Thomas Oliver.—Examined by Mr. *Gibbs.* Is a diſſenting miniſter, became acquainted with the priſoner about four years ago, by ſtopping at a houſe during a ſhower. Cultivated his acquaintance; found him a ſerious man, and agreeable in converſation. Priſoner ſhewed him a paper containing reſolutions about a Parliamentary reform; the witneſs aſked him what the ultimate end and deſign was; he ſaid a reform of Parliament of the Houſe of Commons, upon peaceable and conſtitutional principles; upon the ſame plan as the Duke of Richmond, propoſed in the year 1782. Hardy was, in his judgement, a man humble, honeſt, and ſincere, and a good Chriſtian, and fears God and honours the King.

Daniel Stuart.—Examined by Mr. *Gibbs.* Is ſecretary to the Committee of the Society of the Friends of the People in Frith-ſtreet; has ſeen Hardy frequently. In December 1792, the Correſponding Society ſent a letter to the Friends of the People; witneſs carried the anſwer, converſed with Hardy, underſtood that his whole object was a reform in the Houſe of Commons; that he meant to inform the people of the bad ſtate of the repreſentation, to gain a great number of members to the Society, that they might get a great number of ſignatures to a petition to obtain this point. Witneſs called upon Hardy once or twice a week, out of curioſity to know what they were doing, and they talked very freely; he never varied; he was always for the Duke of Richmond's plan; they never agreed in opinion; always thought Hardy a ſimple inoffenſive man, and the laſt man to be guilty of violence.

Croſs-examined by the *Attorney General.* Did not know Hardy was an aſſociated member of the Conſtitutional Society; the Friends of the People had declined all intercourſe with that Society; the correſpondence between his Society and the Society at Sheffield, was in May 1792; cannot ſay that he ſaw the addreſs of the 6th of Auguſt 1794; did ſee the addreſs of the 20th of January 1794, and ſaw the proceedings at Chalk Farm, and they had inquired what length his Society meant to go; his Society declined anſwering; though there was no correſpondence between the Society of the Friends of the People and the Society for Conſtitutional Information, yet there were gentlemen that remained members of both Societies.

The following witneſſes then gave evidence that the priſoner was honeſt, ſober, peaceable, orderly, ſedate, and religious:

John Carr, who had known him upwards of twenty years;

John Stepkenſon, coal-merchant, eight or nine years;

Alexander Gregg, book-binder, ſeven years;

William Henderſon, dealer in eggs, twenty years;

James Stevens, diſſenting miniſter, ſeven years;

Peter Macbean, ſhoe-maker, ſeven-teen years;

Alexander Gordon, ſhoe-maker, twenty years;

John Bogue, carpenter, ten years;

Matthew

Matthew Dickey, Scotch factor, five years; and
James Hardy, grocer (no relation), fifteen years.

None of these persons were members of the Societies; Macbean and Bogue had been, but had left them nearly two years.

At twenty minutes past twelve the Court adjourned to Monday morning.

MONDAY, 3*d November*.

EVIDENCE for the PRISONER (continued).

The first material witness called was

David Martin.—Examined by Mr. *Erskine*.—Cross-examined by the *Attorney General*. Is an engraver at Sheffield, and member of the Society there; nothing intended but reform, no intention to attack King or Lords; delegates were appointed only in the expectation that a greater impression would be made on Parliament, when a petition should appear the general sentiment of the people. Was not in the secret that the motion for a petition to Parliament which Broomhead made at the Sheffield meeting, was made to be negatived.

Edward Oakes.—Examined by Mr. *Erskine*.—Cross-examined by Mr. *Bower*. Is a plater at Sheffield; gave the same account as the preceding witness, of the acts and intentions of the Society; attributed the procuring of pikes to fears of illegal violence from the opposite party. Was a member of the Committee; did not know there were any of their members in any wise associated with the Corresponding Society, any further than by correspondence. Paine's Rights of Man had been introduced into the Society before they were declared to be a libel.

Two letters were here read; one of them enclosed to Hardy, in answer to a letter from him, to know what they were doing; the other was a letter of the same date found upon Adams. Witness admitted the letters to be Ashton's hand-writing, and signed by him; the letter said they were RESOLVED TO OBTAIN A RADICAL REFORM OF THE COUNTRY *as soon as prudence and discretion will permit*; and requested that the villages and towns may unite *in the sentiments expressed by Paine*. Witness was shewed some printed resolutions, thanking Paine for his two publications,—the first and second part of the Rights of Man; believed the resolutions were circulated in Sheffield, and sold to various persons in town and country, and by some of the members of this Society.

Daniel Stuart re-examined.—Produced the declaration of the Society of Friends of the People, which was read, together with a letter written by Samuel Ashton, from the Constitutional Society at Sheffield, dated 14th May, 1792, affirming that their resolutions were perfectly loyal, and their proceedings very orderly, and the answer of the Friends of the People, dated 24th May, *expressing satisfaction at those sentiments*. In explanation of these *sentiments*, however, the Attorney-General put in a letter, dated the 26th of May, from the same Mr. Ashton, to Mr. Adams, secretary to the Constitutional Society in London, containing the following remarks:—"On Saturday last, the 19th inst. we received a packet of printed addresses, resolves, &c. from the Society (Freemason's Tavern), which, on mature consideration, we

find ourſelves not ſo well reconciled to the ideas they convey to us as we could wiſh, if they had appeared in a different point of view, nor do they afford us ſuch a flattering proſpect as we were apprehenſive might be expected from an aſſociation of ſo reſpectable a body, under the high denomination of the Friends of the People. In our opinion of their anſwer of the 12th inſt. to your letter of the 27th ult. is no ways compatible with that appellation; from the known reſpectability of many names which appear among them, we had obtained great hopes of their real uſe in obtaining a thorough reform upon the principles of the Rights of Man, which can never be accompliſhed until every man enjoys his lawful and juſt privileges.

William Dewſnap.—Examined by Mr. *Erſkine.*—Croſs-examined by the *Attorney General.*—Is a razor-maker at Sheffield; member of the Society, gives the ſame account of its formation and proceedings as the other witneſſes for the priſoner. Declares that Mr. Campbell Brown when ſent as their delegate to Scotland, had no authority but to act on the ſame principle as the Society had done.

Edward Smith.—Examined by Mr. *Erſkine.* Is a cutler at Sheffield; member of the Society; concurs in the preceding accounts reſpecting it; heard nothing of force nor of arms till the hand-bill that threatened them; upon any good news the oppoſite party uſed to fire piſtols into their houſes; that there was nothing to provoke this conduct; there was a regular arming; if they had *determined to arm, Sheffield could in one day furniſh ten thouſand pikes.*

Croſs-examined by Mr. *Garrow.*—Before arms were provided, no application was made to any magiſtrate; advice was put into The Regiſter, a public newſpaper at Sheffield, to arm againſt domeſtic enemies and foreign invaſion. The Society adopted ſimilar words. Underſtood by the Duke of Richmond's plan, equal repreſentation in Parliament, and by Mr. Pitt's, that every man ſhould have a vote. Acknowledged that the cheap editions of Paine's Rights of Man had been diſtributed by a ſubſcription in Sheffield, and that *all the cutlers, to the amount of many thouſands, had copies.* Conſidered it *a very ſenſible well written book*; it was read at diviſion meetings, and private meetings at their own houſes, for inſtruction. Other cheap works were furniſhed by the ſame ſubſcription. Could not tell whether or no he was preſent when the vote of *the Society paſſed expreſſing approbation of Paine's works*; but when interrogated as to his opinion reſpecting ſome paſſages on the ſubjects of *hereditary government,—the civil liſt,—the monarchy,*—and *the right of the people to reform Parliament by a general Convention*, ſaid, the Society had never noticed thoſe paſſages; and of ſome, that he perſonally did not approve them. Often heard Yorke; attended at Broomhead's, where the tribune was; was not a member of the Secret Committee; knew nothing of any addreſs to France; nor that the motion at Caſtle-Hill for a petition to Parliament, was made on purpoſe to be rejected.

His Grace the Duke of Richmond.—Examined by Mr. *Erſkine.* Proved his celebrated letter to colonel

nel Sharman, written Auguſt 15th, 1783, recommending *the reſtoring the right of voting univerſally to every man, not incapacitated by nature for want of reaſon, or by law for the commiſſion of crimes, together with annual elections, as the only reform that can be effectual and permanent.* After deſcribing the failure of propoſitions for reform in the Houſe of Commons, the writer obſerved, "From that quarter, therefore, I have nothing to hope. IT IS FROM THE PEOPLE AT-LARGE THAT I EXPECT ANY GOOD. And I am convinced that the only way to make them feel that they are really concerned in the buſineſs, is to contend for *their full, clear, and indiſputable rights of univerſal repreſentation.* The writer alſo wiſhed to aboliſh the negativing power of the Crown, becauſe "it appears prepoſterous that the will of one man ſhould for ever obſtruct every regulation which all the reſt of the nation may think neceſſary. I object to it, he ſaid, as I would to any other prerogative of the Crown, or privilege of the Lords or people, that is not founded on reaſon.

After this paper had been read, a proteſt was proved, which was entered on the Journals of the Houſe of Lords, on the 8th of February, 1780, on the rejection of a motion to appoint a Committee, conſiſting of Lords poſſeſſing neither place nor penſions, to examine without delay into the public expenditure, and the mode of accounting for the ſame.

Daniel Stuart, again examined.—Has heard Hardy ſtate his plan to be univerſal ſuffrage and annual Parliaments. Witneſs always objected to it, but he always adhered to the Duke of Richmond's plan.

Joſeph Strutt, eſq.—Examined by Mr. *Gibbs*. Proved the views of the Society at Derby, of which he was a member, to extend only to a reform in Parliament, and when the petitions were rejected, the Society met no more.

Richard Brinſley Sheridan, eſq.—Examined by Mr. *Erſkine*.—Croſs-examined by the *Attorney General*. Once ſaw the priſoner, in the beginning of March 1793, he had given notice of an intention to bring forward an enquiry in Parliament into the cauſe of the alarms at that time; upon that occaſion ſent to Hardy, who he underſtood could give him information; he came and converſed with him. Hardy ſtated his whole object to be obtaining by peaceable means a reform on the Duke of Richmond's plan, and that he was ready to give him a ſight of his whole correſpondence, to produce all his papers to him that he might lay them before Parliament in any manner he ſhould think fit. Witneſs was an original member of the Conſtitutional Society, but had not attended ſince 1783.

Philip Francis, eſq.—Examined by Mr. *Erſkine*.—Croſs-examined by the *Attorney General*. Saw Hardy twice; firſt at his own, and afterwards at witneſs's houſe; the Correſponding Society had thanked witneſs for a ſpeech he made in Parliament, in the year 1793, and expreſſed a deſire that it ſhould be printed; upon that occaſion he ſaw Hardy; before that time Hardy had been ſent to deſire him to preſent a petition on the ſubject of a reform in Parliament; by their deſire the delegates were

admitted to come to his houſe, and four of them brought a petition, he told them he objected to the prayer of their petition, which was for univerſal repreſentation according to the Duke of Richmond's plan. Hardy ſeemed a remarkably reaſonable quiet man; they were very ready at the argument in ſupport of univerſal ſuffrage. They ſaid they only followed the opinions of the Duke of Richmond; he told them they ſhould have left the remedy in general terms to the wiſdom of the Houſe; they ſaid they were ſorry they had not known that ſooner, but that now they could not alter it, as the petition was ſigned by a great number of people, and muſt be preſented that day, becauſe Mr. Grey was that day to make his motion. They did not declare that they would accept nothing elſe, but appeared to him to adhere to univerſal repreſentation. The Society wrote a letter, thanking him for what he had ſaid about a radical reform on a broad baſis; that was not exactly the tenour of his ſpeech, but not thinking it right to enter into much altercation on the ſubject, he gave them a civil anſwer, and there it ended.

The Earl of Lauderdale.—Examined by Mr. *Erſkine.*—Croſs-examined by the *Attorney General.* Received a letter from the Society of the Friends of the People at Portſburg, near Edinburgh; ſaw Skirving on that occaſion, ſuppoſes the application was made to him in conſequence of a converſation with Skirving; Skirving repreſented that they wiſhed to have men of education, that they might be prevented from falling into abſurdities which they ſhould otherwiſe be liable to fall into; he ſays he had no reaſon to ſuſpect that any thing more was meant than univerſal ſuffrage and annual Parliaments; heard nothing of force and has no reaſon to think there was any intention of force; had never heard of Skirving's remarkable letter to Hardy in July 1793.

The evidence for the priſoner being cloſed, Mr. GIBBS addreſſed the jury.

He began by noticing the difficulty under which his colleague and himſelf laboured, in comprehending and embracing in their minds circumſtances which had been ſtated on the part of the Crown, ſo as to repel a charge drawn by ſuch ſubtle reaſoning out of ſuch a complication of facts. The queſtions to be ſubmitted to the jury muſt be looked for, firſt, in the indictment, next in the ſtatute on which the indictment was founded; in the former, becauſe that muſt charge the priſoner with ſome fact or facts which in the law amount to treaſon, and the jury could inquire of nothing but what was there charged.

Mr. Gibbs then analyzed the indictment, retraced part of Mr. Erſkine's argument reſpecting the law of treaſon, and adverted particularly to the doctrine eſtabliſhed by Lord Coke in his inſtitutes, and by Lord Chief Juſtice Pemberton and Sir George Treby, on the trial of Lord William Ruſſell. From theſe authorities he inferred that the point for the jury to try was, whether the overt act laid in the ſubſequent part of the indictment, proved the treaſon laid in the former part, namely, the compaſſing the King's death.

The

The charge againſt the priſoner, in the preſent caſe, was "that he conſpired to procure a Convention, which Convention, when met, was to overturn the Government, depoſe the King and put him to death. To a certain point we are agreed, we agree that he did hold conſultations for the purpoſe of calling a Convention; the point upon which we differ is the purpoſe for which that Convention was to be called. The counſel for the Crown muſt ſhew, either that a Convention cannot be called but for treaſonable purpoſes, or they muſt prove that, in fact, this Convention was called for the purpoſe of procuring the depoſition of the King, and thereby his death. The firſt it was impoſſible to prove, and with reſpect to the other, the counſel for the priſoner had to contend from the evidence that the priſoner and others, anxious to check the progreſs of corruption occaſioned by the long duration of Parliaments and inequality of repreſentation, endeavoured to gain by means of delegates an expreſſion of the general wiſh of the people, and by the ſame voice, communicate that general wiſh to Parliament; the counſel for the Crown, on the other hand, contended that all this was mere pretext, and that they had other views. It therefore was incumbent on them to prove theſe other purpoſes, and as the language of the reſolutions of the Society imports that their intentions were innocent, unleſs they could ſhew from poſitive and direct proof, from that plain, direct, and manifeſt evidence which Lord Coke ſays is neceſſary in all caſes of treaſon, that the priſoner and thoſe with whom he was concerned did endeavour to bring about a revolution in the State, and hurl the King from his throne, by means of this Convention, it was impoſſible for the jury to find him guilty of the charges brought againſt him.

Numberleſs papers had been produced, containing very violent and indecent expreſſions, they were highly improper, and ſhewed an irritated diſpoſition in the minds of thoſe who wrote them, but they were not High Treaſon, nor did they bring home to the priſoner the guilt with which he was charged, that of conſpiring to ſubvert the State, depoſe the King, and thereby effect his death. The papers generally ſtated the cauſe of complaint to be the partial repreſentation of the people, and the remedies ſought were annual Parliaments and univerſal ſuffrage: this appeared to the Advocate to be folly, but when theſe opinions had been promulgated by men ſo much his ſuperiors, that which was folly might naturally find its way into the mind of a ſhoemaker.

The uſe of *French terms* in the reſolutions had been charged on the priſoners as a crime, yet evidence had been tendered to ſhew that the word Convention was not of French origin, and was declared inadmiſſible.

It was alſo imputed to the priſoner that he approved the French revolution. Certainly he, and many of thoſe with whom he acted, did approve of it in its origin; it was likely they ſhould, becauſe it promiſed to give freedom to ſlaves: and what could be more likely to catch the ear of an Engliſhman? But it would be urged on the other hand,

hand, that after acts of enormity, which no rational man could approve, had taken place in France, they ſtill approved generally of the French revolution. "But it was not to theſe acts," Mr. Gibbs obſerved, "but to the revolution in general, that their approbation went, and ſuppoſing that, under all the then exiſting circumſtances in France, they had expreſſed a general approbation of the French revolution, and the ſtate of things as they then exiſted in France, is to be inferred from thence, that they wiſhed the ſame things to take place in England? Did the ſame neceſſity lie upon us as upon France? Were we an afflicted and oppreſſed people? Had we any reaſon to complain of an overbearing nobility, whoſe rights were inconſiſtent with the general liberty of the people? Had we any reaſon to complain of the oppreſſions of the Crown, or of the Royal Family? Do you find from the beginning to the end of the evidence a ſingle complaint of that ſort?

The addreſſes to the National Convention of France, Mr. Gibbs extenuated by obſerving that the profeſſed intention was to form an union with France, which was highly deſirable, if it could be accompliſhed without endangering the ſafety of England, and of preventing the war, which, though it might be juſt and neceſſary, it would have been better to avoid if poſſible. The priſoner might have been miſadviſed, but his conduct could not be conſtrued into High Treaſon.

The reſolutions reſpecting St. André and Barrere, the inſertion of which into the books of the Society had been voted, together with their ſpeeches, had, in fact, never been inſerted. If they had, it would amount to no more than this,—That he wiſhed to communicate to the members of this Society what the reaſons were upon which thoſe who were deſirous of bringing about the calamitous event in France acted, but it could not be inferred from thence that the priſoner compaſſed the death of his own King, between whom and the King of France there exiſted no analogy.

It was ſaid, that the priſoner and thoſe with whom he acted, muſt have intended by aſſembling this Convention to act with force againſt the Government, becauſe they had reſolved they would no longer petition Parliament. But that reſolution naturally preceded the calling together ſuch a Convention as the priſoner intended to call, and might legally call. If the petitions of individuals had obtained from Parliament that which it was their object to attain, by calling this Convention, then the calling the Convention would be unneceſſary; but it was becauſe the petitions of ſeparate individuals had been rejected, and becauſe the priſoner and thoſe with whom he acted thought that the voice of the people might be raiſed louder than by petitions of individuals, and that then it would be heard; it was for that reaſon that he meant to call this Convention, the object of this Convention was to petition Parliament in a different form, and in a voice that was more likely to be heard by them,—in a voice which he ſuppoſed would be that of the majority of the people of England,

Mr.

Mr. Gibbs attempted to prove the legality of the Convention, by reading an extract from the proteſt, which was proved in evidence, and ſubſcribed, among others, by LordCamden, approving decidedly of the aſſociations which then prevailed, declaring them legal and conſtitutional, and denying that they intended to encroach on the delegated power of the Houſe of Commons.

The next topic inſiſted on by the Attorney General was the proceedings of the priſoner and his Society in the Scotch Convention, and the principal charge aroſe out of the inſtruction given to the delegates "that it is the duty of the people to reſiſt any Act of Parliament repugnant to the original principle of the Conſtitution, as would be every attempt to prohibit aſſociations for the purpoſe of reform." Mr. Gibbs did not agree with the Attorney General that this article proved the priſoner guilty of the charge brought againſt him. It certainly was an improper reſolution, but it was not an act of High Treaſon. Suppoſe a particular Act of Parliament obnoxious to the public is reſiſted, ſuppoſe men riſe in bodies to reſiſt it, ſuppoſe they raiſe an inſurrection in the country to reſiſt it, that is High Treaſon; but conſpiring to raiſe an inſurrection for the purpoſe of reſiſting ſuch an act is not High Treaſon, and this, he ſaid, was expreſsly ſtated to be law by Lord Chief Juſtice Holt, in Sir John Friend's caſe. The members of the Convention in Scotland were tried only for a miſdemeanour, and as the acts of thoſe delegates (not ſpeaking of Watt and Downie who were not connected with them) were not High Treaſon, the conſpiring here to bring them about could not be ſo.

Having made theſe general obſervations on the written evidence, Mr. Gibbs analyzed the parol evidence, recapitulating the ſtatements of the witneſſes for the Crown one by one, and endeavouring to ſhew, that the arming with pikes at Sheffield was a meaſure of neceſſary precaution, founded on the threats which had been uttered by the oppoſing party, and juſtified by the injuries which Dr. Prieſtley had ſuſtained at Birmingham, and Mr. Walker at Mancheſter; and he ridiculed the idea of a plot when only three dozen pikes, and three or four French knives had been procured, in two years, while it appeared in evidence that Sheffield alone could have ſupplied ten thouſand pikes in a day.

On the 'armed' aſſociation he obſerved, that in all probability Franklow had inſtituted it, becauſe he ſaw people forming aſſociations all around him, and, having been in the army, was ambitious of forming an aſſociation of his own. Whether this was ſtrictly legal or not, Mr. Gibbs would not undertake to pronounce; but he remembered ſerving, in the year 1780, as lieutenant in a corps under Mr. Erſkine; he did not remember any orders from Government, but aſſociated becauſe other people did. Franklow's aſſociation was a known public thing, there were printed orders and regulations, and he went about publicly in his uniform; and to ſay that becauſe that unfortunate man at the bar recommended Williams to furniſh Franklow's aſſociation

ation with two or three guns, therefore he muſt be preſumed, without further proof, to have aſſiſted to raiſe an armed body for the purpoſe of ſupporting this Convention by force, againſt the eſtabliſhed government of the country, is the moſt alarming propoſition I ever heard in a Court of Juſtice.

In his obſervations on the teſtimony of Goſling, Lynam, Coates, and Groves, Mr. Gibbs endeavoured to ſhake their credit with the jury by general remarks on the improbability that ſpies tell the truth, and by exhibiting particular parts of their evidence as having been contradicted by other witneſſes.

On the evidence of M'Ewan, Mr. Gibbs obſerved, that there was no way to connect it with Hardy, except by a letter which he ſent to Skirving, and a converſation between Watt and Stock at Edinburgh, in which Watt appeared deſirous of ſending a letter to Hardy, but had not communicated what it was about. Now as all Hardy's papers had been ſeized by the Crown, and this letter was not produced as one among them, there was good reaſon for believing that it had never been ſent, and there was no evidence to ſhew that Hardy even knew of Watt's exiſtence.

It might perhaps be relied on by the Solicitor General in his reply, that many of the witneſſes had been aſked whether they thought certain reſolutions peaceable and orderly. Some had ſeen them, ſome not; but it was nothing to the cauſe; it was of no conſequence whether or no the parties were guilty of all the other crimes in the catalogue of criminal law; the ſole queſtion was, Were they guilty of High Treaſon? All the witneſſes had agreed that they meant only, by calling a Convention, to produce a Parliamentary reform, and the jury ſhould not be led away by an accumulation of all thoſe acts (offenſive perhaps, but not one of them amounting to an overt act of High Treaſon) to find the priſoner guilty of ſo high a crime, becauſe they diſapproved of his politics, or of ſome part of his conduct.

After dwelling ſome time longer on theſe points, and endeavouring to ſhew that if there had been any fallacy in the declarations of the Scotch Convention and the Societies, Government, by means of their ſpies, could have detected and expoſed it, Mr. Gibbs deſcanted on the evidence produced for the priſoner. He dwelt particularly on the teſtimony of Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Francis, and then ſhewed from the Duke of Richmond's letter to colonel Shannan, that the complaints againſt the corruption of Parliament and the claim to univerſal ſuffrage and annual elections, had not originated with the priſoner. He made ſimilar uſe of the proteſt of the Lords, aſſerting that if merits had been taken inſtead of numbers, thoſe who ſubſcribed it would have formed a majority. There was at their head the venerable and learned earl Camden, as great a conſtitutional lawyer as this country has ever ſeen, and as firm a ſupporter of its conſtitution. There were many more, ſome of whom were now acting in Adminiſtration. The duke of Portland, the duke of Grafton, lord Fitzwilliam, the

the duke of Rutland, the duke of Devonſhire, lord Rockingham, lord Scarborough, and, true to his old principles, the duke of Richmond. Was that illegal to which lord Camden gave ſuch an effect, when he ſtated that petitions offered by the general aſſociations of the people ought to be attended to by the Houſe of Commons, and that it is inconſiſtent with their wiſdom to reject them? Did he not by this proteſt hold out to the public, that when ſeparate petitions are rejected, the object of which is thought conducive to the public good, it is the right of the people to aſſociate for that public good, and being aſſociated, to preſent ſuch petitions as are not likely to be rejected.

If then the man at the bar had always acted on the Duke of Richmond's plan, who conſtantly pointed out corruptions exiſting in the State; if it was the opinion of thoſe eminent men who ſigned that proteſt, that ſuch aſſociations ought to be attended to, how was the priſoner implicated in any guilt? Mr. Gibbs then ſuppoſed that the duke of Richmond could become the priſoner's counſel, and detailed the topics he might reſort to in his defence, excuſing his going to greater lengths than the duke himſelf, by the difference of rank, education, and adviſers, and by the provocations endured by the priſoner, in the contumelious rejection of his petition, which were likely to move a common mind.

Mr. Gibbs then remarked that in the whole courſe of evidence, though the priſoner had never been without a ſpy at his elbow, it had not appeared that one ſingle raſh or intemperate expreſſion had ever eſcaped his lips; and ſurely it was too hard to ſay that he entertained in his mind during all this time a project concerning which he never uttered a ſyllable, even to thoſe with whom it is pretended that he conſpired.

If Hardy were a man of profligate manners and diſſipated life, or a man likely from the tenour of his conduct to ruſh into a plan of this ſort, there might be ſomething in the caſe: but Mr. Gibbs obſerved that he never heard ſo univerſal and complete a character given of an individual by ſo many perſons. In this caſe, above all others, a peaceable character ought to weigh, becauſe the jury were to try the priſoner's mind, to aſcertain whether he had conſpired with others to pull down this Government by force? whether he was ready to take arms in his own hand, and attack the eſtabliſhed powers of the country?

Mr. Gibbs concluded by again pointing out to the jury the point which they had to try; namely, whether Mr. Hardy, when he concurred in the reſolution for calling this Convention, did himſelf perſonally mean that the Convention being called, ſhould act by force of arms againſt the Government. "Mr. Hardy's life," he obſerved, "has been ſifted, it is not proved, that through the whole courſe of it, converſing with men upon the ſubject of this intended Convention, and of the Parliamentary reform meant to be effected by it, he ever dropped a ſingle expreſſion from which it can be collected that he meant to uſe force; if he did not mean to uſe force, he muſt be acquitted of the charge now brought againſt him. That he did not, I think the evidence goes

goes fully to the proof of; and, therefore, I truſt in God that you will give him your verdict of acquittal."

For the CROWN.

Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL *in reply.*

The *Solicitor General* began by a very handſome compliment to the great ability diſplayed by Mr. Gibbs, but deprecated an argument which he had repeated after Mr. Erſkine reſpecting the *policy* of the verdict. Such a conſideration, affecting one ſide or the other, ought never to enter the minds of a jury of Engliſhmen; they were ſimply to give their verdict according to that which in their conſciences they ſhould believe to be the truth of the caſe, and to diſcard every other conſideration.

The Counſel for the priſoner had not attempted to invalidate the *truth* of any one important fact in the cauſe. They had endeavoured to qualify; they had endeavoured to throw ſome obloquy upon particular witneſſes; but upon the whole, every attempt of that ſort (in ſome reſpects, perhaps, juſtly founded) had failed, of ſhaking the main great points of the caſe. On the contrary, with a great degree of judgement, they had omitted even to touch upon ſome of the ſtrong parts of the caſe. To the facts ſtated on parol teſtimony, in general, to which great numbers were alſo privy, and they might therefore be contradicted by great numbers, if they had not been truly ſtated by the witneſſes.

Some part of the defence ſeemed rather an attack on Mr. Burke, the Duke of Richmond, the Miniſtry, and the Conſtitution itſelf, than a defence of the priſoner: but all theſe conſiderations ought to be thrown entirely out of the queſtion.

It did not enter into the mind of the Attorney General when he opened the caſe, to impute to the great maſs of people concerned in theſe tranſactions any ſuch meaning or intent as he imputed to the priſoner at the bar. He conceived, on the contrary, that the proceedings were, generally ſpeaking, a ſyſtem of fraud and deception, always profeſſing one thing and really meaning another; confining the knowledge of their true meaning and intent to a few perſons who were the directors and leaders of the whole, who had the whole buſineſs and effect under their management. If this were matter of doubt with us before the cauſe was opened, we can have no doubt of it now. It is impoſſible to doubt that there was great ſecrecy in parts of the tranſaction; that a few tranſacted the whole; and that the reſt blindly ſubmitted to what courſe they directed.

The whole croſs-examination of the Sheffield witneſſes, and the whole of the original examination of the witneſſes for the priſoner, and their croſs-examination, ſhewed that a vaſt majority of the people who were engaged in theſe tranſactions had been perſons who implicitly gave up their judgments to their leaders. Such was the account explicitly given by Broomhead; Dowling voted at Chalk Farm, though at too great a diſtance to hear what was ſaid; and Archibald Hunter, though he heard the reſolutions at Chalk Farm and the Globe, did not vote, through mere inattention.

Almoſt

Almoſt every one of the witneſſes produced for the priſoner from the Correſponding Society was of this deſcription, and Mr. Wills, the dancing-maſter, the only man who was a member of the Conſtitutional Society, knew nothing of their proceedings, and had never looked into their books. Not one man was produced who had been a regular conſtant attendant of the Correſponding Society; the greater part of thoſe they did bring had not attended for a conſiderable time before the priſoner was taken up.

There were, however, among the perſons thus deluded, ſome men of more obſervation or better underſtanding, particularly Widdiſon. He ſeemed to have ſeen through the veil which covered theſe proceedings, and ſtated, that after converſing with Yorke on the ſubject of Univerſal Suffrage, he reſolved to have nothing more to do with it, and it was a ſtriking circumſtance, that although Widdiſon was one of the Sheffield Committee, he had never ſeen Daviſon's letter about pikes.

The arming with pikes appeared to be an impoſition on the minds of the people. The alarm was ſpread—how, God knows—but an alarm was ſpread that the *Ariſtocrats*, as they called them, were going to arm againſt them, and to diſperſe their meetings, for you are told that Yorke, with Gale and Daviſon, who have abſconded, tell them that they were entitled by the bill of rights to have arms for their defence; that this Ariſtocratic party would certainly attack them, and therefore they ought to provide arms. Theſe were men of that deſcription, that it required that they ſhould be alarmed to a great degree to induce them to arm under the pretence of defending themſelves; but when they had once arms in their hands they might uſe them offenſively as well as defenſively. Mr. Yorke, who had been deſcribed as a perſon of very ſuperior underſtanding, well knew that if thoſe perſons apprehended any injury to themſelves, an application to a magiſtrate would have tended more effectually to their protection, but he never told them to make that application;—no, he rather choſe to make an impreſſion upon their minds by what had paſſed from the Church and King party, and the idea of arming being once entertained, it might be eaſily conceived to what length it might be carried, particularly recollecting what dropped from one of the witneſſes for the priſoner,—that there was no difficulty whatever when the plan was once ſettled, of having two thouſand pikes forged at Sheffield in one day; that they ſhould have ſome pikes, ſo that they might know what ſort of thing to order; that the price, which is a very cheap one, ſhould be fixed, and the other little circumſtances arranged, of the length of the pole, and the materials it was to be made of; and then a very few days would have armed a very large body of men at Sheffield with theſe pikes; and a body ſo armed might have been uſed in the manner which Yorke ſtated to Broomhead, and in which thoſe who governed them were well diſpoſed to uſe them; namely, that rather than be trampled upon in the way in which

which they were ſuppoſed to be trampled upon, he would have gone at their head to London.

In conſequence of this plan of fraud and credulity, motions were made on purpoſe to be rejected, and it appeared in evidence that the hearers did not know of the contrivance. The motions were rejected without diſcuſſion, or the allegation of any reaſon, and it appeared that the proceedings muſt all have been prepared, if not printed before hand, from the very early period at which they iſſued. The like occurred at the meeting at the Globe, the proceedings of which were printed on the 18th, though the meeting was not held till the 20th, and the proceedings at Chalk Farm were publiſhed ſo early that they muſt have been arranged at leaſt, if not printed, before the meeting took place.

It appeared, therefore, that a ſyſtem had been purſued which abſolved a great majority from great part of the criminal intent imputed to the priſoner; but he was certainly very deeply implicated. He could not ſay, like ſome of the witneſſes, that *he* was little acquainted with the proceedings of the Society, that *he* took no part, that *he* voted for reſolutions he never heard, that *he* never heard of a Committee of Correſpondence, and a Secret Committee. The exiſtence of ſuch a Committee was the moſt dangerous that could be imagined. The Correſponding Society, a little State within the State, was thus given up to the moſt deſpotic dominion that ever was exerciſed over men. This Committee enabled the leaders to blind their followers, and ſhewed beyond a doubt that their diſpoſitions and intentions were dangerous.

In the execution of this plan, the priſoner, as Secretary, muſt neceſſarily have had a ſhare. He had been deſcribed by Mr. Francis, and by other witneſſes whom he had called, as "a very ſenſible man," and therefore could not be deluded. He was preſent at the conſtituting of this Secret Committee, and had his private correſpondence and communications, probably unknown even to that Committee. He had a very myſterious correſpondence with Mr. Horne Tooke and Mr. Vaughan; his connexion with Margarot and Skirving was alſo myſterious, and the firſt project of ſending delegates to Edinburgh originated in a correſpondence between him and Skirving, afterwards ſhewn only to Margarot. In ſeveral other letters it appeared that Hardy correſponded ſecretly and confidentially; he could not, therefore, be deceived through inattention or ignorance, but muſt be ranked as one of the moſt active leaders of the Society.

The Solicitor General then entered into a view of the law on the ſubject of treaſon, propoſing afterwards to conſider how it applied to the facts diſcloſed in evidence.

With reſpect to the ſtatute of the 25th of Edward III, he laid down as clear law, that forming a deſign to take any meaſure by which, if purſued, the King's life may be in danger, and taking any ſteps in purſuance of that deſign brings the man who is guilty of that deſign and taking that ſtep within the proviſions of the ſtatute; and

and that it is perfectly immaterial whether the acts propoſed to be done, or the meaſures taken, were or were not equal to the purpoſe. It is ſufficient that the intent was conceived, and the act done in purſuance of that intent.

In ſupport of this doctrine, the Solicitor General reviewed the law of treaſon as it ſtood before the making of this ſtatute, which, he inſiſted, was intended as a diſtinct code, and conſidered the various proviſions of the ſtatute in that light. He controverted the deductions made by Mr. Erſkine from the writings of Hale and Coke, and cited the caſe of Sir Chriſtopher Blunt in the 43d year of Elizabeth, with the doctrines of lord chief juſtice Popham, as ſtrongly ſupporting his argument.

The jury were not to imagine that a diſtinct cogitation or intention to deſtroy the King is neceſſary to conſtitute the crime of treaſon. If the act propoſed to be done is that which in its conſequences leads, according to ordinary experience, to the death of the King, or at leaſt to endanger his life, the act is in ſubſtance High Treaſon. The perſons who formed the Convention in France had probably no intention of deſtroying the King; the queſtion was extremely agitated, and there was good reaſon to believe that had the majority been free agents, they would not have conſented. But the queſtion after they had depoſed the King was, not *what they would do*, but, *what muſt be done*. In ſupport of his opinion the Solicitor General cited Sir Michael Foſter, who ſays, "The care which the law has taken for the perſonal ſafety of the King is not confined to actions or attempts of a more flagitious kind; ſuch as attempts either to aſſaſſinate or to poiſon, or other attempts directly and immediately aiming at his life. It is extended to every thing wilfully done, or attempted, whereby his life may be endangered, and therefore the entering into meaſures for depoſing or impriſoning him, or to get his perſon into the power of the conſpirators, theſe offences are overt acts of treaſon within this branch of the ſtatute. For experience hath ſhewn that between the priſons and the graves of Kings the diſtance is very ſmall."

After inſiſting that Mr. Erſkine had argued erroneouſly, and in repugnance to the very authorities he cited, in comparing the attempt againſt the King's life to an attempt againſt the life of another perſon, the Solicitor General further ſtrengthened his argument by the authority of Sir Joſeph Jekyll, who ſpoke in the name of the Commons of England in lord Wintoun's caſe.

The aſſertion, that if perſons had conſpired to ſeize (for inſtance) King William's perſon, and to ſend him back to Holland, expreſsly declaring that they meant no harm to his perſon, they would not have been guilty of treaſon, appeared, he obſerved, very extraordinary. In the aſſaſſination plot it appeared upon the evidence, that the intention to kill the King was only in caſe the conſpirators could not ſecure his perſon. Their deſign was not to kill him, but to endeavour to ſecure his perſon, and ſend him out of the country; and it was only in caſe they ſhould not be able to ſecure his perſon, that they meant to aſſaſſinate him. In Layer's caſe it was expreſsly proved, that the deſign to ſeize the King's

perſon was not for the purpoſe of killing him, but in order to protect him from inſult. The intention of the party was to make the pretender King, and to ſeize the perſon of George the Firſt, for the purpoſe of ſending him back to Hanover. In lord Cobham's caſe, in the reign of James the Firſt, the conſpiracy was to ſeize the King's perſon indeed, but not with any view of depoſing him (except of depriving him of power for a time) not for the purpoſe of injuring his perſon in any degree whatever, but for the purpoſe only of compelling him to aſſent to the general toleration of the Roman Catholic religion in this country, and to certain acts intended to be propoſed for that purpoſe.

The Solicitor General then proceeded to examine the ſort of evidence required to prove the crime of High Treaſon, which it had been argued was different from that in other caſes, in conſequence of the uſe of the term *provably* in the ſtatute. He contended the contrary, excepting only the differences declared in the ſtatute. If the evidence would produce reaſonable conviction in caſe of a murder, of a robbery, or of any other crime, the verdict ought to be preciſely the ſame in the caſe of treaſon as in any other caſe.

Conſidering the law to be clear, he proceeded to ſtate the nature of the conſpiracy charged. It was not a ſimple conſpiracy to deſtroy the life of the King upon the throne, and aiming only at him, but is a conſpiracy in effect to deſtroy monarchy altogether; in the language of one of the letters which had been read, "to rip up monarchy by the roots, and plant democracy in its ſtead." It was perfectly immaterial when the intention was firſt conceived. The queſtion is, did the priſoner ever conceive it? and if he did, and acted in purſuance of an intent ſo conceived, he is guilty of High Treaſon, although the intent is not neceſſarily a diſtinct intent to deſtroy the King, but an intent to do an act which might endanger his life by any probable conſequences.

The evidence ſhewed that it was intended to form a Convention, which ſhould aſſume the character of a *Convention of the People*, which, on the principles of the *Rights of Man*, muſt be ſovereign; and though they might eſtabliſh a monarchical government, the King would, in the interim, ſurely be depoſed. Thoſe principles declared, that "every individual had a right to an equal ſhare in the government of that ſociety of which he was a member," and this conſtituted the great difference between *their* plan, and that of the Duke of Richmond. He claimed only an equal ſhare in the conſtitution of the body of repreſentatives, a thing as different as light and darkneſs from an equal ſhare in the government of the Society of which he is a member.

Their next aſſertion was, that the exerciſe of that right of equal citizenſhip, in appointing an adequate repreſentative in government, is eſſential to the ſecurity of that very right of equal active citizenſhip. So undoubtedly it was; but if there were to be a King and Peers in the country, there could not be *equal active citizenſhip*.

The third right claimed was that of "Univerſal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments;" and this not merely as a wiſe regulation, but

as neceſſarily included in the Conſtitution of a Repreſentative Government formed on their principles, and it was ſtated by Paine and Barlow, that a Government in which thoſe rights are withheld is an uſurpation of the Rights of Man; and ſo it neceſſarily is if theſe authors are right in their firſt principles.

A fourth neceſſary conſequence is, the right of perpetual revolution. The right of changing their conſtitution and government, when, as often, and in what manner they may think proper; ſtill neceſſarily, according to their principles, adhering to ſome form of Repreſentative Government frequently to be renewed.

Without entering into any diſcuſſion upon the ſubject, it was ſufficient that there were no principles, nor ever had been conceived to be any principles in the Engliſh Conſtitution:—They are utterly inconſiſtent with Monarchy, with a Houſe of Lords, and with many other parts of our eſtabliſhments; and therefore perſons attempting to procure the eſtabliſhment of theſe principles as principles upon which the Conſtitution and Government of this country ought to be founded, and holding that any Government founded upon other principles is neceſſarily an uſurpation of their indefeaſible rights, if they take any ſteps whatever for the purpoſe of altering the eſtabliſhed Government muſt be conceived, *prima facie*, to have within their view the intent of deſtroying the exiſting Government, of aboliſhing the Kingly Office, of aboliſhing the Houſe of Lords, and all the great offices, ranks, and diſtinctions in this country; of aboliſhing alſo the Houſe of Commons as it is now eſtabliſhed, and of forming a Conſtitution of Government upon their own principles, becauſe no other Conſtitution of Government can, according to the tenets which they hold, be a lawful Government.

Now it was proved, that perſons holding theſe principles had formed a deſign for aſſembling a Convention or Meeting, which ſhould aſſume the character of a Convention of the People; that in the proſecution of this deſign they did various acts; and particularly, that the priſoner at the bar did various acts;—writing letters, being preſent at meetings, and a variety of other acts, all tending to the completion of this purpoſe. It was not neceſſary that the purpoſe imputed to the priſoner in the indictment ſhould be proved to its full extent, in order to find him guilty. But it had been ſo proved. A much leſs caſe would bring the priſoner within the penalties of High Treaſon. It had been ſhewn at leaſt that thoſe perſons who were concerned with him had formed a deſign to procure ſome alteration in the Conſtitution of the Sovereign Power of the State, and that they had taken ſome ſteps for that purpoſe. If they formed a deſign of procuring any alteration otherwiſe than by acts of the Conſtituted Legiſlature of the King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, and acting in perfect freedom, they formed a deſign to depoſe the King from his royal authority, and that depoſition was compaſſing the death of the King. The law of England admits no diſtinction between the depoſition of the King for a day or an hour, and his depoſition for ever. The guilt of High Treaſon

attaches to the first, as well as to the last; for an attempt to depose the King from his Sovereign Authority for a day or an hour must hazard his life; a conspiracy for that purpose is therefore compassing his death, and is High Treason.

The Solicitor General expatiated on the intentions of these persons to overawe and not to petition Parliament, shewed clearly that there was no affinity between their conduct and that of the noblemen and gentlemen who formed the other Convention in Scotland, alluded to in the defence of the prisoner; and stated in support of his general opinions, what had been the conduct of the first, or Constituent Assembly in France, and what happened in England in 1688, in the Convention Parliament. He then went through the details of their addresses of the English Societies, and to the National Convention of France, shewing that they constantly approved their proceedings, made common cause with them, expressed wishes for an alliance, *not of Crowns, but of people*, and noticed many of their other obnoxious expressions, none of which had been at all explained or defended by the prisoner's counsel, and all which were transmitted, not when the Constitution of 1791 existed, but in November 1792, when the King had been deposed and imprisoned, and preparations were making for his trial.

When the Solicitor General had proceeded to this point, the Court adjourned at twenty-five minutes after midnight.

TUESDAY, *4th November.*

The *Solicitor General.*—After a short introductory recapitulation, the Solicitor General proceeded to shew how conformable the conduct and expressions of the Societies in England had been to the sentiments delivered by their agents in France. He adverted to the letter from the Society at Stockport on the 3d of November 1792; the letter from Norwich on the 11th of the same month, of which the counsel for the prisoner had taken no notice, and the answer of the Corresponding Society to that letter. The question put to them by the letter from Norwich was, *whether it was their private design to rip up Monarchy by the roots, and place Democracy in its stead?* See what answer they give to that. Instead of expressing their indignation at such an idea; instead of saying, how could you imagine that was our intention; how could you conceive that we had ever thought of destroying that which is so essential to the established Constitution of this country, which is indeed the very essence of its Government, the essence of the Government of this country being that it is a Monarchy, a limited Monarchy? Instead of this, the answer is very curious; "*Let no dispute be carried to excess; leave Monarchy, Democracy, and even Religion aside; never dispute on these topics. Let your endeavours go to increase the number of those who wish for a full and equal representation of the people, and leave to a Parliament so chosen to form plans for remedying existing abuses. Should they then not answer your expectations at the year's end, you may choose others in their stead.*"

The Solicitor General insisted that the establishment proposed in this letter was a pure Democracy, and that in speaking of a *Parliament*

ment ſo choſen being likely to effect the wiſhes of the writers, whatever they might be with reſpect to Monarchy and Religion, it evidently was meant that the *whole Parliament ſhould be elected*, and conſequently that no Houſe of Peers ſhould be retained.

Theſe and numberleſs other letters ſhewed the principles, views, and intentions of the perſons engaged in theſe tranſactions. If it be ſaid that men are not to be judged by their opinions but by their actions, the anſwer is,—that the object of men's actions muſt be frequently judged of from their opinions.

But the priſoner, and thoſe combined with him, had not confined themſelves to the declaration of opinions. They had paſſed *reſolutions* to act upon their opinions: they had declared by their addreſſes to the Convention of France, not only their *opinion* that the government of this country ought to be republican, not only their *wiſh* to render it ſo, but a *reſolution* to take meaſures to effect it.

The Solicitor General then traced the proceedings of the Societies here, to produce by the ſame means the influence of perſuaſion over public opinion, the events which had taken place in France. He ſhewed from the writings of Paine, his deliberate purpoſe to overturn the Government, conceived even during the American war; exhibited the effect of Correſponding Societies, as demonſtrated in the French Jacobin Club, with its forty-four thouſand affiliated bodies, which ſo long governed France, and kept it in perpetual agitation; and he obſerved that one of the letters produced in evidence expreſsly declared, that the Engliſh Societies made this their model, and drew from its ſucceſs their ſtrongeſt hopes. He then entered into an account of the formation of the Conſtitutional Society, obſerving, that although moſt of the reſpectable perſons who were early members had deſiſted from attending, Mr. Sheridan having ſtated that he had not been there for ten years, although only ſixteen or ſeventeen perſons generally attended, among whom was conſtantly Mr. Horne Tooke, and theſe perſons guided and directed the club, yet their proceedings, ſigned by the ſecretary, had with the world the reſpectability of the names of all thoſe perſons who had been members of the Society.

It was neceſſary to keep up the character and reputation of this Society, but at the ſame time to form another which ſhould act in conformity to the plan which had been laid, and with this view the London Correſponding Society was eſtabliſhed by the priſoner, in conjunction with ſome other perſons, he taking upon himſelf the character of Secretary. In conſequence, the priſoner ſtood as the clear leader in all theſe tranſactions, the perſon whoſe name appears completely forward in all, and who was involved in all. He became afterwards, by aſſociation, a member of the Conſtitutional Society.

The Solicitor General then ſtated the conſtitution and objects of the Correſponding Society, and deſcanted on their addreſs of the 2d of April 1792, which appeared in evidence to have been concerted by the priſoner and others

ſome time before, and in which they claimed for each individual the *right of ſharing in the Government*, and declared that a fair and impartial repreſentation of the people in Parliament could never take place *till all partial privileges were aboliſhed*. He noticed alſo their ſecond addreſs of the 24th May 1792, wherein they eſtabliſhed the teſt of members on admiſſion. It was no wonder the counſel for the priſoner had made no obſervations on this paper; none could be made for the benefit of their client. Their addreſs of the 6th of Auguſt 1792, proceeded exactly on the ſame principles; excited their own party to arm, by ſpeaking of the *hoſtile preparations of an alarmed Ariſtocracy*, and exhorting the nation to *demand*, with one voice, from *thoſe to whom it had for a while intruſted its ſovereignty*, a reſtoration of annual Parliaments, and an equal repreſentation of the whole body of the people. In the ſame addreſs, they declared, that *redreſs was not to be hoped from the Court,—the Miniſtry,—the Parliament,—the Nobles,*—or *the Clergy*, but that *the only reſource of the people muſt be thoſe Societies*, inſtituted to forward inveſtigation, and obtain complete redreſs for the people. It was alſo to be noticed, that in ſome paſſages of this addreſs which were ſtruck out, the writer deſcribed the probable Acts of a Parliament elected on the plan propoſed, which were to ſcrutinize public accounts, and *retrench all ſums which had been needleſsly or wickedly laid out*, and *reſtore to the poor all common lands granted without benefit to the community*. Theſe were the principles on which the legiſlators of France had proceeded; and here, as there, the ſame principles might be extended to all lands at any time granted by the Crown, and, indeed, to the title of every man's eſtate. This was evidently a lure to the poor, and tallied remarkably with a paſſage in Lynam's evidence, of a reſolution to maintain the diviſions in Spitalfields, becauſe they were *poor* and *numerous*.

Having treated at ſome length on theſe points, on the evident intention diſcloſed in theſe addreſſes to abrogate the Houſe of Peers, and the folly of ſuch an intent, and the addreſs with which the two Societies concerted their proceedings, the Solicitor General reviewed the effect of this conduct on the Affiliated or Correſponding Clubs, and the ſhare borne in them by the priſoner, who was not a perſon deluded and led away, but whoſe whole heart was in the cauſe. From this topic he proceeded to the formation of the Convention in Scotland, the inſtructions to the delegates, and the acts, declarations, and addreſſes of that aſſembly, ſhewing the manner in which the priſoner was connected with them. This aſſembly of delegates of clubs, he obſerved, thought proper not only to call itſelf a Convention of the People,—*a Britiſh Convention of the People*, neceſſarily including the whole iſland,—but, *The Britiſh Convention—one and indiviſible*. And to date their tranſactions *the firſt year of the Britiſh Convention—one and indiviſible*. What could this mean to expreſs but that they conſidered themſelves as the whole people of Great Britain, united by delegation in one common

mon cauſe, *not to be ſeparated; not to be divided until they had completely and effectually carried into execution thoſe purpoſes which the ſeveral delegates carried with them into this aſſembly?* The argument uſed by Mr. Gibbs in favour of the priſoner had been, that although his acts were extremely blameable and ſeditious, they did not amount to High Treaſon, becauſe it was not ſhewn in evidence that he conceived within his mind the guilty purpoſe of deſtroying the Government, depoſing the King, and eſtabliſhing a Democratic ſyſtem in its ſtead. He had inferred that the charge of treaſon could not be maintained againſt the priſoner, becauſe the perſons tried in Scotland had been arraigned for a ſmaller offence; but their tranſactions, the Solicitor General inſiſted, amounted, when all their complex parts were diſcloſed, to High Treaſon, though the evidence which could be produced in Edinburgh did not go to that extent; and the verdicts, far from expoſing the parties to too ſevere puniſhment, did not adequately meet their crimes.

The reſolutions of the Conſtitutional Society on the 17th of January 1794, comparing the Scotch judges to Jefferies, and approving the conduct of the Scotch Convention, were afterwards deſcanted on; theſe led to the meeting of the Correſponding Society at the Globe Tavern, on the 20th of January, the account of which was prepared by Thelwall, and delivered to Davidſon the printer as early as the 18th. The Solicitor General animadverted in ſevere language on the declaration of that day, and particularly that paragraph where the members of the Society declared a reſolution *to ſeek redreſs from their own laws, and not from the laws of their plunderers, enemies, and oppreſſors.* This declaration he inſiſted amounted to proclaiming a Republican Government, and if (as had been argued on the trial of Layer) the proclaiming of the Pretender was an overt act of High Treaſon, the proclaiming of a Republican Government, in which the King muſt be depoſed, was no leſs! Juſt at this period too, the Conſtitutional Society elected Barrere, St. André, and Roland, whom they called the moſt judicious and enlightened friends of freedom, honorary members of their Society. The ſpeeches of Barrere and St. André on the trial of Louis XVI. were alſo to be inſerted in their books; and by reading extracts from thoſe ſpeeches, the Solicitor General ſhewed that they contained no other ſentiments than thoſe of determined republicans, and implacable regicides. How heartily the ſentiments of the Society coincided with thoſe of the French honorary members was proved by the toaſts drunk at the dinner on the 20th of January, and publiſhed in purſuance of a reſolution of the 23d. One of theſe was,—"All that is valuable in every conſtitution, and may we never be ſuperſtitious enough to reverence in any, *that which is good for nothing*;" evidently alluding to the declaration of Barlow to the French Convention, that it had completely ſhewn *that a King was good for nothing.*

In the remainder of his addreſs, the Solicitor General pourtrayed the ſubſequent proceedings and

correſpondence of the Societies, exhibiting their connexion with, and influence over, the public meetings at Sheffield and at Chalk Farm, which were intended to have been held on the ſame day, though by accident that at Chalk Farm was poſtponed from the 7th to the 14th of April. He traced theſe tranſactions to the priſoner by his letter of the 27th of March, wherein he ſtated, that the moment was arrived for full and explicit declarations, and required the Conſtitutional Society to decide whether there ſhould be another Britiſh Convention. The ſpeech of Yorke at Sheffield, as well as other proceedings, ſhewed that the applications to Mr. Fox and Mr. Francis, who both diſavowed the principle, to preſent their petition for univerſal ſuffrage and annual elections, were intended only to create diſcuſſion, while the leaders of the Societies had reſolved and declared, *that the people ſhould no longer rely on leaders of parties, but act for themſelves.* Yorke had declared, that when a revolution of ſentiment ſhould have diſperſed the miſts of prejudice; when, from the inceſſant thunderings from the preſs, the meaneſt cottager of our country ſhould be enlightened, and the ſun of reaſon ſhine in its fulleſt meridian over us, then THE COMMANDING VOICE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE SHOULD RECOMMEND THE FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHT GENTLEMEN IN SAINT STEPHEN'S CHAPEL TO GO ABOUT THEIR BUSINESS.

Having cited a great number of ſimilar expreſſions, the Solicitor General adverted to the ſubject of arming, which, he obſerved, had been long meditated, and frequently alluded to in the correſpondence of the parties, and was not therefore a meaſure adopted ſuddenly as was pretended at Sheffield, through fear of illegal interruption. With reſpect to what paſſed at Chalk Farm reſpecting the knives, he obſerved that Groves, who was the only witneſs materially contradicted, had named Pearce as one of the perſons who had ſuch a knife; Pearce might have been called, had the counſel for the priſoner thought it fit, to contradict Groves, but as he was not called, the fact ſtood admitted. Green had indeed, in ſome degree contradicted Groves, but putting out of conſideration all the evidence which Groves had given, putting out of conſideration the knives, and a thouſand little circumſtances, the jury would find all the parol evidence ſupported by the written papers. Hundreds of people might have been called to contradict the greater part of the parol evidence, if it had been thought *ſafe* for the priſoner to bring thoſe perſons to the bar.

The Solicitor General concluded by exhorting the jury to do their duty, however painful to their feelings.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre, having agreed with the counſel for the Crown and for the priſoner, that it would be needleſs to recite more of the written evidence than was indiſpenſably neceſſary, proceeded to execute the duty of

SUMMING UP.

He ſtated the ſubſtance of the indictment, and went through the evidence of the witneſſes, occaſionally reading ſome of the moſt important papers, and making

ſuch

ſuch remarks as the circumſtances ſuggeſted.

When he had performed this portion of his taſk, the Court adjourned, it being near midnight.

WEDNESDAY, 5th *November*.

SUMMING UP CONTINUED.

Having concluded the detail of evidence, the Chief Juſtice obſerved, that this cauſe was of the utmoſt moment to the country, and not to be decided on narrow or technical grounds. The overt act charged in the indictment was a conſpiracy to depoſe the King, and ſubvert the Monarchy. It was clearly eſtabliſhed by the writers quoted by the counſel on both ſides, that he who conſpired to depoſe, compaſſed and imagined the death of the King, nor was it ever made a queſtion whether the compaſſing and imagining the death of the King was the primary intent conceived in the mind, and was prior to the conſpiracy to depoſe him, or whether the conſpiracy to depoſe the King muſt neceſſarily, from the nature of the charge, be ſubſequent to the compaſſing and imagining the death of the King. It was not to be put to the jury that the compaſſing and imagining the death of the King is to be proved a conception in the mind prior to the conception of depoſing him. The conſpiracy to depoſe the King is evidence of compaſſing and imagining the death of the King concluſive in its nature, ſo concluſive that it is become a preſumption of law, which is in truth nothing more than a neceſſary and violent preſumption of fact, admitting of no contradiction. Many hours were ſpent at the bar in this diſcuſſion; the argument broke down under the caſe, and it became impoſſible for either of the gentlemen to ſet himſelf diſtinctly to maintain this propoſition, that an honeſt man could fairly doubt whether he who conſpires to depoſe the King has compaſſed or imagined his death.

If however the priſoner was to be convicted, he muſt be proveably attaint; i. e. the proof ought to be clear and convincing. The proof need not be direct, it might conſiſt in a train of circumſtances; ſuch proof was as legal, and therefore ought to be as ſatisfactory, as the moſt poſitive and direct that could be offered. The queſtion of fact might be ſhortly ſtated thus:—whether the priſoner and the other perſons had conſpired to ſubvert the monarchy, and whether they had ſet on foot a project of a Convention of the People, in order to effect it?

It muſt be conceded to the priſoner, that he ſet out originally upon the Duke of Richmond's plan of reform, that of obtaining a repreſentation of the people in the Commons Houſe of Parliament, by univerſal ſuffrage and annual election, and it would be incumbent on thoſe who ſuſtained the proſecution to ſatisfy the jury that the priſoner and the other perſons concerned with him, whether irritated by their own enthuſiaſm, or by the example of France, had departed from that plan, and entered into a criminal purſuit of another object, that of ſubſtituting in the room of an improvement of the repreſentation in the Commons Houſe of Parliament, the eſtabliſhment of a government by a repreſentation of the people only; a pure Democracy, which might undoubtedly be comprehended under theſe

theſe words, "a full and free repreſentation of the people."

Purpoſing to ſelect from the maſs of written evidence ſuch paſſages as would throw light on this inquiry, the Chief Juſtice noticed at firſt the equivocal proceedings of the Popular Societies ſo early as the year 1792, which had occaſioned the friends of the people to diſclaim them, and refuſe their correſpondence, and made the country Societies inquire what were their preciſe intentions with reſpect to the Houſe of Lords? Whether liberty of conſcience could be eſtabliſhed if a bench of biſhops was allowed to ſubſiſt?—and whether they intended to rip up monarchy by the roots?—Hardy anſwered both theſe letters. "One might reaſonably have expected," his Lordſhip obſerved, "that men who adopted the Duke of Richmond's plan with ſincerity of heart, and who meant not to go beyond his plan, would, when called upon, have moſt diſtinctly avowed the extent of their plan in terms which could admit of no equivocation or exception; that they would have avowed their dutiful attachment to the King; that they would have avowed their adherence to the Conſtitution of the Government as by law eſtabliſhed, in King, Lords, and Commons; that they would have left no man to doubt, and particularly thoſe perſons who put the queſtions to them, what their opinion was upon theſe points, on which their opinion was to govern the conduct of others. The more reaſon they had to ſuſpect that letter to be a ſnare laid for them, the more reaſon they had to ſpeak out.

His Lordſhip then adverted to the addreſſes to the French Convention, and the language uſed by Froſt on preſenting them, which, he obſerved, though not employed or dictated by the priſoner or the Societies, was brought home to them by their ſubſequent votes of approbation.

The next point to be conſidered was, the ſubſequent conduct of the Societies, between the period of preſenting thoſe addreſſes, and that of planning a National Convention in England. Of this plan the Societies had never expreſſed diſapprobation, and it was for the jury to judge whether they had not taken active meaſures to ſupport it. They had in warm and unqualified terms applauded the works of Paine and Barlow, which moſt directly attacked the eſtabliſhment of monarchy and peerage in this country; theſe works they diſtributed over the country at a great expence. Another general feature in their tranſactions was their numerous publications, complaining of grievances ſuppoſed to exiſt in this country, and the abundance of licentious obſervations ſcattered throughout theſe publications, all tending to produce the ſame effect—the alienation of the affections of the country from the King and Government.

In the courſe of the ſummer of 1793, the project was entertained of a National Convention to be held in Scotland, and the correſpondence between Hardy and Skirving on this occaſion was noticed as full of myſtery, certainly exceeding the Duke of Richmond's plan of reform, and tending to the overthrow of the eſtabliſhed government. There was in evidence another

another expoſition of a National Convention, namely, the ſpeech of Barrere. On this ſubject the Chief Juſtice felt himſelf bound to notice an obſervation which had fallen from Mr. Erſkine, that a people had a right to alter their government. The propoſition, under certain circumſtances, might be true; but it ought not to have been introduced into a court of juſtice, bound to adminiſter the law of the exiſting Government, and to ſuffer no innovation upon it. The Lord Chief Juſtice then detailed the remaining correſpondence on the ſubject of the Convention, the manœuvres about the petition to Parliament, and the cloſe imitation obſerved in the Scotch Convention of the proceedings in France. This Convention was diſperſed, but the priſoner, and thoſe connected with him, certainly took occaſion to irritate the public mind to as great a degree as it was poſſible to do by the reflections that were made on theſe proceedings.

Theſe reflections were immediately followed by a plan of a new Convention in England, and the jury ought attentively to conſider the circumſtances with which this new plan of Convention was introduced to the public notice, and by which it was recommended to the public attention, in order to judge whether the object of it was that peaceable object which is inſiſted on for the priſoner; whether a reform in the Commons Houſe of Parliament was really the bottom of the whole, or whether the object of it muſt have been to alter the Conſtitution of our Government, to obtain indeed a full and perfect repreſentation of the people, but not in the Commons Houſe of Parliament.

They might have been expected to guard their language and proceedings ſo as to render it impoſſible that they ſhould be miſunderſtood, to have expreſſed themſelves clearly and diſtinctly on all occaſions, to have explained the ground of this Convention; to have conducted themſelves with a decent moderation towards the Government of the country, and towards its proceedings. It might reaſonably have been expected that they would have made an expreſs avowal of loyal ſentiments, and an expreſs diſavowal of going to any lengths which could be juſtly objected to; an expreſs diſavowal of going beyond the original object of Parliamentary Reform, as ſtated by the Duke of Richmond. Every thing that was inflammatory ought to have been moſt carefully avoided, in order to prevent their purpoſe being miſunderſtood, and what was more material, in order to inſure ſucceſs to the meaſure itſelf. Inſtead of all this, they firſt publiſhed their declaration of the 20th of January 1794; then a communication took place, and a joint Committee was appointed, who framed reſolutions, expreſſed indeed in more guarded language, but containing no declaration that they ſought only a reform in the Commons Houſe of Parliament, and that no attempt was meant againſt the King, and the juriſdiction and authority of the Houſe of Lords. Then there was a joint Committee of Correſpondence and Co-operation for the purpoſe of carrying the reſolution for calling a Convention into effect, a very extenſive

five correſpondence was entered into; a public meeting convened at Chalk Farm on the 14th of April, and reſolutions paſſed more violent than the former, not in the leaſt correſponding with the idea of applying to obtain a reform in Parliament on the Duke of Richmond's plan, but rather calculated to prepare the minds of the people for a violent criſis, a criſis upon which a National Convention once aſſembled would immediately act, and in the nature of things would be called upon to act. The ninth and tenth reſolutions glanced, not in an indirect manner, at the Houſe of Lords, as a body in the Conſtitution not entitled to the reſpect of the people.

In conformity with theſe proceedings were thoſe of the Society at Sheffield, artfully repreſented as very numerous. At that place Mr. Yorke, who was not a native, but had found his way among them, was very conſpicuous. A trick for negativing a reſolution to petition Parliament was concerted between four people, and by their manœuvring and management theſe reſolutions paſſed in ſuch a way that it was impoſſible it could be underſtood by the greateſt part of the people. There was a piece of parol evidence which reſpects this point, fit to be ſtated;—Lynam ſaid that at one of their meetings, Bell obſerved that their addreſs to the National Convention in France proved that they meant to introduce their laws here; to which Margarot ſaid, no doubt. The other perſons preſent ſaid nothing. Hardy was preſent, and this paſſed at a meeting of the delegates.

Many witneſſes for the Crown had expreſsly diſavowed all force upon Government; on the other hand individuals are charged with having attempted to corrupt the ſoldiery, and having meditated a perſonal attack upon the King, and a direct force againſt Government; this, however, was not brought home to the priſoner.

There was alſo evidence about arms: one of the witneſſes ſaid they were to be provided for defence of the Convention. If they had no object beyond pure ſelf-defence as individuals, they might lawfully furniſh themſelves with arms; but if they meant to put themſelves into a condition to ſuſtain their Convention by force againſt any attack which might be made upon it, or upon them in defence of it,—defence became offence and treaſon.

Having made theſe obſervations on the caſe for the proſecution, the Lord Chief Juſtice adverted to the defence of the priſoner. No part of the written evidence, he obſerved, had been, nor could it be controverted. "I do not think," he proceeded, "it has been very weightily urged that the priſoner did not take ſuch an active ſhare in theſe tranſactions as to make him not only in ſtrictneſs of law a principal, but to the ſatisfaction of every man's mind, a principal in the whole of them. He was not only ſecretary to one of the Societies, but a member of both, and an active member; in one or two inſtances ſingularly active; he was the promoter, deſigner, and inventor of ſome of the meaſures, with ſome degree of manœuvring and management.

The Chief Juſtice conſidered the objections to the credit and materiality

riality of some of the witnesses for the Crown, fair and weighty; stated in a clear and perspicuous manner the arguments of the prisoner's counsel on behalf of their client; and noticed the great number of witnesses who had appeared to his character.

The Solicitor General, in his reply, had impeached some of the testimony for the prisoner, by implicating the witnesses belonging to some of these Societies in the violent measures which were adopted by these Societies, and the Sheffield Society in particular, whose duplicity in their correspondence with the Constitutional Society and the Society of the Friends of the People, was open to a great deal of observation. Though men declare upon their oaths, that they are peaceable and orderly, and sincerely attached to the Constitution of the country and to their King, yet, if they are found to be engaged in measures which imply directly the contrary, it does go very strongly to the credit of their testimony; for, in that case, their testimony is "*Protestatio contra factum.*"

After a few more observations, the Lord Chief Justice concluded by recommending to the jury to exercise their judgment in deciding according to the evidence, requesting them to pay no more attention to any thing which had fallen from him, than was necessary to lead them to the consideration of those points immediately constituting the charge; the evidence by which they were supported; the evidence in support of the defence; and the reply.

One of the jury having requested to take out of Court a copy of the indictment, his demand was complied with; they retired at half past twelve o'clock, and in three hours returned, with a verdict,—NOT GUILTY.

Trial of John Horne Tooke, *for High Treason, at the Sessions House, in the Old Bailey.*

MONDAY, 27th *November* 1794.

On being set to the bar, the prisoner desired to be placed near his Counsel, and not in the situation where culprits usually stand. The Court considered this an unusual indulgence, but the prisoner claimed it as a right. After some discussion, however, he was content to accept it as an indulgence on the score of health.

In calling over the pannel so many jurors returned reasonable excuses, that, owing to them, and the challenges by the Crown and the prisoner, a sufficient number could not be procured to form a jury. The Clerk of Arraigns began, therefore, to call over the defaulters, but when the first appeared, it was objected by Mr. Erskine that the prisoner, having expended all his challenges, was now taken by surprize, as he might have challenged this very man, rather than one, whom, presuming that this would not be tendered, he had challenged. Mr. Tooke insisted that the Crown should assign its causes of challenge before the defaulters were called again, as it would be prejudicial to his cause that an infirm juryman should be impannelled. The Attorney General admitted, in some degree, the validity of Mr. Erskine's objection, and suffered three out of seven, whom he had challenged, to be sworn.

The JURY.
James Haygarth,
Thomas Harrison,
Edward Hale,
Thomas Draine,
Matthew Whiting,
Norrison Coverdale,
Robert Mairis,
William Cooke,
Charles Pratt,
Matthias Dupont,
William Harwood,
Henry Bullock.

Mr. PERCEVAL having opened the indictment, Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL addreſſed the jury.

He would not, he ſaid, detain them with any diſcuſſion of the law, becauſe he conſidered it clear and plain, that if, according to their belief, the charge of a conſpiracy to ſubvert the Legiſlature, rule, and government of the kingdom, and to depoſe the King from his royal ſtate, power, and government, was proved, the conſequence muſt neceſſarily follow, (ſuppoſing the priſoner to be brought within the charge) that he was guilty of High Treaſon.

He attributed to the priſoner, together with others, a conſpiracy to depoſe the King, a deliberate plan to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Sovereign Power as by law eſtabliſhed, and to execute that plan by his own force, and by the force of thoſe whom he hoped to draw to his aſſiſtance. This, whatever the object was to be, whatever the conſequences, whether it was to eſtabliſh one form of government or another; whether to effect one ſort of change or another, was unqueſtionably depoſing the King, depriving him for that purpoſe, at leaſt, of his royal ſtate, crown, and dignity; and making him who is to command, obey. Whether, therefore, it was in the contemplation of the priſoner to form a new Government of one kind or of another, a Government of King, Lords, and Commons, conſtituting any part of that Government, different from what it now is, or a Government by a King and one General Aſſembly, or by a General Aſſembly without a King or Lords, for the purpoſe of this charge, it was exactly the ſame thing; it was altering the Conſtitution of the eſtabliſhed Government by a power which, according to that Conſtitution, cannot be permitted to alter it; namely, by the force of individuals, and not by legiſlative acts of the Conſtitutional Power itſelf.

When people were alarmed at tranſactions in France, they were told that the ſituation of the people there was eſſentially different from that of the people of Great Britain; the French had a Government which, in its principle, was tyranny: we had one firmly and deeply rooted in the hearts of the people. The priſoner, and thoſe engaged with him being determined to deſtroy that attachment, that opinion which they themſelves had held out to the world, taught that no Government could be lawful but that which was founded on what they called *the rights of man*; which they interpreted to include, amongſt other things, the right of equal active citizenſhip. The right of equal active citizenſhip was inconſiſtent with the principles of the Britiſh Government; for the right of equal active citizenſhip cannot exiſt with an hereditary King, or an hereditary Houſe of

Lords,

Lords; the moment, therefore, it was ſaid, the equal active right of citizenſhip was a right of man, an indefeaſible impreſcriptable right of man, and that no Government could lawfully exiſt which was not founded on the principles of the rights of man, it was ſaid the Britiſh Government was unlawfully conſtituted, and that therefore the ſubjects of that Government could not lawfully be bound to it; and the poſition tended inſtantly to deſtroy all that opinion upon which it was alone ſtated, that there remained ſo marked a difference between the ſituation of this country and that of France. Theſe doctrines were ſtated with great clearneſs, preciſion, and ability, in a work by Joel Barlow, which would be produced in evidence.

In conſequence of this doctrine, the people were taught that they were ſlaves, and muſt emancipate themſelves. Had this opinion been eſtabliſhed, a great progreſs would have been made towards the ſubverſion of the exiſting Government. It would be immaterial for the conſideration of the jury whether the priſoner thought thoſe principles juſt, or that mode of Government founded on the rights of man, beſt or not; he meant to uſe thoſe principles for the purpoſe of deſtroying the exiſting Government.

The priſoner, and thoſe with whom he had conſpired, did not content themſelves with ſimply endeavouring thus to deſtroy, in the minds of the people, their affection and attachment to the Britiſh Government, by attacking its principles, but made uſe of every other means which might anſwer the ſame purpoſe. A reform in the Houſe of Commons had long been the object of public attention, and various propoſals made, ſome moderate, others more violent. The perſons charged with this conſpiracy aſſumed one, tending, in its conſequences, to univerſal confuſion, to wit, univerſal ſuffrage. It had originally, to a certain degree, received the ſanction of the Duke of Richmond's name, but it had afterwards been much diſcuſſed, and the leading men who formed the oppoſition party in Parliament, particularly Mr. Fox, whatever views they may have of Parliamentary Reform, never conceived a thought of going to that extent, but, on the contrary, were in general extremely adverſe to it. A petition had been tendered to Mr. Fox with ſuch a prayer, but he refuſed to preſent it. This the priſoner well knew, and that a petition to that effect muſt be rejected; a circumſtance of great importance, as it proved that reform in the Houſe of Commons by the exiſting Legiſlature, was not the object of the conſpirators. The conſequence was, that thoſe in whom they had raiſed a perſuaſion that univerſal ſuffrage was their inalienable right, that they ought to inſiſt upon it, never to depart from it; that they were to urge it at the hazard of their lives, were neceſſarily alſo taught, that what they wiſhed to obtain they were to obtain by their own force. For as the conſtituted Legiſlature never would accede to their propoſition, the only alternative was to effect their purpoſe by their own force.

They went ſtill further: they maintained that Parliament could not

not reform itself. Paine had ſtrongly inſiſted, in his works, that a reform of any part of the Conſtitution of Government could only be made by the people aſſembled in what is called a Conſtituting Aſſembly. The terms, "Univerſal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments," were general terms, applicable not merely to the Houſe of Commons, but to the Houſe of Lords, and the whole Legiſlature, and in truth they were indirectly at leaſt ſo applied, and ſo particularly applied in ſome of the papers, that it was impoſſible to form a doubt reſpecting the intention.

Many men were not likely to be greatly moved by mere ſpeculative opinions; on them the rights of man, of equal active citizenſhip, and univerſal ſuffrage, were not like to make a very ſerious impreſſion, and therefore every ſubject was ſeized which could be uſed in order to inflame:—tythes; the incloſure of commons; the public debt; the public expenditure; and the expence of a monarchy compared with the cheapneſs of a republic. The poor were taught that they were oppreſſed by a combination of the rich; and to the rich, in which deſcription ſeems to be included all that had any property, was given the name of Ariſtocracy. By this means it was endeavoured to ſet the poor againſt the rich, and it was endeavoured to excite thoſe who had nothing to aim at, taking that which other men poſſeſſed, becauſe it was alleged the means by which they had become poſſeſſed of their property were not lawful means. All theſe arts were uſed to obtain what formed the great end, the grand plan, the common cauſe of England and of France, univerſal emancipation. This was the extent of the conſpiracy; but if it was in the view of the priſoner to prevail on the people to change any thing in the conſtruction of the Government by their own authority, and he acted in purſuance of that view, he was equally guilty of the crime with which he is charged.

The means by which the perſons engaged in this conſpiracy were to accompliſh their ends, were principally to be effected by the aſſociation which had effected the ſame thing in France. In explaining this part of his caſe, the Solicitor General detailed the ſyſtem of the Jacobin Club in Paris, with its affiliated bodies, and the Correſponding Society in London formed on the ſame plan, and in like manner extending its communications. The Conſtitutional Society he explained to have been formed on different principles, but the reſpectable names by degrees fell off, and in the courſe of the laſt three years the priſoner at the bar, and a few other perſons, had been the only conſtantly attending members. This Society, in the end, framed a Committee of Correſpondence, and although the ſuperior reſpectability of their members prevented the adoption of the whole conſtitution of the Correſponding Society, yet the two Societies extended their communications all over the kingdom.

The Solicitor General then ſtated the nature of their correſpondence, as exhibited in Southwark, Manchester, Sheffield, and Norwich; the approbation expreſſed of the works of Paine and Barlow, on the

the nature of which he made ſome obſervations. The priſoner had fully approved theſe publications, and ſhewn in unequivocal terms his ſentiments, particularly in the letter to the editor of the *Patriot*, publiſhed at Sheffield, where he deſcribed *Monarchy and Ariſtocracy as vipers panting and writhing under the Herculean graſp of the infant Freedom.*

In reviewing the progreſs of the conſpiracy, the Solicitor General ſtated the refuſal of the Society of Friends of the People, to correſpond with that for conſtitutional information. He detailed the aſſociation of twelve members from Sheffield, of ſix members of the Correſponding Society, and of ſome from the Norwich Society, in the ſummer of 1792. They not only adopted the ſentiments expreſſed in Paine's works, particularly ſelecting for their applauſe thoſe which tended moſt directly to the deſtruction of the Britiſh Conſtitution, but ſupported him when proſecuted for publiſhing the Rights of Man. They adopted various other ſeditious publications of that writer, particularly his letter to the people of France, and to Mr. Dundas, of which they ordered 12,000 copies to be printed and diſperſed. In like manner they had adopted the letter of Mr. Barlow to the people of France, and had correſponded with him on the ſubject.

It was before this period, as early as May 1792, that the Society preſented its addreſs to the Jacobin Club at Paris, ſtyling the members "Brothers and Fellow Citizens of the World." On this addreſs the Solicitor General made ſeveral obſervations, and then proceeded to ſtate the approbation of the priſoner of the tranſaction, and the particular ſhare he had taken, both in that and the deputation of Froſt and Barlow to the National Convention. On the addreſs which they delivered by direction of the Correſponding, but with the full approbation of the Conſtitutional Society, on the ſubſequent addreſs of the latter body to the Convention, on the introductory ſpeech of theſe miſſionaries, the Solicitor General obſerved, that they clearly ſhewed the principle diſcloſed by the Correſponding Society; that the people were to effect their own emancipation by the means of the people meeting in a Convention, becauſe they could not expect to receive that which they wiſhed from the conſtituted authorities of Government. Such was the clear ſenſe of their addreſſes and proceedings, and ſo were they underſtood, as appeared from his anſwer, by the preſident of the National Convention.

Forbearing to detail a vaſt variety of letters and papers, all tending to the ſame concluſion, the Solicitor General noticed the vote of the Conſtitutional Society in January 1793, making St. André, Barrere, and Roland, honorary members, and ordering the regicide ſpeeches of the two former to be entered on their books. War being declared by France in February 1793, the intercourſe between the two countries was interrupted, but it was neceſſary to keep up the ſpirits of the perſons who were to be engaged in that revolution, which the priſoner at the Bar, with others, was engaged to effect. They contrived, therefore, to excite a very general apprehenſion that a revolution of

ſome kind or other would take place, and agitated the minds of the people by petitions to Parliament to reform the Houſe of Commons, though theſe petitions were not preſented with any hope or intention of meeting with ſucceſs, but conſidered merely as a meaſure of policy, and ſo treated in the correſpondence of the Society with thoſe formed in the country.

Theſe petitions having been rejected, they proceeded to means which they conſidered more effectual. Here the Solicitor General detailed the meeting and proceedings of the delegates of the Friends of the People in Scotland, their correſpondence with the Society in London, the miſſion of delegates, the formation, acts, and ſuppreſſion of the Britiſh Convention, the proſecution and puniſhment of ſome of its members, and the reſolutions of the Conſtitutional Society, diſapproving of their ſentence, and applauding their conduct; reſolutions which the Solicitor General inſiſted were drawn by the priſoner.

After commenting on theſe tranſactions, he ſtated the proceedings at the Globe Tavern, on the 20th of January 1794; the toaſts drunk at that dinner, and afterwards publiſhed with reſolutions of the Society; the preparations and reſolves for aſſembling and maintaining by force a new Britiſh Convention; the correſpondence between the Conſtitutional and Corresponding Societies for that purpoſe, and the formation of a Committee of Correſpondence, of which the priſoner was one.

The Solicitor General proceeded to relate the tranſactions at Chalk Farm, and the dinner at the Crown and Anchor on the 2d of May 1794. On the 12th, the Secretaries of the two Societies were apprehended; on the 16th, the priſoner. In the mean time a circular letter had been written by the Secretary of the Correſponding Society, inviting the Country Societies to ſend delegates to the propoſed Convention; the Committee of Co-operation and Correſpondence was ſitting at Thelwall's Lecture-Room, in Beaufort Buildings, for the purpoſe of carrying the plan into execution, and at that moment the arreſt of the ſeveral perſons ſince in cuſtody took place.

The probable conſequences of calling ſuch a Convention appeared clear and deciſive; the ſeveral objects detailed in the ſeveral addreſſes did not diſtinctly lead to a reform of the Houſe of Commons, but were expreſſed in ſuch terms as might lead to any thing. But if they had for their object a ſimple reform in the Conſtitution of the Houſe of Commons, to be effected by means of ſuch a Convention, acting by its own laws, and not by the laws of the Conſtituted Legiſlature, their proceeding to aſſemble ſuch a Convention would be equally the crime of High Treaſon, becauſe the Convention muſt neceſſarily deprive the Conſtituted Legiſlature of its power before they could act in that capacity, and muſt ſubſtitute themſelves (at leaſt for the particular purpoſe) in the place of that Conſtituted Legiſlature.

It might be ſaid the priſoner at the Bar, whatever might be the views or motives of others, was himſelf of a different deſcription. But it is impoſſible that a man of his abilities, and of his character, ſhould repreſent himſelf as a man deceived

deceived or deluded. It would perhaps be aſſerted that he had on various occaſions expreſſed himſelf as a man attached to the conſtitution of his country, attached to the hereditary monarchy, and to the Houſe of Lords; that he had always profeſſed to approve of both. But even ſuppoſing that to be the fact; do we not know that perſons who have had opinions adverſe to the meaſures that they have purſued, have ſtill purſued thoſe meaſures. What was the caſe of the Proteſtant Lords and others in the rebellions in 1715 and 1745, and indeed of ſome in the reign of King William, whoſe object was to reſtore the Pretender? were they leſs guilty of Treaſon, becauſe their wiſhes were, perhaps, for the preſervation of the Conſtitution, and of the religion of the country, whilſt they endeavoured, from other motives, to put a different prince upon the throne?

"Men, however, frequently profeſs that which they do not mean; a man may have monarchy on his lips when his heart is far from it. Lord Lovatt, for inſtance, was perpetually proteſting his loyalty, whilſt he was engaged for a courſe of years in a deep ſcheme to overturn that Government to which he profeſſed and avowed ſuch loyalty. The language of the French Aſſembly in 1791 was noticed by Mr. Paine, by Mr. Barlow, and others of their eulogiſts, whoſe works were admired by the priſoner at the Bar. Several of the members of that aſſembly ſpoke with the greateſt reverence of monarchy until the time was come when they thought they could overturn it. And there had been a memorable inſtance that the greateſt of traitors might profeſs attachment in the moment of the deepeſt treaſon. We know that the vileſt traitor profeſſed his loyalty whilſt he was contemplating an act of the meaneſt treachery, and in the completion of that act cried, "Hail, Maſter! and kiſſed him."

If the priſoner was loyal to the Conſtitution, what meant all the acts, proceedings, and writings which had been already detailed? Could they be adduced as proofs, or made conſiſtent with profeſſions of loyalty? If not, what purpoſe could they ſerve? At the utmoſt the production of ſuch evidence could be only an attempt to oppoſe negative evidence, in itſelf utterly improbable, to poſitive teſtimony of facts, which under the circumſtance could not be accounted for in any manner conſiſtent with ſuch evidence.

EVIDENCE for the CROWN.

Thomas Maclean proved the ſeizure of the papers of Daniel Adams, Secretary to the Conſtitutional Society.

William Woodfall proved the priſoner's hand-writing in the minute-book of that Society. The reſolution of the 28th of March 1794, was read, containing the addreſs of the Society to Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald.

Daniel Adams.—Examined by Mr. *Bower.*—Croſs-examined by Mr. *Horne Tooke.* Had been ſecretary to the Society ten years, knew the priſoner to be a member. Witneſs uſed at the meetings to put down the names of members as they came in, though many ſtayed but a ſhort time. They often dined together; and the names of the members who dined, were put

down. Thoſe whoſe names were entered as having been in the chair, frequently remained there but a ſhort time. The minutes of the previous meeting were always read at the next meeting.

There was not only a Society for Conſtitutional information, but a Conſtitutional Club, who dined together; not only members, but others. When witneſs was candidate for the ſecretaryſhip, it was known that he had a place under Government. Priſoner was preſent on the 25th October, 1793, but not on the 28th, when it was reſolved to ſend delegates to the Britiſh Convention. He diſapproved of that meaſure, and ſpoke of it with great anger; ſo much that ſome of the members thought he was bribed by Government.

Yorke was not ſent to Scotland by the Society, who had hardly money ſufficient to pay Sinclair; witneſs did not know that the priſoner ever ſubſcribed to the expence of paying delegates; but knew that he had written more than one diſcouraging letter to Sinclair, on his ſtay in Edinburgh.

Priſoner lived at a ſmall diſtance from London, and often went home early; witneſs ſometimes requeſted him to ſtay, to prevent the Society from doing ſome act of which he might diſapprove. Priſoner wiſhed the Society to adjourn to as diſtant a day as they could; he always profeſſed that he would never conſent to any meaſure which he would not ſign. Major Cartwright was called the father and founder of the Society. They were not acquainted with the contents of the books and papers of other Societies, and it was not much the cuſtom of the members of this Society to read over their own proceedings; on an average, not more than ten uſed to meet.

There were no arms in the Society, and no talk of arms; no ſuch thing as a Secret Committee, every thing was tranſacted openly and publicly; there were frequent Committees of Correſpondence named, but there were not above one or two letters written, to his knowledge. There never was a quarter part of a hundred thouſand papers printed,—he did not know of any more than five thouſand at any one time. A hundred thouſand had been ordered to be printed, but very often none at all had been printed; did not know of any correſpondence, except from France, and to that no anſwer was ſent.

When witneſs firſt became ſecretary, they uſed to print pamphlets and diſtribute them gratis, but this had not been the practice for the laſt three or four years; ſome, however, may have been printed. On the 14th of November 1792, a hundred thouſand copies were ordered to be printed and diſtributed among their correſpondents in England and Ireland; but in fact there were no correſpondents in Ireland, and Mr. Horne Tooke very often laughed at the inſignificance of the Society.

Witneſs attended the anniverſary of the French Revolution in 1790; there were ſome reſolutions put which he thought were ſtrong, and there were ſome which Mr. Horne Tooke ſtopped. Being aſked if ever he obſerved that there was any intention in the priſoner, or any of the Society, to depoſe or kill the King, he ſaid, no; they were neither bold enough nor ſtrong

ſtrong enough to undertake any ſuch thing; the greater part were for Parliamentary Reform, but perhaps all in different ways; he believed that all, however, expreſſed what they meant, and that it was not a pretext which they uſed; that they were ſincere in wiſhing a reform in the Commons Houſe of Parliament, but did not all agree in the manner.

A Committee of Correſpondence was appointed in April 1794, of which the priſoner was a member, but did not attend on account of ill health. It was converted into a Committee of Co-operation, but the priſoner did not underſtand he was a member. The priſoner had ſaid, that if there were to be a meeting of the friends of liberty at Wimbledon Common, for any good purpoſe, he would be found there, but he would not go any where elſe; and once, at a dinner of the Revolution Society, gave as a toaſt, "May the people of this country never forget or forſake the preſent family on the throne, until it ſhall appear by their conduct that they have forgotten or forſaken the principles that placed them on it!"

No notice was ſent to Barrere, Roland, and St. André, of their being elected honorary members, nor were their ſpeeches entered on the books of the Society. After the commencement of the war, there was no intercourſe with France.

Same witneſs, re-examined by the *Attorney General*.—Proved the entry in the minute-books of the Society, on the 11th April 1794, when the report of the members directed to meet thoſe from the Correſponding Society was brought up, and reſolutions paſſed, declaring it deſirable to call a general meeting or convention of the people to obtain a reform of Parliament, appointing the Committee of Correſpondence of which the priſoner was a member, to be a ſtanding Committee of Co-operation.

Mr. Adams afterwards referred to the book of minutes to prove the tranſactions of ſeveral days, when the priſoner's name was inſerted as having been preſent, and Mr. *William Woodfall* was again called to prove his hand-writing in ſome places.

Many entries of reſolutions of the Society, paſſed when the priſoner appeared to have been preſent, and other matters connected with thoſe entries, were then read; the moſt material were:—23d March 1791. Thanks to Thomas Paine for his moſt maſterly book, intitled "The Rights of Man;" with an order to diſtribute copies of this book to all their correſpondents in England, Scotland, and France.

1ſt April, 1791. A ſpecific declaration of the town and country newſpapers in which thoſe reſolutions ſhould be publiſhed.

Extracts from the Rights of Man, being the ſame paſſages which were read on the trial of Hardy.

22d July, 1791. Minutes of a meeting of the Conſtitutional Society; when an addreſs communicated by the Rev. Dr. Towers, from a Society at Nantes, was ordered to be entered. Among other expreſſions in this addreſs, were the following; "*The decrees which have eſtabliſhed the French liberty have been like the trumpet ſounding the reſurrection of the world; at our voice the nations have raiſed their*

degraded fronts; tyrants have turned pale upon their thrones; and such is the probable effect of this great revolution, that in a short time nothing will be remaining of them but the sorrowful and shameful remembrance of their faults and their crimes.

The original institution of the Corresponding Society, as proved on Hardy's trial, interlined, and four lines added by the prisoner.

9th March, 1792. Vote of the Constitutional Society, appointing Joel Barlow, Esq. author of advice to the privileged orders, an honorary member, on the motion of the prisoner.

After reading some other papers of no very material import, the Court adjourned at half past ten o'clock at night.

TUESDAY, 18th *November*, 1794.

EVIDENCE for the CROWN (continued).

A paper was produced, purporting to be a letter from a Sheffield Society, to the secretary of the Constitutional Society, as found in the possession of that secretary, with alterations in the handwriting of the prisoner, particularly the word "*Country*" in two places, instead of "*Government*," and in one place the words "*radical reform of*." Its chief object was to solicit a communication with the Constitutional Society.

23d March 1792. A vote of the Society at Sheffield, thanking Paine for his two parts of the Rights of Man, and "John Horne Tooke, esq. for his meritorious support of our lawful privileges, as a firm advocate of our natural and just rights, the establishment of an equal representation of the people." (See Annual Register, vol. xxxiv. part ii. p. 148.)

30th March, 1792. Minutes of the Constitutional Society, when twelve of the Sheffield Society were elected associated members; a letter was received from Thomas Hardy, secretary to the Corresponding Society, inclosing certain resolutions respecting the improper state of parliamentary representation; and the secretary was ordered to express to the Corresponding Society the extreme satisfaction with which the communication was received. It was proved that the words "Thomas Hardy, secretary," subscribed to the resolutions of the Corresponding Society, were in the hand-writing of the prisoner.

20th April, 1792. Entries of the Constitutional Society, on the formation of a Society of Friends of the People, in the Borough of Southwark, recording their declaration, and thanking them for communicating it. (See Annual Register, vol. xxxiv. part ii. p. 149*.)

27th April, 1792. A letter sent from the Constitutional Society to that called Friends of the People, with the answer of that Society, in which they use these expressions, quoting sentences from the letter of the Constitutional Society; "We profess not to entertain a wish that the great plan of public benefit which Mr. Paine had so strongly recommended, will speedily be carried into effect; nor to amuse our fellow-citizens with the magnanimous promise of obtaining for them the rights of the people in their full extent. The indefinite language of delusion which, by opening unbounded prospects of political adventure, tends to destroy the public opinion which is the support of all free governments, and to excite a spirit of innovation,

novation; of which no wiſdom can foreſee the effects, and no ſkill direct the courſe! We view man as he is, the creature of habit, as well as reaſon. We think it, therefore, our bounden duty to propoſe no extreme changes which, however ſpecious in theory, can never be accompliſhed without violence to the ſettled opinions of mankind, nor attempted without endangering ſome of the moſt eſtimable advantages which we confeſſedly enjoy.

4th May, 1792. Extracts relating to a Society formed at Norwich, their communication with the Conſtitutional Society, in which they approved delegations, recommended the union of all Societies in England in one political body, and applauded the firſt and ſecond parts of Paine's Rights of Man. It appeared that deſcriptive additions to three of the ſignatures were in the hand-writing of the priſoner.

11th May, 1792. The addreſs of the Society to the Jacobin Club, at Paris, was voted. (See Annual Regiſter, vol. xxxiv. part ii. p. 145*.) The priſoner, who was preſent at the meeting, was directed to forward it to Mr. Watt, at Paris.

18th May, 1792. The letter of Thomas Paine to the Society, and the reſolutions thereon. (See Annual Regiſter, vol. xxxiv. part ii. p. 144*.) This buſineſs was tranſacted at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, being the firſt meeting of the Society held there.

The next extracts which were read, ſhewed the exertions made by the Society to diſſeminate their reſolutions and principles by advertiſements, and their favourite publications by cheap editions, 6,000 copies of Paine's letters, and the addreſs to the Jacobins, were printed and diſtributed, through various agents, in many parts of the country, at an expence of about 13l. 10s.; and the inſertion of the ſame in the London newſpapers, the proprietors of ſeveral of which, however, declined receiving them, coſt 7l. 6s.

Similar meaſures were adopted for giving publicity to the letters received by the Conſtitutional from the Correſponding Society; and a ſeries of reſolutions which were ordered to be inſerted in all the newſpapers, paſſed by this Society in conſequence of the King's proclamation.

15th June, 1792. The Conſtitutional Society (the priſoner being in the chair, and drawing up the minutes himſelf) ordered a ſubſcription for the defence of Paine, proſecuted for publiſhing the Rights of Man, directed 12,000 copies of his letter to Mr. Dundas, to be printed, and diſtributed by means of a committee, of which the priſoner was one, and they were afterwards printed at an expence of 25l.

Extracts from Paine's Rights of Man (part the ſecond) were then read, being the ſame as were read on Hardy's trial; and, at the requeſt of the priſoner, the preface was alſo read, in order to ſhew that the book was merely an anſwer to that of Mr. Burke.

Paine's letter to Mr. Dundas was afterwards read, in which the author decries the ſyſtem of hereditary monarchy in particular, and monarchy in general, vaunting the advantages of a Republican Government as to freedom, rationality, and cheapneſs,

The next ſeries of evidence related to the miſſion of Froſt and Barlow to Paris, and the addreſſes and correſpondence which paſſed through their medium, and in conſequence of their exertions. On this head the ſame documents were put in as on Hardy's trial, and it was proved that Mr. Horne Tooke was actively concerned in the buſineſs, having been conſulted by Hardy on the general proceedings of the Correſponding Society, and by Margarot and him on the propriety of the intended meaſure; to which alſo the Conſtitutional Society aſſented, and in which they co-operated. He alſo drew up the letter to Pétion, accompanying the ſubſcriptions for the French army.

Extracts were then read from Joel Barlow's letter to the National Convention of France, on the defects of the Conſtitution of 1791; the ſame as on Hardy's trial.

A letter from Sheffield, ſigned "The Editors of the Patriot," was next produced. It was dated the 15th October, 1792, and addreſſed to the ſecretary of the Conſtitutional Society. To this the Society returned an anſwer, which was reviſed and interlined by the priſoner, and in which were the expreſſions reſpecting the "infant Hercules, Freedom," and "the vipers Ariſtocracy and Monarchy."

Evidence was alſo given of the correſpondence of the Society with thoſe at Stockport and Norwich, as proved on the trial of Hardy.

The votes appointing St. André, Barrere, and Roland, honorary members of the Society, were then read. The priſoner was preſent on both occaſions, and in the former reſolution interlined ſome words himſelf. Extracts from the ſpeeches of St. André and Barrere, which were ordered to be entered in the books of the Society, were alſo read.

Other proceedings of the Society, in conjunction with the Correſponding Society, and reſpecting the conduct of individuals in Ireland, and the Societies at Norwich and Edinburgh, and on preparing an addreſs to the Britiſh nation, were produced, and the co-operation of the priſoner proved.

Evidence was then given of the tranſactions of the Britiſh Convention, which were connected with the cauſe before the Court, by proving, that in a minute of the Society, on the 17th January, 1794, when the priſoner was in the chair, the Conſtitutional Society expreſſed approbation of the meaſure of a Convention, and alſo ſent Sinclair as a delegate. It appeared, however, that before the reſolutions of approbation were gone through, the priſoner quitted the chair, though it was not ſhewn that he left the room.

It was proved that the Conſtitutional Society, connecting itſelf more and more with the Correſponding Society, approved and entered on their books the addreſs voted at their meeting at the Globe Tavern, on the 20th of January, 1794. Some correſpondence between the two Societies, and ſome intemperate letters from Hardy to perſons at Norwich, were alſo read.

7th February, 1794. The Conſtitutional Society reſolved, that a circular letter be ſent to each member of this Society, with a ſtatement of the caſe of Mr. Sinclair, delegate from this Society to the Convention at Edinburgh,

and requeſting their aſſiſtance to the fund already ſubſcribed for him. The letter ſent, in purſuance of this vote, was drawn up, and ſigned by the priſoner, and circulated with his name "by order of the Society."

7th March, 1794. Mr. Tooke gave notice that he would, at the next meeting of this Society, move that two books ſhould be opened, *one of them bound in black, in which ſhould be entered all the enormities of thoſe who deſerve the cenſure*, and in the other the merits of thoſe who deſerve the gratitude of the Society.

After reading two letters from Margarot to the Societies at Norwich, the Court adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, 19th *Nov.* 1794.

EVIDENCE for the CROWN (continued).

A letter from Aſhton, at Sheffield, which was read on Hardy's trial, diſapproving the conduct of the Society of Friends of the People, was put in, and it was proved that the interlineation of a word was in the hand-writing of the priſoner.

Other correſpondence of the Correſponding Society with thoſe at Sheffield and Birmingham, and with Skirving at Edinburgh and the commiſſions of Margarot and Gerald to be delegates to the Convention, and the correſpondence of the Societies at Sheffield, Leeds, and Birmingham, with the Conſtitutional Society, being proved, their proceedings relative to the ſending of delegates were given in evidence.

6th December, 1793. The Conſtitutional Society, the priſoner being preſent, appointed a Committee to correſpond with Mr. Sinclair, then delegate to the Convention; and two of his letters to the Society were read; a letter from Skirving, as ſecretary to the Convention, was produced, and another from Thelwall, to a perſon whom he called *Citizen Jack Vellam*, giving an account of ſome late publications and proceedings. An entry in the books of the Conſtitutional Society, dated 21ſt March, 1794, was next read, approving the ſteady efforts of the friends of peace and reform at Sheffield, and appointing an anniverſary dinner at the Crown and Anchor, on the 2d of May, when *Citizen* Wharton was to take the chair, and other *Citizens* to act as ſtewards. This appeared to be the firſt introduction of the term "*Citizen*" into the proceedings of the Society.

Various other minutes of the Society were read, proving their knowledge and approbation of the acts of Societies in various parts of the country, particularly Newcaſtle upon Tyne, Leeds, Wakefield, Huddersfield, Bradford, and Sheffield. Hardy's circular letter was put in, where he ſpeaks of the Hanoverians and Heſſians, and a letter to him from the Society at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, where the writer expreſſes hopes that *the hydra of tyranny and impoſition may ſoon fall under the guillotine of truth and reaſon*. The anſwer of the Society echoed back theſe ſentiments.

A book, intitled "The faſt-day obſerved at Sheffield," was put in; and as a witneſs was called,

William Broomhead.—Examined by Mr. *Law.*—Croſs-examined by Mr. *Gibbs.* He gave, in ſubſtance, the ſame account of the Society and its

its proceedings at Sheffield, as he gave on the trial of Hardy.

George Widdifon.—Examined by Mr. *Law*.—Croſs-examined by Mr. *Gibbs*. Proved, as on Hardy's trial, the making of pikes at Sheffield, and the general views of the Society. Daviſon's letter was alſo put in and read, ordering ſome pikes, and directing how they ſhould be made.

Evan Evans being called to prove a paper, was croſs-examined by the priſoner for the purpoſe of ſhewing that a Mr. Gay, whom he had introduced to the Conſtitutional Society, was not Edward Gay, a hair-dreſſer, in Duke-ſtreet, St. James's, a man much connected with Martin, but Nicholas Gay, eſq. a gentleman well known, and a great traveller.

This point being diſpoſed of, the proceedings at Chalk Farm, on the 14th of April, and the meeting of the Conſtitutional Society at the Crown and Anchor, on the 9th of May, were proved.

The correſpondence of the Conſtitutional Society with Muir, Palmer, Skirving, and Margarot, and their addreſs to them after their conviction, were next read.

William Sharpe.—Examined by Mr. *Law*.—Croſs-examined by the priſoner. Had been a member of the Conſtitutional Society two years and a half; was propoſed by the priſoner; remembered five gentlemen from the Correſponding Society coming to meet ſome appointed by the Conſtitutional Society. He was one, being propoſed by Mr. Horne Tooke, but did not remember being preſent when the report was made, and knew nothing of the Committee of Correſpondence.

On his croſs-examination, ſaid he ſuppoſed he was nominated to ſome delegation by the priſoner, becauſe he had a good opinion of him; has heard him ſay he would rather be governed by Saint James's than by Saint Giles's. Their intercourſe began by the priſoner wiſhing that his daughters might be taught by him the art of engraving. Being aſked as to Mr. Horne Tooke's manner of living, ſaid he kept a horſe, but he never knew him ride out more than once, and he walked out very ſeldom, perhaps not more than two or three times in a year; ſaw little company; generally ſpent his time in the morning in his garden, and in looking over old books, and in the evening at whiſt; witneſs remembered an anonymous letter coming to Mr. Tooke from Ireland, with a letter in it for Mr. Paine, which he put into the fire without opening; he remembered that on the 15th of May, dining with Mr. Tooke in Spital Square, there was a letter ſuppoſed to have been intercepted, written by Mr. Joyce, ſuppoſed to relate to ſomething that Mr. Tooke was to do with the red book, and that the circumſtance was laughed at. That letter was produced and read; it ſtated to Mr. Horne Tooke that Mr. Hardy had been taken up that morning, and his papers ſeized; then it concludes,—"*Is it poſſible to get ready by Thurſday?*" theſe words were thought myſterious, (the letter having been intercepted,) and apprehenſions were entertained that ſome miſchief was intended, and therefore the Government took ſome precautions. Witneſs remembered that during the buſineſs of the Scotch Con-

vention Mr. Tooke uſed to go away early, becauſe he did not like that buſineſs; at other times he would often ſtay till ten at night; he ſaid he underſtood that theſe words, "Is it poſſible to get ready by Thurſday?" alluded to Mr. Tooke's being ready with ſome extracts from the red book, of places and penſions in Mr. Pitt's family, which he was to make; and he ſaw ſome light horſe, ſomewhere about Spital Square, where they dined; Mr. Tooke uſed to be deſirous of long adjournments; wiſhed to be much in his garden; and that there was an Act of Parliament to make it death for him to go out; witneſs ſaid that at the dinner club there were viſitors admitted, and there was nothing ſecret in the converſation; there were frequent debates in the Society; but there were no Secret Committees; ſometimes they uſed to joke about their correſpondents, when, in truth, they had no correſpondents; and there were Committees of Correſpondence named, but he does not know that they ever met. The priſoner was againſt univerſal ſuffrage, and always ſpoke for the Conſtitution, as compoſed of King, Lords, and Commons; witneſs received a letter from the country, in conſequence of Mr. Horne Tooke's appearing not warm in the buſineſs of the Scotch Convention, to know whether Mr. Horne Tooke had not been penſioned by the Court; and whether he had not deſerted the cauſe of Liberty. The priſoner had generally company on a Sunday; they uſed to come between two and four, and go away about eight; they had an open and general converſation; no dangerous converſation ever paſſed. Had often heard Mr. Tooke ſay, if there was to be any trouble, he himſelf ſhould be the firſt victim, becauſe he oppoſed all miſchievous characters; and would do ſo if he was execrated by all the world; for he would do what he thought was his duty. On the 2d of May, 1794, witneſs dined at the anniverſary dinner of the Conſtitutional Society; there was converſation about Mr. Horne Tooke; it was ſaid that he had made an ariſtocratic ſpeech. Witneſs thought his profeſſions as to a Reform in the Houſe of Commons were his real ſentiments; he thought that if things were brought back to the ſtate they were in at the revolution, every thing would be right; witneſs was taken into cuſtody on a warrant for treaſonable practices; he thought the whole object of the Conſtitutional Society was Parliamentary Reform; he had no reaſon to ſuſpect they meant to uſe force; and that force was never the ſubject of their converſation. The priſoner was not of the Committee of Correſpondence or Co-operation; never heard him conſent to an attack upon an eſtabliſhment, civil or religious; but always defended them; he ſaid he had no object but a reform in the Houſe of Commons. The priſoner aſked whether he was a bigot; Mr. Sharpe anſwered that he thought he had no religion at all.

The report of the Committee of Conſtitution of the Correſponding Society, the appointment of Felix Vaughan to be a delegate to this Committee, and the letter of Thomas Paine to the people of France, publiſhed and diſtributed gratis by the Correſponding Society,

ciety, were then put in and read; which closed the evidence for the profecution.

PRISONER'S DEFENCE.

Mr. *Erskine* began by comparing his situation on the present trial, to that in which he felt himself during the last, and congratulating himself on the great relief afforded to his mind by the verdict in favour of Hardy.

Proceeding to the merits of the cause, Mr. Erskine observed, that he could hardly find out his client in the mass of matter which had been read. It was necessary to search for him through the proceedings, and his name was with difficulty discovered.

Mr. Erskine then restated the arguments he had used on the former trial, respecting the necessity of proving the intention as well as the acts of the prisoner, in order to convict him, and applied this principle to the various counts in the indictment. He insisted that the publications given in evidence had been for two years circulated throughout the kingdom, with the implied consent of the Attorney General; they were to be found in every file of newspapers, and in every town and country magazine. He also adverted to a doctrine said to be laid down by the Solicitor General in his reply in the late cause, "that any act done which may endanger the life of the King, is, in the judgement of law, an act done in pursuance of an intent to compass his death." This he declared to be such a monstrous, horrible proposition, that he would rather, at the end of all their causes, when he had finished his duty to their unfortunate objects, die upon his knees, thanking God that, for the protection of innocence, and the safety of his country, he had been made the instrument of denying and reprobating it, than live to the age of Methusalem for letting it pass unexposed and unrebuked.

Mr. Erskine then entered into an investigation of the statute 25th Edward III, citing many authorities in support of his construction of it, which tended to shew that the intention against the King's life is the crime, that its existence is a matter of fact, and not matter of law, and that it must therefore be collected by the jury, instead of being made the abstract result of a legal proposition, from any fact which does not directly embrace and comprehend the intention which constitutes the treason. This doctrine, he affirmed, received further support from a passage in the charge of the Lord Chief Justice Eyre to the grand jury.

"The cause, therefore," he proceeded, "is brought beyond the power of evasion or controversy, to one short point, disentangled from all ambiguity or legal distinction; since, upon the express authority of the Court, which sits to try the prisoner, independently of all other authorities, it is a mere naked question of fact which you are to examine: there is nothing which can affect him legally, or which, it is even contended, can affect him, unless you are prepared to say, upon your oaths, in the presence of God and your country, that you have materials in evidence before you, from whence you feel yourselves bound in conscience to pronounce, that the parties who engaged in the proposition of holding a Convention, did

did NOT engage in it according to their profeſſions, to collect the public opinion upon the ſubject of national abuſes, and for the conſideration of conſtitutional redreſs, but for the expreſs though concealed purpoſe of reſiſting BY FORCE the authority of Parliament, and aſſuming to themſelves the controul and dominion of the nation. THIS IS THE FACT TO BE MADE OUT, AND THE BURTHEN OF THE PROOF IS UPON THE CROWN. I do not ſtand here to diſprove, but to examine what has been proved; and I confeſs myſelf, therefore, to be utterly at a loſs how to purſue my diſcourſe; for you have heard nothing upon which you would pull a feather out of a ſparrow's wing; there is not only no evidence upon which reaſonable men might deliberate between a verdict of guilty or not guilty, but, literally, NO EVIDENCE AT ALL; nothing that I could addreſs myſelf to, but through the medium of ridicule, which, much as it would apply to the occaſion, in other reſpects it would be indecent to indulge in upon a great State Trial, ſo deeply concerning the dignity of the country, and ſo ſeriouſly affecting the unfortunate perſons whom I ſhall be called upon hereafter to defend.

Mr. Erſkine obſerved, that it was not the priſoner, as the Attorney General had affirmed, but Major Cartwright, who had founded the Conſtitutional Society, and that its ſole object was a reform in the Houſe of Commons. He expatiated on the extenſive nature of the reform propoſed by the Duke of Richmond, profeſſing, however, that neither himſelf nor his client was deſirous of eſtabliſhing univerſal ſuffrage. He denied that the intentions of the Societies were different from their profeſſions; defended the miſſion of delegates by obſerving, that in 1780, delegates for different diſtricts were appointed, and ſat in Guildhall, and affirmed that no one ſtep, in form or in ſubſtance, had been taken by the moſt unfortunate perſons who were the ſubjects of this proſecution, that were not taken, and, in his opinion, legally and conſtitutionally taken, by their ſuperiors, whoſe examples they followed. He did not mean to defend *all the papers* which had been read; ſome were raſh and abſurd in the extreme; many of them indecent; many of them claſhed with one another, which was not ſurpriſing, ſince they were written by perſons of various deſcriptions, who had no communication with one another. But theſe papers were *not* proſecuted as libels, but charged to have been written *with the intention* to promote a Convention to ſuperſede and aſſume the Government. "But will any honeſt man ſay, that he can collect from theſe writings, *taken in a maſs*, and as indicative of the purſuits of their authors, any ſuch intention or ſyſtem? on the contrary, it is impoſſible to liſten to them with common candour and attention, without obſerving, that the needle is not truer to the pole, though when it is diſturbed and agitated it oſcillates round the point of its attraction, than theſe poor people were to the promotion of reform IN THE COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, by collecting the ſenſe of the people on the ſubject; conſcious that though Parliament, as

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the Duke of Richmond expreſſes it, would not ſpontaneouſly yield what thoſe who ſway it have a corrupt intereſt in refuſing; yet that it might be obtained by that which muſt, and will in the end, obtain every thing from any Government, however conſtituted, by the ſlow, gradual, and progreſſive effect of public opinion."

After treating for ſome time on the ſtate and duties of the Houſe of Commons, maintaining in his own perſon many of the doctrines of his clients, recapitulating the ſtatements which had been publiſhed reſpecting influence in the election of members to that body; affirming that his Majeſty is King of the people, on the principle alone, that the people can change their King, and aſſerting that the plans of his client did not differ from thoſe diſcloſed by the Duke of Richmond in his letter to colonel Sharman; Mr. Erſkine examined what part of the offence, on the principles it was contended to exiſt, could apply to the priſoners.

His argument on this head went chiefly to ſhew, that his client ought to be reſponſible for his own acts alone, and not for the writings or opinions of others. The views of the Conſtitutional Society were to be collected from its origin and its acts, and thoſe of the Correſponding Society were preciſely ſimilar. Thoſe who aſſerted the real intentions of theſe bodies to be different from thoſe which they publicly declared, were bound to prove the fact. An accuſation had been founded, Mr. Erſkine contended, very unjuſtly, on the anſwer given to the queſtion, "Is it your private deſign to rip up Monarchy by the roots, and place Democracy in its ſtead?" The anſwer to this, which was dated the 26th November, 1792, referred to the addreſſes of the Society, and declared its only intention was "to diſſeminate political knowledge, and thereby engage the judicious part of the nation to demand a RESTORATION of their rights in ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS; the members of thoſe Parliaments OWING *their election to the unbought and even unbiaſſed ſuffrage of every citizen, in poſſeſſion of his reaſon, and not incapacitated by crimes.*"

In treating on the conſpiracy to hold another Convention in England, the Solicitor General had inſiſted that it muſt mean a Convention ſimilar to that which had been held in Scotland, and in this conſtruction Mr. Erſkine was willing to concur. But in order to make ſuch a deſign treaſonable in the Engliſh priſoners, he muſt ſhew that the aſſembling the Convention in Edinburgh was treaſonable, and that they did actually aſſume and exerciſe all the functions of Parliament. Before he ſhould proceed to examine the acts of this Convention, he would, as a preliminary queſtion, aſk "*what the honourable gentleman, whom he repreſented, had to do with them? Suppoſing all its tranſactions had been treaſon, how was he affected by them?*" "It has been aſſumed," he ſaid, "that Mr. Tooke was an active promoter of the Scotch Convention, becauſe his name ſtands entered in the books of the Conſtitutional Society, as preſent when ſending of a delegate to Edinburgh, was under deliberation. Good God! Gentlemen, how groſs is this concluſion, and how pernicious is the principle which

which concludes it. This entry would not be evidence in an action for ten pounds; yet what would not do upon a charge for killing a hare or a partridge, is to be used as evidence to destroy the life of an English subject, and with it the law and the constitution of the kingdom! The Society has been considered as a corporation; its books have been laid on the table as authoritative acts, binding upon all its members; and the pen of the secretary of a club is to conclude upon a fact which is to affect life. The real truth is *(and it ought to be a solemn warning to Courts of Justice not to depart from the strict rules of evidence)*, Mr. Tooke was NOT PRESENT when the proposition for sending a delegate to Edinburgh was made; neither did the proposition, when made, receive the concurrence or approbation of the Society, but, on the contrary, was objected to by the majority; not because they thought it criminal, but because they believed it to be useless. The further discussion of the subject was therefore postponed from the 25th to the 28th of October, when a special extraordinary meeting was appointed, and Mr. John Williams, the mover of the proposition, was sent to Wimbledon, to request Mr. Tooke to attend and support it; but it appears by Mr. Adams's evidence, that he absolutely refused to come, and treated the proposal as frivolous and impertinent, insomuch that he was considered as a man bribed and pensioned to betray the cause of Parliamentary Reform, by withholding his support from a legal and well meant proposition in favour of the proceedings in Scotland. Yet this gentleman, greatly advanced in years, and declining in his health, who was shut up *at this time, and long before*, within the compass of his house and garden at Wimbledon, where he used to wish an Act of Parliament would confine him for life, who was painfully bestowing a greater portion of his time on the advancement of learning, than the rudest health could with safety bring to it; who was intensely devoted to researches which will hereafter astonish, and will not be soon forgotten by the world; who was, *at that very moment*, engaged in a work, such as the labour of man never before undertook, nor perhaps his ingenuity ever accomplished; who had laid out near an hundred pounds only in packs of cards, to elude by artifice and contrivances the frailty of memory and the shortness of life, otherwise insufficient for the magnitude of his pursuit; who never saw the Constitutional Society but in the courtesy of a few short moments, after dining with some of its most respectable members; and who positively objected to the very measure which is the whole foundation of the prosecution; is, nevertheless, gravely considered to be the master-string which was continually pulling and directing all the inferior movements of a conspiracy as extensive as the island, the planner of a revolution in the Government, and the active head of an armed rebellion against its authority. Gentlemen, is this a proposition to be submitted to the judgement of honest and enlightened men, upon a trial of life and death? Why, there is nothing in the Arabian Nights Entertainments, or in the Tales of the Fairies,

ries, which is not dull matter of fact compared with it. But the truth is, as it ſtands already upon Mr. Adams's evidence, that ſo little was the energy of the Society upon the ſubject, that at the general, adjourned, and *extraordinary* meeting, which was to decide upon this queſtion, which Mr. Tooke thought ſo ſmall a one, but upon which the fate of Great Britain is conſidered here as having depended, only ſeven people gave their attendance; and, although Mr. Yorke was choſen delegate to give countenance to the cauſe, and to former reſolutions, yet there were objections to the completion of his miſſion, becauſe the ways and means could not be provided for his ſupport."

Although, on this ground, an examination of the proceedings of the Scotch Convention might, in Mr. Erſkine's opinion, have been diſpenſed with, he reviewed many of them, arguing that the perſons who met, never arrogated to themſelves the powers of a Legiſlature, and, far from plotting the overthrow of the Conſtitution, ſought only its renovation and eſtabliſhment. The delegation of members to ſuch a body could be no crime, and the cenſure of the judges who had condemned the leaders of that Convention, applied to proceedings which were illegal, or at leaſt queſtionable, for they had been queſtioned by ſome of the greateſt men in Parliament; it might be a libel on their perſons and authorities, but it could not be brought home to the priſoner, as he had refuſed his ſanction to the reſolutions in which it was contained.

Mr. Erſkine alſo vindicated the reſolution for inſerting the *excellent addreſs of the Correſponding Society*, in the books of the Conſtitutional Society, and *the King's ſpeech to his Parliament*, under it. The ſubſcription entered into for the ſupport of Sinclair, was repreſented as a ſignal inſtance of Mr. Horne Tooke's generoſity and nobleneſs of mind; he had conſtantly objected to his being ſent as a delegate, but in the hour of his diſtreſs was the firſt to take on himſelf the public odium of protecting him. In the letter written on this ſubject was an expreſſion reſpecting Mr. Pitt; "If ever that man," ſaid the priſoner, "ſhould be brought to trial for *his* deſertion of the cauſe of Parliamentary Reform, for which Mr. Sinclair is to ſuffer, I hope the country would not conſent to ſend him to Botany Bay. On this part of the letter," ſaid Mr. Erſkine, "I have but one remark to make;—*Mr. Tooke is not indicted for compaſſing and imagining the death of Mr. Pitt.*"

Coming then to what he conſidered the very point of the charge, the conſpiracy to hold a Convention in England, and the means employed for that purpoſe, Mr. Erſkine inſiſted, that unleſs the jury meant to reverſe the former verdict, it muſt be concluſive on the preſent trial; for Mr. Hardy, who had been acquitted, was the *firſt* and *ſingle* mover of the propoſition to hold this Convention. Whatever was known, he certainly knew; whatever was done, he not only did, but actually led the way to the doing of by others. If there was a conſpiracy, he was manifeſtly the principal conſpirator.

Having preſſed this argument, Mr. Erſkine traced all the proceedings of the Society towards the formation

formation of an Engliſh Convention, inſiſting that they were all legal and orderly, and evidently tended to nothing more than a reform of the Houſe of Commons by peaceable means. The perſons indicted were ſelected from two numerous Societies, and this inevitable dilemma aroſe,—either they were guilty for having changed the purpoſes of their deputation, or elſe *all* who deputed them were guilty; but both theſe ſuppoſitions were excluded by evidence. If guilt were imputed to the priſoners, it muſt be extended to all who had attended the various Societies throughout the kingdom. If any of the twelve who were delegated were guilty, all muſt be ſo; yet one, Mr. Sharpe the engraver, had been a witneſs for the Crown, and that not as an accomplice; and againſt another, Mr. Lovett, the bill was thrown out by the grand jury.

In the preſent trial, the Solicitor General ſeemed ſo well convinced that the whole evidence about arms was a beggarly account of empty boxes, that he had not brought it forward, and he had acted with ſound diſcretion. "To have called people who literally knew nothing of the Societies, would have been to expoſe weakneſs; to have again called honeſt witneſſes who knew any thing, would have been to prove too much, becauſe the falſhood of the imputation would again have been manifeſted; and to have attempted it a ſecond time by ſpies and informers, would only have been uſeleſsly bringing up their raggamuffins to be peppered: a conduct which ſinks a cauſe in the opinion even of Jefferies himſelf, who, when a ſerjeant upon the trial of lord Ruſſel, ſaid to the jury,—"*Remember, we bring no ignominious perſon here, we have not raked the gaols for evidence, we have brought before you no ſcandalous* SPIES AND INFORMERS, *but men worthy of credit.*"

As the grand finale of the buſineſs, Mr. Erſkine ſtated the reſolution to meet on Mondays and Thurſdays in Beaufort Buildings, and the proceedings at Chalk Farm, where Lovett was chairman, and yet Lovett had been acquitted by the grand jury. Afterwards the Committees ſometimes failed to meet, and ſometimes met to take ſnuff and talk of the news of the day, till they were arreſted.

"The alarm which ſeized Government at this period," Mr. Erſkine ſaid, "ſeemed to have inveſted the moſt frivolous circumſtances with myſtery and deſign againſt the State, of which we have had a notable inſtance, in a letter written to Mr. Joyce by Mr. Tooke, on the day Hardy was arreſted, which being intercepted, was packed up into the green box there, and reſerved as evidence of a plot. The letter runs thus,—'Hardy and Adams were taken up this morning by the King's meſſenger, and all their books and papers ſeized;' and then following a long daſh, 'CAN YOU BE READY BY THURSDAY? This letter, gentlemen, is another leſſon of caution againſt vague ſuſpicions; the Red Book was not a liſt of perſons to be ſaved, in oppoſition to the Black Book, of thoſe to be ſacrificed. But Mr. Tooke having undertaken to collect, from the Court Calendar, a liſt of the titles, offices, and penſions beſtowed by Mr. Pitt upon his relations, friends, and dependents; and being too

correct to come out with a work, of that magnitude and extent, upon a ſhort notice, had fixed no time for it, which induced Mr. Joyce, who was impatient for its publication, to aſk if he could be ready with it by Thurſday."

"Another curious circumſtance, of ſimilar importance, occurred about the ſame time, which I marvel has not appeared in evidence before you; I will tell you the ſtory, which is ſo ſtamped with the wit which diſtinguiſhes my client, that it will ſpeak for itſelf without proof: a ſpy came, one night, into the Society, to ſee what he could collect, when there happened to be preſent a Mr. Gay, a man of large fortune, and a great traveller; (the gentleman I ſpeak of is a member of the Friends of the People, introduced by my friend Mr. Tierney, now in my eye;) this Mr. Gay, in the courſe of his travels, had found a ſtone inſcribed by Stuart, another great traveller, as the end of the world; but reſolving to puſh on further, and to ſhew his contempt of the bounded views of former diſcoverers, wrote upon it, 'This is the beginning of the world,' treating it as the ground from which he meant to ſtart upon his tour. The plan being introduced for conſideration whilſt Mr. Gay was preſent, Mr. Tooke ſaid, 'Look ye, gentlemen, there is a perſon in the room diſpoſed to go to GREATER LENGTHS than any of us would chooſe to follow him.' This alluſion to the intrepid traveller was picked up by the ſpy, as evidence of a plot; and if I had the rummaging of the green boxes, I would undertake to find the information amongſt the papers."

In tracing the proceedings of the Societies, Mr. Erſkine ſaid he had continued to follow the inſtructions of his client, and now reminded the jury that he took no ſhare whatever in them. Therefore the great ſubſtantive leading overt act in the indictment, viz. the conſpiracy to hold a Convention to ſubvert the Government, to which all other charges are ſubſervient, was not only not brought home to the honourable gentleman at the bar, but appeared to be without foundation altogether. The counſel for the Crown, conſcious that the traitorous intention could neither be legally nor rationally collected from any one fact appertaining to the ſubject in agitation, had heaped matter upon matter upon his head, from various quarters, totally diſconnected with the charge, and with one another, in order that theſe tranſactions, though ſingly neither treaſon, nor any other crime, might, when tacked together, amount to whatever might be found neceſſary to deſtroy him.

In this manner the unfortunate lord Strafford was ſacrificed, and from Hume's hiſtory of that event, and the earl's own ſpeech on his trial, Mr. Erſkine quoted long extracts, adding that theſe proceedings, and the attainders of lord Ruſſel and Sydney, had been condemned and reverſed, and ſo, ſooner or later, would every flagrantly unjuſt judgment be, while England retained her free Conſtitution. And he would hazard this public prediction,—that long, long before one half of the audience which fills the benches ſhould, by the courſe of nature, be called from the world, theſe very judgments in Scotland, which, more than any thing elſe, had produced the preſent trial, would be ſtigmatized, repealed,

pealed, and with indignation reverſed; not by violence, or in an irregular Convention, but in the ordinary legal forms of a Britiſh Parliament.

The collateral facts from whence the traitorous intention was to be inferred, were that Mr. Tooke contributed to the circulation of the works of Thomas Paine, containing groſs matters againſt the monarchy of the country; that he conſented to ſend a congratulatory addreſs to the Convention of France; that he was privy to the approbation of Mr. Joel Barlow, who had delivered this congratulation at Paris; and laſtly, that he had himſelf written a letter to the preſident of the Convention, offering to ſubſcribe 4,000 livres towards carrying on the war then exiſting between the States of Europe and France, even though part of it, in the event, ſhould happen to be applied when this country ſhould be involved in the ſame conteſt.

On theſe ſubjects, Mr. Erſkine attempted to ſhew that Mr. Burke's attack on the French Revolution was the cauſe of Paine's writing the Rights of Man, and that the priſoner had never approved thoſe parts of it which reflected on the Conſtitution of England. Yet many of theſe paſſages were to be found in the book called Common Senſe, by the ſame author, of which Mr. Burke had expreſſed approbation. The priſoner's diſapprobation of the principles of the French Revolution, as applied to the Britiſh Conſtitution, had been diſplayed at a dinner meeting at the Crown and Anchor, in celebration of the firſt anniverſary of that event, when lord Stanhope was in the chair, and when to a motion made, Mr. Tooke propoſed as an amendment, a declaration "that the people of the country had only to preſerve and improve the Conſtitution which their anceſtors had tranſmitted to them."

As evidence of the priſoner's ſentiments on the ſubject of Parliamentary reform, an extract was read from a letter written by him to Mr. Dunning, in 1782, in which he ſtrongly diſcommended the plan of univerſal ſuffrage. After ſome further obſervations on this point, Mr. Erſkine, being much exhauſted, concluded by extolling the generoſity of the priſoner, who would not permit him to narrow his defence by adverting only to ſuch points as affected his particular caſe, but not content that his veſſel ſhould be ſafely ſteered through the ſtorm, inſiſted on holding out a rope to ſave the innocent from danger. He concluded, as in the former cauſe, by imploring that the jury might be enlightened by that Power which can alone unerringly direct the human mind in the purſuit of truth and juſtice.

THURSDAY, 20th *Nov.* 1794.

EVIDENCE for the PRISONER.

Major Cartwright.—Examined by Mr. *Erſkine* and Mr. *Horne Tooke.*—Croſs-examined by Mr. *Attorney General.* Was a member of the Society for Conſtitutional information, from its firſt inſtitution; doctor Brockleſby, doctor Jebb, and Mr. Lofft, were among the earlieſt members; their object was to give to the public, conſtitutional information; and particularly to promote a recovery of what they conceived their loſt rights;—meaning the rights of repreſentation in the Houſe of Commons; never entertained an idea

that the objects of the Society were changed; for the last two years it was in his power to attend scarcely at all; he was many years in the habit of attending; he never perceived any change of general sentiments; in the outset they were in favour of universal suffrage, and annual Parliaments; the Society was instituted before the Duke of Richmond's plan; but the Duke's conduct met the approbation of the Society; the Duke of Richmond's letter to colonel Sharman was circulated by the Society; and the plan stated in that letter received their approbation; cannot pretend to say it was the sole object of the Society to act on the Duke of Richmond's plan; the sole object was a radical reform in the House of Commons; but there was a considerable difference of opinion, many would have been glad of obtaining considerably less than that; if witness had perceived there had been any persons who were not friends to the King's government, he would have remained in the Society, but it should have been for the purpose of removing such members; he never heard of such an idea in the Society; no man had ever started such an idea; no motion had been made of that kind. Witness had known the prisoner intimately sixteen years; he always appeared, from his public conduct and private conversations, to be a steady, firm, and inflexible friend to a reform in the House of Commons; of all the men he ever knew, he was the steadiest and most invariable in his sentiments; he never heard any thing fall from him, disrespectful to the office of royalty, but quite the reverse; at times, when other opinions were put abroad, he always found Mr. Tooke hold that the regal and aristocratical branches of our constitution were excellent in themselves; and that, if a reform in the other branches of the Constitution could be obtained, our Constitution would in his opinion, be the most perfect of any upon earth; he recollected an illustration of Mr. Tooke's, which shews that his objects did not go those lengths which Mr. Paine's did; he was speaking of persons travelling in a stage-coach, and getting out at different places; he said, when I find myself at Hounslow I get out; others may go further. Mr. Tooke did not write the letter to the Society of the Friends of the People, which was answered upon the 16th of May 1792; the witness himself subscribed it as chairman, and consented to its being sent; far from a design against the Constitution, the object of the Society was to support the Constitution, and restore it to its true principles; he never heard any moving towards force, arms, or violence, nor has he any reason to think any such thing was in agitation; himself was considered as the father and founder of this Society; Mr. Horne Tooke never professed himself to be a friend or a favourer of universal suffrage; nor of great part of Paine's writings; other parts appeared to him very beneficial to this nation, and to others; he said he approved of Locke only in part, he never praised pure democracy; but often contested the point with those who did.

On his cross-examination, witness said that the 25th of May, 1792, was the last time he attended the Society; he had not seen Mr. Tooke since he left town;

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was preſent when the addreſs to the Jacobins was voted; was not a party to the other addreſſes ſent to France; the ſubject of a Convention was not agitated while he was a member; did not remember any converſation about the vipers Ariſtocracy and Monarchy, but if it was applied to a Government where there were vipers, he ſhould have thought the term well applied; Paine was an honorary member, and attended pretty much while he was in England. Witneſs meant to go to the obtaining of a Reform in the Houſe of Commons; he was not governed by any man, and ſhould be glad of the aſſiſtance of any man to procure it; Paine offered the profits of the work to the Society, eſtimating it at a thouſand pounds; did not conſider Paine's writings as a conſpiracy to overturn the Government, but as diſcuſſions on the ſubject of Government; if he had thought there had been any conſpirators in the Society, he would have aſſiſted to bring them to juſtice; thinks he recommended Mr. Horne Tooke to the Society, and had heard he had been convicted of a libel.

The Duke of Richmond.—Examined by Mr. *Erſkine.* Proved his letter to colonel Sharman, and a letter was read from the priſoner to lord Aſhburnham, occaſioned by the debate in the Houſe of Commons on the 7th of May, 1782, on Mr. Pitt's motion for a reform in Parliament. In this letter, the writer was adverſe to univerſal ſuffrage, ſhewed attachment to the perſon of the King, and a diſpoſition to ſupport the Ariſtocracy of the kingdom.

The right hon. Charles James Fox.—Examined by Mr. *Erſkine,* —Croſs-examined by Mr. *Attorney General.* Saw the priſoner at the Thatched Houſe Tavern, about the year 1785, at a meeting of all the friends to reform of Parliament, convened by Mr. Wyvill, after Mr. Pitt's motion; the object was to gain a direct approbation of Mr. Pitt's ſpecific plan; Mr. Horne Tooke ſupported the motion; ſeveral others, and himſelf for one, objected to it; the plan was a general propoſition, that if any boroughs were propoſed to be ſold, that their right of ſending members to Parliament ſhould be purchaſed by the public, and in lieu of thoſe members, others were to be elected by the freeholders of the counties at large, or diſtricts of counties.

Philip Francis, eſq.—Examined by Mr. *Erſkine.*—Croſs-examined by Mr. *Attorney General.* Was a member of the Society of Friends of the People. Having drawn up a plan of reform to be ſubmitted to that Society, he ſaw the priſoner in the ſummer of 1793, and prevailed on him to reviſe the plan. Mr. Tooke approved of it in general, and witneſs did not diſagree with him on any principles of the Conſtitution. Tooke told him he had refuſed to be a delegate to the Scotch Convention.

The Duke of Richmond.—Re-examined by Mr. *Horne Tooke.* Recollected meeting Mr. Horne Tooke on ſome occaſion, he believed at the Quintuple Alliance, at the London or the Thatched Houſe Tavern; and met Mr. Tooke at ſeveral other times; he himſelf was a member of the Conſtitutional Society, ſome years ago; never heard Mr. Tooke ſay any thing againſt the King, Lords, or the Conſtitution of the country.

The right hon. William Pitt.—

Examined by Mr. *Horne Tooke.*—Croſs-examined by Mr. *Attorney General.* Said a paper which was ſhewn him was his hand-writing, it was written probably to ſome chairman of a Weſtminſter Committee; recollected a meeting at the Thatched Houſe, about the middle of May, 1782, after his firſt motion in the Houſe of Commons in relation to a Parliamentary reform; Mr. Horne Tooke was preſent; the ſenſe of the meeting was to uſe means to recommend a petition to Parliament, in order to procure a reform, there was no ſuch idea as a Convention of the People or affiliated Societies; he did not conſider that as a meeting of perſons authorized to act for any but for themſelves; did not recollect any petition having been objected to in the Houſe of Commons, as coming from perſons in a delegated capacity; nor know that ſome of the perſons preſent at the Thatched Houſe might be deputed by others, but did not know how they were conſtituted.

Richard Brinſley Sheridan, eſq. —Examined by Mr. *Erſkine* and Mr. *Tooke.*—Croſs-examined by Mr. *Solicitor General.* Knew Mr. Horne Tooke; met him at ſeveral meetings held for the purpoſe of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform; at different aſſociations in the year 1780; ſaw him at a meeting or Convention of Delegates, from different counties and towns, aſſembled to promote the object of a Parliamentary Reform, and to act for thoſe who deputed them; witneſs was delegate from Weſtminſter, with five or ſix other gentlemen, to act with the other delegates from other Aſſociations, and to promote the object of Parliamentary Reform by legal and conſtitutional means, they confided the means to the delegates entirely; in all their papers and reſolutions they ſtated themſelves to be delegates, acting for other people; no perſon could belong to thoſe meetings without knowing that it was ſo, becauſe ſuch a perſon muſt have been himſelf appointed by others; did not know whether Mr. Tooke was a delegate; it was thought that petitions, unleſs they came from the whole body of the people, were frivolous and uſeleſs, and they conceived that they ſhould have delegates in larger meetings from all parts of the kingdom, they did not mean to operate upon the Houſe of Commons by force or violence, but by that degree of awe and reſpect which they conceived the Houſe of Commons were bound to pay, and muſt pay to the ſenſe of the people at large, when collected.

Recollected a meeting to celebrate the eſtabliſhment of liberty in France, in the year 1790. Upon that occaſion he moved a reſolution drawn up the day before by the Whig Club. Mr. Horne Tooke made no objection to his motion, but propoſed an amendment. Mr. Tooke ſtated, that an unqualified approbation of the French revolution, in the terms moved, might produce an ill effect out of doors, a diſpoſition to a revolution in this country, or, at leaſt, be miſrepreſented to have that object; he adverted to the circumſtance of their having all of them national cockades in their hats; propoſed to add ſome qualifying expreſſion to the approbation of the French revolution, a declaration of attachment to the principles

principles of our own conſtitution; Mr. Tooke ſpoke in a figurative manner of the former Government of France; deſcribed it as a veſſel ſo foul and decayed, that no repair could ſave it from deſtruction; in contraſting our ſtate with that, he ſaid, Thank God the main timbers of our Conſtitution were ſound; he had before obſerved, however, that ſome reforms might be neceſſary; that ſentiment was received with great diſapprobation, and very rude interruption, inſomuch that lord Stanhope, who was in the chair, interfered; witneſs himſelf objected to Mr. Tooke's amendment; which he withdrew, and moved it as a ſeparate motion; it was then carried as unanimouſly as his own motion had been; that original motion, and ſeparate motion, were in theſe words—"That this meeting does moſt cordially rejoice in the eſtabliſhment and confirmation of liberty in France; and beholds, with peculiar ſatisfaction, the ſentiments of amity and good will which appear to pervade the people of that country towards this kingdom, eſpecially at a time when it is the manifeſt intereſt of both ſtates, that nothing ſhould interrupt the harmony which at preſent ſubſiſts between them, and which is ſo eſſentially neceſſary to the freedom and happineſs, not only of the French nation, but of all mankind." Mr. Tooke's motion was,—"That we feel equal ſatisfaction that the ſubjects of England, by the virtuous exertions of their anceſtors, have not ſo arduous a taſk to perform as the French have had, but have only to maintain and improve the Conſtitution which their anceſtors have tranſmitted to them:" this was carried unanimouſly.

The right hon. earl Stanhope.—Examined by Mr. *Erſkine.*—Croſs-examined by Mr. *Attorney General.* Related the proceedings at the meeting on the 14th of July, 1790, and ſtated the general circumſtances attending the meetings in 1782 and 1785, and the part taken by the priſoner on thoſe occaſions.

Rev. Chriſtopher Wyvill.—Examined by Mr. *Erſkine.* Croſs-examined by Mr. *Attorney General.* Proved the meeting in 1785, and that the priſoner approved of Mr. Pitt's plan of reform.

John Macnamara, eſq.—Examined by Mr. *Gibbs* and Mr. *Tooke.*—Croſs-examined by Mr. *Attorney General.* Deſcribed the formation of a Conſtitutional Club in 1788, of which the priſoner, Mr Roſe, Mr. Pitt, lord Frederick Campbell, and Mr. Fielding, were members. From that time, witneſs got into habits of intimacy with Mr. Tooke, and never met any gentleman, in a public or private character, who underſtood the Conſtitution of the country better; believes no man ever exiſted that wiſhed better to the Conſtitution of the country, in King, Lords and Commons, but yet he was determined upon a reform in Parliament.

William Fielding, Eſq.—Examined by Mr. *Erſkine* and Mr. *Tooke.*—Croſs-examined by Mr. *Attorney General.* Belonged to the Conſtitutional Club, being counſel for lord Hood; wore a blue coat and orange cape, and recollected priſoner being there on the 5th of November, 1788.

Lord Frederick Campbell.—Examined by Mr. *Tooke.* Recollected

the meeting on the 5th of November, 1788, at which the prisoner moved some resolutions, and witness was displeased because they were proposed without his knowledge.

Earl Camden.—Examined by Mr. *Tooke.*—Cross-examined by Mr. *Attorney General.* Related the circumstances attending the last-mentioned meeting, and stated that the resolutions moved by the prisoner were expressive of loyalty to the King, and very respectful. Witness had no intercourse with the prisoner since.

Henry Beaufoy, esq. — Stated nearly the same facts.

Thomas Symonds, esq.—Examined by Mr. *Erskine.*—Cross-examined by Mr. *Attorney General.* Was a student of the Inner Temple, had been a member of the Constitutional Society two or three years; was acquainted with Mr. Tooke; had seen him at his own house, and other places; he sometimes attended the meetings of the Society; their object was a reform in the House of Commons; upon an average, fourteen or fifteen persons attended; the original object was never departed from, and every act of theirs, taken with the circumstances, tended to that sole object; nothing led him to suspect any change of sentiment; he frequently saw the prisoner there; all his expressions went solely to a Parliamentary reform, and he was strictly in favour of the ancient Aristocracy; the Society had the same object; he did not attend during the convention at Edinburgh, on account of ill health; did not know the characters of either of the delegates, did not know enough of them to wish them to go, and he thought it might be mistaken by the public; but had no reason to believe that any thing criminal was intended. Remembered a delegate coming from the London Corresponding Society, who proposed a Convention; he was in the chair; the object was to propose a general concurrence, to obtain a Parliamentary Reform; if there had been any idea of a conspiracy to subvert the Government, he must have known it; he had no suspicion of any such thing, nor any reason now to suspect any such thing was meant; he had fifty times heard Mr. Tooke speak with reprobation of universal suffrage; never heard any proposition or debate that touched the King, or the hereditary office of the House of Lords, but solely towards obtaining Parliamentary Reform; there never was the slightest idea of obtaining any unconstitutional means or force, any reform in Parliament; he never heard an idea of arms; nor any idea of putting down our liberties, in order to emulate the French; he knew nothing of the meetings of the Committees; their object was Parliamentary reform, they pursued that object up to the 11th of April, 1794, and if there had been any thing criminal, he must have known it. He was chosen a member of this Society in June 1792; proposed by Mr. Joyce; never heard of Mr. Joyce being present at the National Convention when the address was presented; nor of a drawing, pointing out the way to Hell by Hanover; nor of many other of the most offensive proceedings of both Societies.

—— *Maxwell*, esq. — Examined by Mr. *Erskine* and Mr. *Tooke.*—

Cross-

Croſs-examined by Mr. *Attorney General.* Had known the priſoner ever ſince the year 1793; frequently viſited him, generally on a Sunday; Mr. Tooke diſapproved of univerſal ſuffrage; but ſaid he thought it would be a good plan that they ſhould ſtand for cloſe boroughs, and then petition, in order to expoſe the manner in which thoſe elections were made, and to force Parliament to agree to a reform; never heard Mr. Tooke ſay any thing hoſtile to the Crown, or the hereditary office of the Peers.

Edward May, eſq.—Examined by Mr. *Erſkine.*—Croſs-examined by Mr. *Attorney General.* Had known the priſoner two years, gave the ſame account of his political principles as the laſt witneſs; with the addition that he had heard him reprobate the introduction of Paine's principles in England.

William Tooke Harwood.—Examined by Mr. *Erſkine.*—Croſs-examined by Mr. *Attorney General.* Was a captain of a troop in the 9th regiment of dragoons, had known the priſoner moſt intimately about ſix years; they continually converſed upon political ſubjects; Mr. Horne Tooke had the higheſt veneration for the Government, in King, Lords, and Commons; but the Houſe of Commons wanted reform; the borough-mongers ought to be made aſhamed of themſelves. Witneſs was a member of the Conſtitutional Society; was preſent upon the 23d of March, 1792; remembered the twelve members from Sheffield being aſſociated, as well as members from various other places, and the letters and proceedings on thoſe occaſions.

The right rev. Dr. Richard Beadon, biſhop of Glouceſter.—Examined by Mr. *Tooke.* Had known the priſoner forty years; they were for many years acquainted, not ſlightly, but very confidentially, and very intimately; their acquaintance began in the year 1754, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, in Saint John's College, where they took their Batchelor's degrees; never knew him vary in his political ſentiments; never had reaſon to recollect, that Mr. Tooke had any averſion to any of the eſtabliſhments; inclined to think him a very ſtudious man—more ſo than many men; believed he might have aſſiſted him with books upon grammatical ſubjects, from the Bodleian library; knew that he was much employed in his attention to grammatical purſuits; never had reaſon to believe that he was engaged in any thing that was ſeditious, and hoped he was not.

At nine o'clock the Court adjourned.

FRIDAY, *November* 21ſt.

The minutes of the acquittal of Thomas Hardy were read by the proper officer.

End of the evidence for the Priſoner.

Mr. GIBBS then addreſſed the jury on behalf of the priſoner; and, entering at large into the law of treaſon, endeavoured to prove, that from the nature of the indictment, and the evidence adduced, it was not poſſible to fix that charge on the priſoner. The charge upon the indictment was, that the priſoner compaſſed the King's death, that he agreed that a Convention ſhould be held for the purpoſe of overturning the Government, and depoſing the King, in order to effect that purpoſe

poſe of his againſt the life of the King; that there were other counts in the indictments, imputing to him a deſign of accompliſhing the ſame end, not through the medium of a Convention, but by means of a general conſpiracy. The Solicitor-General, in his opening, ſtated the offence of the priſoner in theſe terms:—"I attribute to the priſoner a conſpiracy to depoſe the King, and to do this by his own force, or by the force of thoſe employed for him." Then laying indictment and ſtatute, and every thing elſe out of the caſe, the avowed charge againſt the priſoner is, that he conſpired to depoſe the King, and that he meant to do this either by his own force, or by the force of thoſe who might be under *his* controul, and whom he might direct; that is the object imputed to the priſoner by thoſe who conduct this proſecution. We, on the other hand, ſaid Mr. Gibbs, ſay that this never entered into the minds either of the priſoner at the bar, or of any of thoſe who ever had a y communication with him: we ſay that he had an object which he proclaimed to the world, which he communicated to his friends, whom in the hours of confidence he converſed with, and which, through the whole courſe of his life, he has uniformly and ſteadily purſued; that object we ſay was a Parliamentary reform; and that a Parliamentary reform was his real object, after the evidence that has been given in this caſe, it is impoſſible for any rational being, for a moment, to doubt.

In ſupport of this argument, Mr. Gibbs reviewed the tranſactions of the Conſtitutional and Correſponding Societies; inferring from their conſtant declarations that they were, in reality, deſirous of obtaining "a reform in Parliament by legal and conſtitutional means;" that their meetings and deputations had no other object; that their preferring to the Latin word *Convention*, which was firſt propoſed, the Saxon word *Meeting*, was done ſolely to prevent offence even to well deſigning, but ill judging and weak minds, and he treated with poignant ridicule all the ſurmiſes of treaſon and conſpiracy which had been founded on theſe tranſactions.

Proceeding then to the evidence, he ſhewed from that of Adams, the ſecretary to the Conſtitutional Society, that this body which was ſuppoſed to be the richeſt, and from which the poorer conſpirators were to derive ſupplies of money and arms, had no greater revenue than ſixty guineas a year, of which fifty were neceſſary to pay their expences; the ſecretary was always in advance, and the funds ſo low, that when they wanted to ſend Yorke as a delegate to Scotland, he refuſed to go, becauſe they could not ſupply him with money for his expences. There could be no covert deſign, becauſe all the proceedings of the Society were open to all its members, and publiſhed in newſpapers; there was, it is true, a Committee of Correſpondence, which rarely or never correſponded, and was a continual ſubject of ridicule to the priſoner, becauſe its employment accorded ſo ill with its name. Adams and all the witneſſes for the Crown, had agreed that the real as well as oſtenſible intent of the Societies both in town and country, was a reform

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in Parliament by peaceable means, and they ſhewed that they had not the ſmalleſt notion of attacking either the perſon, authority, or character of the King, of attacking royalty itſelf, or the nobility of the country. The witneſs Widdiſon proved that Parliamentary reform on the Duke of Richmond's plan was the utmoſt of their wiſhes at Sheffield, but that he thought univerſal ſuffrage was going too far. Nothing was proved about arms, but the ordering of a dozen pike-ſhafts by Daviſon; and laſtly, Sharpe, who had been a member of the Committee of Conference, was examined to Mr. Tooke's principles, and proved that he had declared himſelf more deſirous to be governed by St. James's than St. Giles's, and always ſpoke of the Conſtitution with great reverence, though he deteſted the corruption of the Houſe of Commons. This was the whole parol evidence offered by the Crown on the ſubject of a Convention, and, ſenſible of its inſufficiency, they had read a multitude of papers, ſome found in the Conſtitutional, and ſome in the Correſponding Society.

"With all theſe papers," he proceeded, "we are now overwhelmed, for the purpoſe of proving againſt us that there was a general conſpiracy in the kingdom, to overturn the Government, and depoſe the King, and that Mr. Tooke, the gentleman at the bar, acted in this conſpiracy,—papers that took thirty hours to read in the Court, and by which our attention was diſtracted and confounded,—papers which it is utterly impoſſible for me to obſerve upon to you, becauſe no human ſtrength could be equal to it, ſome of them, in their nature; ſuch as could never have come to the knowledge of Mr. Tooke, and ſome might or might not have come to his knowledge; for you recollect the way in which Mr. Adams gave an account of keeping the books, and the entries of the names, and how often it happened that men whoſe names appear in the books, really were not preſent; becauſe if they attended at dinner, their names were put down, and ſtill remain in the books, though they did not attend the meeting; to ſeparate them is impoſſible for any man—to obſerve upon them is impoſſible, in the maſs and chaos in which they have been produced; from this maſs of paper you are deſired to infer, that there exiſted a conſpiracy in this country, to overturn the Government and depoſe the King, and that Mr. Tooke was an actor in this conſpiracy:—that is too much to call upon any man to defend another againſt. Many of theſe papers that have been read give great offence; many are very improper—are ſuch as reaſonable and thinking men would diſapprove of; but they are not overt acts of High Treaſon. If there had been any one of theſe papers that could be relied upon as an overt act of High Treaſon, it would have been ſo relied upon, and would have been ſtated as a ſubſtantive overt act. There is no one of thoſe papers that has been produced which can by any poſſibility, with the evidence tacked to it, that is alſo produced in this caſe, amount to an overt act of High Treaſon: and if no one of theſe papers produced is an act

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of High Treaſon, they cannot, taken altogether, amount to High Treaſon. There is no ſuch thing in this country as cumulative treaſon; there muſt be a compaſſing the King's death, and there muſt be a preciſe, diſtinct act ſtated, and proved to have been done by the priſoner in the proſecution of that deſign conceived by him againſt the King's life."

Mr. Gibbs then reviewed the different acts imputed to the priſoner. The addreſſes to the French, he obſerved, were made before the war; to have made them treaſon, the charge muſt have been for adhering to the King's enemies; but, at that period, the French were not the King's enemies. If peace were to be made to-morrow, the ſame addreſſes and ſubſcriptions might, the next day, be renewed. With reſpect to the ſending of delegates to the Scotch Convention, the priſoner was not preſent when the meaſure was voted, and had always expreſſed diſapprobation of it, but the members of the Convention themſelves had been tried only for a miſdemeanour; and becauſe Mr. Tooke humanely ſolicited a ſubſcription for Sinclair, when in diſtreſs, it was endeavoured to implicate him in every thing done in the Scotch Convention, though he diſapproved of its ſitting, and diſapproved of the ſending of a delegate. Another crime imputed to him was, the approbation of the works of Paine and Barlow; but Mr. Gibbs argued that he might approve ſuch parts of them as tended to promote a reform in Parliament on the Duke of Richmond's plan, without lending a ſanction to all their principles as applicable to the Government of the country. This was further explained by the teſtimony of May, who, in an acquaintance of ſeveral years, had been in the priſoner's company when he had drunk much wine, and when he was ſober, and always found him well attached to the King and the Ariſtocracy, and reprobating Paine's doctrines reſpecting Monarchy as applicable to this country. To ſupport this indictment, it was neceſſary that ſome evidence ſhould be given of force to be uſed by the priſoner or others with whom he was connected; (not indeed that it was neceſſary to ſhew that the force was adequate or proportioned to the end;) but, in this caſe, no evidence had been exhibited of the preparation of any kind of force.

On the ſubject of conſpiracy, Mr. Gibbs argued from the acquittal of Hardy, and the production of Sharpe as a witneſs for the Crown, that no ſuch conſpiracy could be taken to exiſt.

Conceiving then, that the proſecutor's witneſſes had negatived the force and the conſpiracy, Mr. Gibbs ſtated that he had not conſidered it neceſſary for his client to call witneſſes, but he, anxious to clear his character from every imputation, had produced ſeveral, who had depoſed to his conduct and character for a long ſeries of years, and to the very time when he was ſuppoſed to be plotting this horrid conſpiracy. Having reviewed and deſcanted on the effect of their teſtimony, Mr. Gibbs ſaid, "It appears to me impoſſible that you ſhould convict the priſoner. I have not entertained a moment's anxiety in this caſe, because

cauſe I have found my client perfectly ſafe; he muſt be ſafe, becauſe you are honeſt men. I have no ſcruple to ſay, that if upon ſuch evidence, the gentleman who ſtands at the bar ſhould be convicted of High Treaſon, there is an end of that part of the freedom of Engliſhmen which they derive from the protection of the ſtatute of the 25th Edward the Third, and they are ſent back to all that obſcurity, to all that difficulty, to all that danger, which exiſted before the ſtatute, which the makers of that ſtatute complained of, but which was remedied not only by that, but by the ſubſequent ſtatute of the 1ſt of Queen Mary.

The proof to convict an Engliſhman of High Treaſon muſt be plain, muſt be direct, muſt be manifeſt. The proof in this caſe is plain, is direct, is manifeſt; but it is all in favour of the priſoner. The proof offered to ſupport the proſecution, furniſhes a plain, direct, and manifeſt caſe for an acquittal. I have no ſcruple to ſay, unconnected with all parties, not having in my mind a wiſh upon this ſubject, except as I may be ſuppoſed to entertain ſome in favour of my client, but with reſpect to the public not entertaining a wiſh except for public peace and public order, having never mixed myſelf in any political conſiderations whatever, having never connected myſelf with any ſet of political men, and ſtudiouſly avoiding all ſuch connections, living equally with men who entertain one and the other opinion upon the ſubject of politics; I have no ſcruple to ſay, and I ſay it from the bottom of my heart, that I think a ruder ſhock cannot be given to the Conſtitution of England, as far as it depends upon the due adminiſtration of its laws, than by convicting this priſoner upon this evidence.

Mr. Gibbs having concluded, the Lord Chief Juſtice informed the priſoner that he had now, but would not have at any ſubſequent period, a right to addreſs the jury. Mr. Tooke anſwered, that he feared he had already ſpoken too much and too often, and did not therefore intend to ſay a word.

Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, *in reply*,

After a brief exordium, ſaid; that if he had not known the evidence in the cauſe when the priſoner began to croſs-examine the witneſſes for the Crown, the cauſe might there have terminated. The priſoner aimed by it at making out this ſort of caſe that he had very little connexion with even the Conſtitutional Society; that of the proceedings, which led him into the ſituation in which he ſtood, he had very little knowledge—that, with reſpect to the Correſponding Society, and Country Societies, he was ſtill more of a ſtranger to them: and the turn of the croſs-examination, upon the queſtions put to Mr. Adams, the ſecretary of the Society, no doubt, had a very great influence, both upon the minds of the jury and upon the Court. The nature of that examination had a tendency not to ſuggeſt that the meaſures were right which were charged in the indictment, but to make out, that that gentleman had no ſuch connexion with the Societies and thoſe meaſures, as to make it fit that the charge ſhould any longer be conſidered as a ſerious charge againſt

againſt him,—"I repeat again," ſaid the Attorney General, "that, if it had been poſſible to make that out, I ſhould have been as glad as any man living, there to have dropt the proſecution. The greateſt diſtreſs," I ſay, "which I feel in this cauſe, is this, that the caſe applying to a gentleman, undoubtedly of great accompliſhments, I hardly know in what terms to convey what I have to ſtate to you, when I have to ſtate that, which, if I were diſpoſed to uſe harſh terms, I think I ought to ſay, is a caſe of fraud againſt the public ſecurity and happineſs, concealing itſelf under meaſures calculated for the purpoſe of preventing perſonal detection of the party concerned in it, and placing third perſons between that party and the danger which belongs to the meaſures."

Then having briefly touched on the law as applicable to the indictment, and cited the authority of Lord Coke and Mr. Juſtice Foſter, to ſhew that a conſpiracy to depoſe the King, or to levy war againſt him, was High Treaſon, the Attorney General obſerved on the fallacious and inapplicable nature of the defence attempted by the priſoner, and extracted from the evidence he had produced. "If he meant to effectuate his purpoſe—call it, if you pleaſe, a purpoſe to procure a repreſentation in Parliament, as moderate, if you will, as Mr. Pitt's plan of a hundred burgeſſes; that plan, which for the purpoſes of the ſedition that this caſe relates to, has been repreſented to all the ignorant people, who have been found in this kingdom, as the ſame as the Duke of Richmond's, or, at leaſt, not diſtinguiſhable from it, let the purpoſe be called, if you pleaſe, that of the Duke of Richmond, or let the plan be, if you pleaſe, ſuch as the gentleman at the bar has ſtated to be his plan, though there is not one act of his life, from March 1792, that is conſiſtent with the fact of its being his plan; let it be what it will, if the intention of the gentleman was to carry his own project by wilfully combining perſons with him who had other projects, and who would have gone from Hyde Park to Windſor, though he had the intention of ſtopping at Hounſlow; I ſay, if that was his intention, he is guilty of High Treaſon. Gentlemen of the jury, you will allow me diſtinctly to ſay, that there is not a meaſure of his life, (I mean the meaſures that are now in evidence ſince March 1792,) as far as I can recollect them, except the ſolitary inſtance of his converſation with Mr. Francis, that has not been directly calculated to produce this effect. The diſſemination of Mr. Paine's books—of Barlow's books—of the letter of Mr. Paine to Mr. Dundas—of the letter from Paine to the people of France—of the addreſs of the London Correſponding Society of the 6th of Auguſt 1792, which neither of my friends durſt ſet their faces to look at—the proceedings in April 1794, of the London Correſponding Society, which, upon the evidence, I ſtate to you as a creature in the hand of the gentleman at the bar, and the proceedings of the Conſtitutional Society in the ſame month (April 1794), to which neither of them durſt ſet their faces, which are not only explanatory of, but the moſt convincing and deciſive

evidence

evidence of what was intended in the Scotch Convention, in the latter end of the year 1793, of what was intended by the meeting at Chalk Farm, upon the 14th of April 1794, of what was intended at the Globe Tavern on the 20th of January,—with reſpect to which laſt two proceedings alſo, neither of my friends dared to venture one word of obſervation upon them; I ſay that all theſe meaſures, one and all of them, whatever might be the profeſſed object of the gentleman at the bar, are meaſures calculated to induce an infinity of perſons (and they actually had that effect) to form themſelves by affiliation — by combination — by forming Societies, ſeparating again into diviſions—in ſhort, by purſuing the whole ſyſtem of French Jacobiniſm, to endeavour to bring about in this country ſuch a revolution as has happened in France. I do not mean the firſt revolution that deſtroyed a wretched Conſtitution in the country, but ſuch a revolution as has happened in France ſince the Conſtitution was eſtabliſhed in 1791, which had a King at the head of it; and which, you will ſee, theſe perſons foretold, when you come to look at the particulars of the evidence, could not remain with a King at the head of it, conſiſtently with the principles that formed the preamble of the declaration of that Conſtitution."

In ſupport of this argument, the Attorney General reviewed the different publications and addreſſes of the Societies, particularly thoſe in which the priſoner had evidently the greateſt ſhare. He animadverted with great force on the phraſe reſpecting infant Freedom, ſtrangling, like Hercules, the vipers Monarchy and Ariſtocracy, and the letter from the Society at Sheffield. The proceedings of theſe Societies were not, like thoſe of the Societies in 1780, 1782, and 1785, calculated to induce Parliament to take any meaſures; far from it, they expreſsly ſtated that Parliament was not to be applied to, they went to the extent of ſtating, that Parliament could not be applied to, becauſe Parliament was incompetent, upon their principles, even if ſo diſpoſed, to give them relief.

"I cannot, however," he proceeded, "part with this circumſtance about the aſſociated Societies in France and Ireland, without ſaying one word about them. It was, as I underſtand it, the tenor of the gentleman's croſs-examination of the witneſſes upon the firſt night to intimate, that it was all moonſhine when they talked of twenty thouſand copies being diſtributed of ſome things, and an hundred thouſand copies of others, and twelve thouſand of Paine's works, and ſo on—that they meant nothing at all by it. Gentlemen, I know this, that the revolution in France was, in a great degree, brought about by things that had preciſely the ſame meaning. Men were taught all over the country that there were a hundred thouſand people here willing to concur in given meaſures, fifty thouſand there, and a hundred and fifty thouſand in another place; this was done, which no moral man can juſtify, by the publication of papers, importing that the number of the members of the Societies required a thouſand copies of one paper, and ten thouſand of another,

ther, and a hundred thouſand of a third; and the public were made to believe, that the perſons engaged in their ſcheme were infinitely numerous. Why! becauſe thoſe who wiſhed that ſuch a notion ſhould be received, meant that the country ſhould act upon that perſuaſion in the manner that men, who believed ſuch to be the truth, were likely to act; and that the country ſhould do that miſchief which they were perſuaded perſons, conceiving their party ſo numerous, would be willing to do."

With reſpect to Hardy, who had been acquitted, and Lovett, againſt whom the bill had not been found, the Attorney General obſerved, that they or any other individual of the Conſtitutional Society might have been called in evidence for the priſoner, yet not one had been called, except Mr. Symonds, who did not know one tenth of the tranſactions they had been engaged in, and from whom they appeared to have been ſtudiouſly concealed, Major Cartwright, who was himſelf implicated in a very conſiderable degree, in the tranſactions between March 1792, and May 1794, and Captain Tooke Harwood, who proved the truth of the caſe on the part of the Crown. Some of the perſons who were preſent at the meetings of the Society on particular occaſions, could alone have given to the proceedings the interpretation neceſſary for the priſoner, and yet not one of them was called.

Adverting then to the evidence, Mr. Attorney General denied that a correſpondence with a foreign country not at war, could not be an act of compaſſing the King's death, for the correſpondence might be with ſuch foreign country with intent that miſchief ſhould be done, and diſturbance created in this, and ſo an overt act of compaſſing the King's death, within the ſtatute of Edward III. Under this impreſſion, he reviewed the various addreſſes and deputations ſent to and received from France, by the Conſtitutional Society, tracing the conduct of the priſoner in all thoſe tranſactions, and ſhewing his connexion with Paine and Barlow, and his apparent full approbation of their moſt latitudinary opinions on Government. What could be thought of men of talents acting thus, and yet profeſſing themſelves friends to the Monarchy? The Attorney General alſo explained and connected with theſe circumſtances the proceedings of the two Societies in London, and thoſe in different parts of the country, and ſhewed how inconſiſtent the addreſſes and publications made by thoſe Societies, and ſanctioned by Mr. Tooke, were with the pretences contained in his defence. He inſiſted forcibly that the encouragement given by the priſoner to Barlow and Froſt after their ſpeech at the bar of the French Convention in 1792, and the preſident's anſwer, and the trouble he took about the publication of Paine's works, ſhewed that he had no objection to ſend them forth as communications by the Conſtitutional Society, without one hint how thoſe to whom they were addreſſed ſhould diſcriminate the good from the bad parts." Had he any objection to being conſidered as a *generous Republican* by the Preſident of the National Convention of France, which,

which, for important reaſons, he has an objection to being conſidered by a jury of his own countrymen now? Did he tell Mr. Froſt, —Sir, you have miſtaken this errand as our delegate, you have miſtaken the errand to the Convention in France? Did he tell Froſt he had exceeded his commiſſion? Did he tell Froſt that he had been guilty of a daring abuſe of the confidence placed in him, ſo to ſtate them to the Preſident of the National Convention? and that, in addition to that daring abuſe, he was guilty of a daring inſult to bring him back ſuch an anſwer? No! But, as they had thanked Mr. Paine in the books of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, and had ordered 12,000 copies, in one inſtance, of a work of Paine's to be publiſhed, Mr. Joel Barlow and Mr. Froſt are paid for this great and loyal work which they had been doing—they are paid for bringing back to England the ſentiments of the Preſident of the National Convention, that the Conſtitutional Society were "*generous Republicans*," and had the thanks of that Society given to them; and not only given to them, but, unleſs I miſrecollect the evidence, with a view to draw the public mind to the tranſaction, the thanks were ordered to be publiſhed in the public newspapers."

The eſtabliſhment of a National Convention to overturn the Government of England had long been thought of, and appeared particularly in an addreſs of the Correſponding Society on the 6th of Auguſt 1792, when they declared that they were not to look to the King or the Parliament, but to the Societies for redreſs. The works of Paine and Barlow, which the Societies had diſſeminated, not only ſtated the folly of applying to Parliament, but diſtinctly affirmed that if Parliament would even give a Conſtitution, the people ought not to accept it, unleſs conſiſtent with the principles of the Rights of Man. Such were the principles maintained in the works recommended by the priſoner, and ſuch the reſolutions entered into and publiſhed by Societies whoſe proceedings he approved and influenced; theſe things occaſioned many inquiries and required myſterious declarations, to ſome who had doubts and fears about their views, who aſked them if they mean to pluck up Monarchy by the roots?—to ſuch men it was neceſſary to hold a dark, cautious, myſterious language—to others, who deſired to be ſatisfied, it was neceſſary to ſtate nothing openly, but to ſay, get only this equal repreſentation, and all will be right; and, in ſhort, it was neceſſary to put together, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, into the coach that is to go to Hounſlow, and beyond Hounſlow, all ſorts of men, ſome to get out ſhort of Hounſlow, ſome to go to Hounſlow, ſome to another place, and ſome to the end of the journey.

The reſolution for admitting St. André into the Conſtitutional Society, had been produced in the priſoner's hand-writing, and not a ſingle member had been called to explain the tranſaction. The ſpeech of this man, which was voted to be entered on their books, was a general argument againſt the inviolability of the King, and to prove a Convention to be a

temporary image of the nation, to unite in itſelf all the powers of the State to employ them againſt the enemies of liberty, and to diſtribute them in a new ſocial compact, called a Conſtitution.

The Attorney General then examined at large the inquiring correſpondence of the Country Societies on the ſubject of petitions, the anſwers from the Societies in London, and the project of a Scotch Convention. It had been contended that the priſoner was not anſwerable for the proceedings of the Scotch Convention; that he lived at Wimbledon, not Edinburgh; but it was diſtinctly clear upon evidence, that that Convention, whatever was the nature of its actions, would never have met a ſecond time but through the invitation of the Societies in London. Was there no connexion with Skirving? None with Gerald, who was propoſed to the Conſtitutional Society by the priſoner? A letter of Sinclair proved the contrary; and if the Conſtitutional Society was ſurprized into this meaſure of ſending Sinclair to the Scotch Convention, if Margarot and Gerald, who were deputies from the Correſponding Society, had really no connexion with the Conſtitutional Society, and went without the privity of the priſoner, why had not Hardy been called to prove the fact? The jury had been told of a want of funds; but it was a very ſingular circumſtance, that, by the mere ſending down of Margarot, Gerald and Sinclair, a Convention, conſiſting of 180 delegates, ſhould have been held in Great Britain.

But theſe perſons had been repreſented as meaning only to act as the Societies in 1780, 1782, and 1785 acted, namely, to petition Parliament. To diſprove this aſſertion, the Attorney General examined the proceedings of the Scotch Convention, the title they aſſumed of "*Convention of the People*," their aſſertion that if the Societies throughout England concurred in ſending delegates, they ſhould repreſent a majority of the adults in the nation; their dividing themſelves into ſections, and the country into departments; appointing provincial Conventions, receiving patriotic donations, and the tenor of their votes and correſpondence. The acts of this Convention were eſpouſed by Mr. Tooke, on the 17th of January 1794, when he wrote letters in which he ſpoke of ſending Mr. Pitt to Botany Bay; this was not merely a ſolicitation of a ſubſcription for Sinclair, but a direct adoption of his whole conduct. The ſubſequent reſolutions reſpecting the fate of Jefferies, if not adopted while the priſoner was in the chair, had been ſanctioned by him at ſubſequent meetings, and no evidence had been given to prove that when he left the chair, he quitted the room where they paſſed. All the proceedings of the Societies were of the ſame nature, till at length they publiſhed the addreſs of the 20th of January, and the reſolution that a Committee of the Society ſhould meet daily during the Seſſion, to watch the proceedings of Parliament, and, in certain events, call a general Convention of the people. That the priſoner approved all this was evident from the reſolve of the Conſtitutional Society, on the 24th of January 1794, "that the *moſt excellent*

excellent addreſs of the Correſponding Society ſhould be entered on their books," and when the Correſponding Society had in that addreſs approved all the acts of the Scotch Convention, the Conſtitutional Society voted that the Correſponding Society had deſerved well of the country, and the draft of the reſolution was extant in the priſoner's own hand writing.

The Attorney General then deſcanted on the proceedings of the Societies in March 1794, when they declared that "the moment *was* now arrived when a full and explicit declaration was neceſſary from all the friends of freedom;" on the 4th and 11th of April 1794; and at Chalk Farm on the 14th of April, all which he maintained were conſequences of the project to eſtabliſh a Convention, announced in Auguſt 1792, and all proved to be ſanctioned and approved by the priſoner. Then, after ſhortly noticing the tranſactions at Sheffield reſpecting arms, the Attorney General concluded with a prayer to Almighty God to direct the jury to a right verdict, and whatever their concluſion on the caſe might be, that it might have a tendency to ſecure the peace and happineſs of the country.

SUMMING UP.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE EYRE.—Recapitulated the heads of the indictment, and ſtated with great preciſion the whole evidence for the Crown and for the priſoner.

Before he had completed this portion of his taſk, the Court adjourned.

SATURDAY, 22d *Nov.* 1794.

When his lordſhip had detailed all the evidence, he made ſome obſervations on the law in this caſe, ſtating as an undeniable principle, that he who intended to depoſe the King, compaſſed and imagined his death. There might be two views of the evidence; but they would reſolve themſelves into one, and the queſtion would be, whether the priſoner had been concerned, and participated in a plan, to eſtabliſh a National Convention, which ſhould uſurp the power of the Government; if he had done ſo, he had been concerned in a plan to depoſe the King, for the moment the powers of the Government were uſurped, the King was depoſed; and it was difficult to draw the line, and to ſay, that, if they were uſurped for a particular purpoſe, and to a particular extent, that the King ſhould not be ſaid, in that caſe, to be depoſed; the kingly authority was gone, in that inſtance, and to the extent to which ſuch uſurpation might reach; and all the miſchiefs, all the dangers, to the perſon of the King, would follow; becauſe the King was bound to ſupport his Government, and to reſtrain that uſurpation, even at all the hazards which Mr. Attorney General alluded to; ſo that any plan, for any body of men to take upon themſelves the power of the government of the country, to aſſume or to ſuperſede the legiſlative authority of the country, ſeemed neceſſarily to involve in it that depoſing of the King of which his lordſhip had been ſpeaking. Attacks upon the Executive Government were of a very different nature; and were a reſiſtance to the laws, but not overturning the laws; for unleſs they ſucceeded to the extent of

deſtroying the laws themſelves, the laws would have energy enough to defend themſelves; and to bring the authors, if any violence was offered to them, to puniſhment; but if the laws themſelves were gone, for one moment, the whole Government was gone—the kingly authority was gone—and every thing that belonged to the Government was gone.

In point of fact, a project for a National Convention, and the exiſtence of the actors in that project, were clearly made out, and upon the evidence it could not be denied that Mr. Horne Tooke was a participator in it, though not preſent at the meeting of a joint Committee, or a Committee of Co-operation, in which the plan was diſcuſſed. It could hardly be denied that Mr. Horne Tooke was a party participating in the plan of a National Convention; but the queſtion material for him to diſpute, was for what purpoſe was that Convention to be held.

There was in the evidence a chain of circumſtances all concluding to one point, to prove the intent, and this could not juſtly be compared to cumulative treaſon. No one of theſe acts, except perhaps one, had been ſtated by the Attorney General as a diſtinct overt act of Treaſon, nor could forty of them be conſidered as making up any treaſon from their accumulation, but they were to be conſidered as evidence of an intent, and when that was the queſtion, it might be proved from a thouſand circumſtances.

The intent avowed by the parties engaged in this project of a Convention, was a Reform of the Commons Houſe of Parliament, and that intent was innocent; but the proſecutors undertook to ſhew that this was not the true intent; that the words ought not to be ſo underſtood; that there was an equivoque; that the words Parliamentary Reform—radical Reform—full repreſentation of the people in Parliament—full and free repreſentation of the people in general, without ſaying in Parliament, were uſed; all which were ſaid to have in them an equivoque.

On the different Societies, his lordſhip made ſome obſervations; "The London Correſponding Society," he ſaid, "was inſtituted early in the year 1792, profeſſedly for the purpoſe of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, and that upon the Duke of Richmond's plan. I think the evidence is ſo; and, though a great deal of violence very ſoon followed, which might have led one to queſtion the truth of their original principles, yet I think it ought to be taken that the Society was inſtituted upon thoſe principles, unleſs one could have diſtinctly ſeen in the evidence, to the very bottom of the foundation of that Society, and ſeen that it was formed for the purpoſe of acting under a ſecret influence and direction to ſome other end, uſing a reform of Parliament as colour only. I think there was ſome attempt to make this out, and fix the agency upon the priſoner at the bar: they went ſome little way towards proving it, for they gave evidence of Mr. Horne Tooke's hand-writing being found in the paper purporting to be the original Conſtitution of the Society; and they proved a conſiderable degree of intercourſe between

thoſe

thoſe who were leading members of the Society and him, and that they looked up to him. But it does ſeem to me that they did not go far enough to maintain that propoſition; for it is a ſtrong propoſition that a man ſhould keep himſelf behind the curtain, connected with ſuch a Society as this was, for the purpoſe of taking all their moſt active and violent meaſures under his direction; that they ſhould ſet up a pretence of a reform of Parliament, meaning all the while to execute a purpoſe of a very different kind, and do all this under one man's direction—this is a thing which is not to be believed or to be found by a jury without very clear proof; it is not to be believed by you upon probabilities: in the common courſe of life, men are obliged to act upon probabilities, but that is not the caſe with a jury; I might even add, that in the common underſtanding between man and man, one ought not to believe ſuch a thing, without its being more diſtinctly proved than it has been proved in this caſe."

The Conſtitutional Society, his lordſhip obſerved, appeared a mere club, very different from the diviſions, ſubdiviſions, and affiliations of the Correſponding Society. He then ſtated his opinions on the evidence reſpecting the proceedings of the Country Societies, the publication of Paine's and Barlow's works, and the ſhare borne by the priſoner in the addreſs to the French Convention. "The meaſures which had been taken," he proceeded, "in the earlier part of the year 1792, the countenance to Mr. Paine's works, the circulation of them; the countenance to Mr. Joel Barlow's works, and the circulation of them; the addreſs of the 6th of Auguſt. and the correſpondences loaded with invective upon every order of the Government; all theſe inflammatory things paved the way for a National Convention in England, but they had no direct reference to it; and it ſeemed to me, therefore, that the National Convention, named by the Stockport Society, might be underſtood of a Convention for a Parliamentary Reform, for at that time there was nothing deciſive to mark that it ſhould be received in a different ſenſe. Much occurs in the evidence to lead us to doubt whether this was really meant, for it appears in the correſpondence, that ſome of the Societies entertained Republican principles, ſome were for reforms upon the principles of the Rights of Man, which are hardly to be reconciled with the idea of that Parliamentary Reform which is to be purſued with real attachment to the Conſtitution of the country, in King, Lords, and Commons; but, however, though there might be room to ſuſpect, perhaps it would be too much for you to pronounce upon the evidence, that the National Convention mentioned by the Stockport Society was to be underſtood of a National Convention which was abſolutely to uſurp the Government; but the queſtion which is material, is, can the National Convention, which was to be congratulated from France, be a Convention for the reform of the Commons Houſe of Parliament? Is it poſſible, by any explanation, to underſtand that National Convention in any other light, than a National Convention

of the same nature with the National Convention in France, which they were at that moment felicitating. If the previous measures had an effect to prepare the way for a National Convention, on the plan of the National Convention in France, look at the succeeding ones, and those of the Constitutional Society in particular. The introduction to the public notice of the arguments of Saint André and Barrere, on the subject of the inviolability of the King, and of the nature of a National Convention upon French principles, seem to have no possible relation to a National Convention for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, and whether they can have any possible object but to beat down one of the guards for the safety of the King, and to reconcile men's minds to the use of that instrument, that National Convention which was to destroy him and the Government, is for your consideration upon that piece of evidence."

His lordship then directed the serious attention of the jury to the acts of the Scotch Convention, its solemnities and forms, which shewed them so completely organized, that it was extremely difficult to apprehend it possible that their object could be an application to the House of Commons or to Parliament on the mere subject of reform. After treating this subject, his lordship noticed the proceedings in the Court of Justiciary, and the resolutions of the Societies in consequence. In this state of things a Convention was proposed here, and resolved on by these two Societies, in which this prisoner was certainly implicated, and measures were taken to carry that Convention into effect. "Now gentlemen," he said, "if this Convention was a Convention on the plan of the Convention in France, to take the Government of the country upon them, any one measure taken to bring forward that Convention, would clearly be an overt act of High Treason in compassing the King's death. The measure that is charged is the meeting in a Committee of Correspondence and Co-operation, and the consulting together to bring it about, is another overt act that is charged of this species of High Treason. To conspire to hold such a Convention for such a purpose, would be to conspire to depose the King; and every act done, tending to carry that conspiracy into execution, would be an overt act of this treason, of compassing and imagining the death of the King."

"But now, gentlemen, comes the great question for your consideration,—Was it a Convention of this nature? Judging upon the whole context of these transactions, one can hardly believe, even though there is evidence of it, that a Parliamentary Reform in the House of Commons was the object; one must suspect that more was intended; but the question is, what more was intended, and what was the precise object, for you must see that it is not enough that suspicions arise in your minds as to the objects which these persons had in their minds, that you incline to think that they must have meant more than they professed, respecting Parliamentary Reform; that their measures were not at all proportioned to this end, therefore,

fore, arguing with them upon the ſuppoſition that they acted conſiſtently, that they muſt have meant that which is imputed to them; ſuch grounds as theſe warrant ſuſpicion, but, undoubtedly, do not conſtitute proof, and therefore you muſt diſtinctly ſee, that they had more in view, and that they had this particular object in view, to hold a Convention for the purpoſe of uſurping the powers of Government."

"It is certainly true," his lordſhip proceeded, "that if you look at this caſe in the exterior of it, and upon the outline which I have ſtated, there is great ground to impute this to thoſe Societies; and it would be difficult for this priſoner, in particular, to take himſelf out of that implication. And it undoubtedly is true, that the conduct which theſe Societies had carefully obſerved, was a conduct that muſt neceſſarily create great alarm in the country; that it muſt have called upon the Government of the country to be very vigilant, and to take very active meaſures; that it does juſtify the putting the perſons accuſed into that ſituation in which they now ſtand—calling upon them to explain to a jury, even at the hazard of their lives and honour, and every thing that is dear to men, a conduct liable to ſo many juſt exceptions. But that this conduct may yet be explained, and that, when the queſtion is with the jury, whether that which all mankind might be juſtified in ſuſpecting, does really turn out to be ſufficiently founded in fact, and to be ſo diſtinctly proved as to warrant a jury, who are bound to acquit if there remains any doubt upon the caſe, in finding a verdict of guilty is quite another conſideration."

In croſs-examining the witneſſes for the Crown, and by the teſtimony of thoſe brought on his own behalf, the witneſs had ſhewn that his principles were directly oppoſite to Republican principles; that he was firmly attached to the Monarchy of the country, and firmly attached to the Conſtitution of it, in a King, Lords, and Commons —only quarrelling with the Commons Houſe in its preſent ſtate, and quarrelling with it from his attachment, in a great meaſure to the King, and to the other Houſe of Parliament. He was of opinion, that the true balance of the Conſtitution conſiſted in the King having his perogative upon high ground; the hereditary nobility having their balance in the State; the Commons being a pure and perfect repreſentation of the people; and had given demonſtration, by public acts of his in the years 1780, 1782, 1785, 1788, and 1790, of his having in public, when political queſtions were diſcuſſed, taken that part which is a clear manifeſtation of his principles. He alſo gave evidence with reſpect to the habits of his life, he was a ſcholar, a ſtudious man, devoted to books, employing a great portion of his time with books, rather keeping company with books than with men, eſpecially of late years; and men of ſuch habits are generally more worthily employed than in mixing in factions which tend to convulſe a State. Declining health and infirmities coming upon him, had induced him very much to withdraw from Society, and from much of that ſort of public buſineſs that he uſed to be engaged

in. He cultivated his garden, wiſhed never to be removed from it; to have an Act of Parliament to confine him there for his life; he ſaw hardly anybody, but on Sundays, and then it was a mixed company; undoubtedly, therefore, reaſoning upon thoſe principles which commonly direct the conduct of mankind, one ſhould imagine that Mr. Horne Tooke, with his principles, his habits, and his infirmities, would, in truth, be the laſt man in England that could be juſtly ſuſpected of being engaged in a conſpiracy of this kind.

"The reply," ſaid his lordſhip, I am ſorry to ſay, has made ſome impreſſion upon the defence, which, on the firſt view of it, ſeems to be the ſtrongeſt kind of defence that could be ſtated in a caſe of this nature, where ſo much was to depend upon the general ſentiments, opinions, and habits of life of the perſon who is accuſed; but, in the reply, it is obſerved, that with theſe principles, with theſe habits, and even under the preſſure of theſe infirmities, the priſoner at the bar is found actually dealing in theſe ſubjects, by his intercourſe with Hardy, by his interference with the papers of the Society, but, above all, by thoſe more public demonſtrations to be collected from the addreſs to the Jacobins, from the addreſs to the National Convention, and from the unfortunate publication in which, in his own hand, he ſays, "That Liberty is making Herculean efforts, and thoſe vipers, Monarchy and Ariſtocracy, are panting and writhing under its graſp," which are a direct violation of all his profeſſed principles: I ſay he is found dealing in theſe ſubjects, in a way which his principles ought to have preſerved him from; and therefore it is inſiſted upon, on the part of the Attorney General, that had his defence been conſiſtent, and had it applied to carry him throughout all the facts, it ought to have had its full weight, but that inaſmuch as with theſe principles of loyalty, with theſe habits of ſtudy, and the ſituation he is in of health, he has done all theſe things, what can you conclude from thoſe principles, and from thoſe habits? You cannot ſay that he has not been a party in theſe meaſures, becauſe it is too evident that, as to many of them, he has been a party in them, and an active party in them, and they are very difficult to be explained."

"I wiſh heartily," his lordſhip concluded, "that Mr. Tooke had put this caſe really beyond ſuſpicion, becauſe I ſee, with great regret, a man of his cultivated underſtanding, of his habits, of his capacity to be uſeful to mankind; a man ſupported by the evidence of that venerable prelate, the Biſhop of Glouceſter, who, I am ſure, would flatter no man; I ſay, I ſhould have been heartily rejoiced if he could have put this caſe beyond all ſuſpicion, but I cannot ſay that he has done ſo. There is certainly a great deal to be explained, which I am not able to explain, and I am at this moment totally unable to develop the character and conduct of this gentleman; but that goes but a little way upon the queſtion, whether he is guilty or innocent of this indictment; that you will judge of by the reſult of the evidence, and the clear impreſſion that that reſult ſhall make upon

your minds. I repeat, that you have a very ſerious duty impoſed upon you; but, after the pains you have taken to make yourſelves maſters of the caſe, it is a duty you will diſcharge with ſatisfaction to your own conſciences, and, conſequently, with ſatisfaction to your country."

After withdrawing about eight minutes, the jury returned a verdict—NOT GUILTY.

In a ſhort addreſs to the Court, Mr. Horne Tooke explained, that the frequent inſertion of words in his hand-writing in the papers which had been produced, was occaſioned merely by his humane care of the ſecretary to the Conſtitutional Society. When papers were brought to him to peruſe before publication, he changed ſuch words as he conſidered dangerous for others, and thus his anxiety to ſave another from a proſecution for a libel, had ſubjected him to a charge for High Treaſon.

Trial of Elizabeth Maria, *(called* Capet) *ſiſter of Louis XVI. before the Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris, the* 10*th of May* 1794.

Dumas, (the preſident) *to the priſoner;*—What is your name?

A.—Elizabeth Maria.

Q.—Your age?

A.—Thirty years.

Q.—Where were you born?

A.—At Verſailles.

Q.—Where do you dwell?

A.—At Paris.

The clerk of the Court then read the act of accuſation in the words following.

Antoine-Quentin-Fouquier, public accuſer before the Revolutionary Tribunal, declares, That it is to the Capet family that the French people owes all the calamities under the weight of which it has groaned during ſo many ages.

That, at the moment when exceſs of oppreſſion forced the people to break their chains, that whole family conſpired to plunge them in a bondage ſtill more cruel than that from which they were endeavouring to eſcape. The crimes of every kind, the accumulated offences of Capet, of the Meſſalina Antoinette, of the two brothers, and of Elizabeth, are too well known to render it neceſſary here to pourtray them; they are written in characters of blood in the annals of the revolution, and the unheard-of atrocities exerciſed by the barbarous emigrants, or the ſanguinary ſatellites of deſpots, the murders, the conflagrations, the ravages, in ſhort, the aſſaſſinations unknown to the moſt ferocious monſters, which they committed on the French territory, are ſtill directed by that deteſtable family, to deliver again a great nation to the deſpotiſm and fury of a few individuals.

Elizabeth has partaken in all theſe crimes, ſhe has co-operated in all theſe plots, in all the conſpiracies formed by her infamous brothers, by the raſcally abandoned Antoinette, *(la ſcélérate impudique Antoinette)* and all the horde of conſpirators aſſembled around them. She has ſhared all the projects, ſhe has encouraged all the aſſaſſins of the country; the plots of July 1789, the conſpiracy of the 6th of October following, in which d'Eſtaing, Villeroy, and others who have lately been ſtruck by the ſword of the law were agents; in ſhort, all that uninterrupted chain

chain of conſpiracies, which has laſted four years, has been followed and ſeconded by Elizabeth, by all means in her power. It was ſhe, who, in June 1791, conveyed the jewels, which were national property, to the infamous Artois her brother, to enable him to execute the projects which had been concerted, and ſubſidize aſſaſſins againſt the country; it was ſhe who entertained with her brother (who is at this day become the object of deriſion and ſcorn to the coaleſced deſpots to whom he went for the purpoſe of depoſiting his imbecile and ſtupid nullity) a moſt active correſpondence; it was ſhe who wiſhed by the moſt conſtant pride and diſdain to vilify and humiliate the men who conſecrated their time in guarding their tyrant; it was ſhe, in ſhort, who laviſhed her care on the aſſaſſins ſent to the Champs Elyſées by the deſpot, to provoke the brave Marſeillois, and who dreſſed the wounds they had received in their precipitate flight. Elizabeth had meditated with Capet and Antoinette, the maſſacre of the citizens of Paris, on the immortal 10th of Auguſt, ſhe watched in hopes of witneſſing the nocturnal carnage, ſhe aſſiſted the barbarous Antoinette in chewing bullets, and by her ſpeeches encouraged ſome young perſons, whom fanatic prieſts had led to the Chateau, in this horrible occupation. At laſt, diſappointed in the hope which was entertained by all this horde of conſpirators, that all the citizens would preſent themſelves during the night to overthrow tyranny, ſhe fled, when day returned, with the tyrant and his wife, and went to wait in the Temple of the national Sovereignty, till the horde of ſlaves, paid by, and devoted to the crimes of that parricide court, ſhould have drowned liberty in the blood of the citizens, and ſhould next have furniſhed the means of cutting the throats of thoſe repreſentatives in the midſt of whom the family had ſought an aſylum.

Finally, ſince the deſerved execution of the moſt guilty of the tyrants who ever diſhonoured human nature, ſhe has been ſeen, with Antoinette, laviſhing on the ſon of Capet, the homage of royalty, and the pretended honours of the throne.

The preſident then interrogated the priſoner as follows:

Q. Where were you on the 12th, 13th, 14th of July 1789? that is to ſay, at the epoch of the firſt conſpiracies of the Court againſt the people.

A. I was with my family. I had no knowledge of thoſe conſpiracies of which you ſpeak, and the events which then took place, I was far from either foreſeeing or ſeconding.

Q. When the tyrant your brother fled to Varennes, did you not accompany him?

A. Every conſideration led me to follow my brother; and I made it a duty then, as I have done on every other occaſion, not to leave him.

Q. Did you not figure at the infamous and ſcandalous orgies of the body-guard; and did you not walk round the table with Marie Antoinette, to induce each of the gueſts to repeat the horrid oath to exterminate every patriot, in order to ſtifle liberty in its birth, and re-eſtabliſh the tottering throne?

A. I am abſolutely ignorant that ſuch orgies ever took place; but

but I declare that I was in no manner whatever informed of their having happened, and never had any concern in them.

Q. You do not ſpeak truth: and your denial can be of no uſe to you, when it is contradicted on one ſide by public notoriety, and on the other by the likelihood which there muſt be in every ſenſible man's opinion, that a woman ſo intimately connected as you were with Marie Antoinette, both by the ties of blood and thoſe of the ſtricteſt friendſhip, could not but be a ſharer in her machinations, well informed of them, and favour them to the utmoſt of your power. You, therefore, neceſſarily in league with the wife of the tyrant, provoked the abominable oath taken by the ſatellites of the Court, to aſſaſſinate and annihilate liberty in its birth; you have likewiſe provoked thoſe bloody outrages done to the precious ſhrine of liberty, which was trod under foot by your accomplices?

A. I have already ſaid that all theſe things were foreign to my character. I have no other anſwer to give.

Q. Where were you on the 10th of Auguſt 1792?

A. I was at the Palace, my uſual and natural reſidence for ſome time paſt.

Q. Did not you paſs the night from the 9th to the 10th of Auguſt in your brother's chamber; and did you not hold ſecret conferences with him, which explained to you the end or motives of all the movements and preparations which were making before your eyes?

A. I paſſed the whole night which you mention with my brother; I never left him; he had a great deal of confidence in me; nevertheleſs I remarked nothing either in his behaviour or his diſcourſe, which indicated any thing of what afterwards paſſed.

Q. Your anſwer wounds both truth and probability, and a woman like you, who has ſhewn during the whole courſe of the revolution ſo ſtriking an oppoſition to the new order of things, cannot be believed, when ſhe would wiſh to make us think that ſhe was ignorant of the cauſes of the meetings of every ſort, which took place at the Palace on the eve of the 10th of Auguſt. Will you tell us what hindered you from going to bed that ſame night?

A. I did not go to reſt becauſe the conſtituted authorities came to inform my brother of the agitation and ferment which prevailed among the inhabitants of Paris, and of the danger which might probably reſult from it.

Q. It is in vain for you to diſſemble, eſpecially after the different confeſſions of Capet's wife, who aſſerted that you had attended the orgies of the body-guard, that you had ſupported her amidſt her fears and alarms on the 10th of Auguſt, for the life and intereſts of Capet.... But what you will not be able to deny, is the active part which you took in the action that happened between the patriots and the ſatellites of tyranny. It was your zeal and your eagerneſs to ſerve the enemies of the people, which made you provide them with bullets, which you took pains yourſelf to chew, as they were to be fired againſt patriots, and deſtined to mow them down. It is the prayers againſt the public good, which

which it is well known you made, that your brother's partisans should be victorious, and the encouragements of every kind which you gave to the assassins of the country: what do you say to all this?

A. All these things which are imputed to me, are so many indignities which I am far from ever having sullied myself by committing.

Q. At the time of the journey to Varennes, had you not previously to the shameful flight of the tyrant, taken away the diamonds called those of the crown, but then belonging to the nation, and did you not send them to your brother d'Artois?

A. These diamonds were not sent to d'Artois; I only placed them in the hands of a confidential person.

Q. Will you describe or name the person with whom you placed these diamonds?

A. Mons. de Choiseul is the person with whom I chose to make this deposit.

Q. What is become of these diamonds which you say you intrusted to Choiseul?

A. I am altogether ignorant of what is become of them, not having had an opportunity of seeing M. de Choiseul. I have not concerned or troubled myself about them.

Q. You are imposing on us in every answer you give, and especially with respect to the diamonds; for a proces verbal taken on the 12th of December 1792, well drawn up by representatives of the people at the period of inquiring into the facts relative to the stealing of these diamonds, states in an undeniable manner that the said diamonds were sent to d'Artois?

[Here the prisoner remained silent.]

Q. Have you had any correspondence with your brother, ci-devant Monsieur?

A. I do not recollect to have had any, especially since such correspondence was prohibited.

Q. Did not you yourself carefully dress the wounds of the assassins sent to the Champs Elysées by your brother against the brave Marseillois?

A. I never knew that my brother had sent assassins against any one. If I have ever chanced to assist in dressing the wounded, it was humanity only that could have influenced me; it was not necessary for me to be informed what was the cause of their misfortunes to afford them relief; and if I make no merit of this, I do not imagine that it can be imputed to me as a crime.

Q. It is difficult to reconcile these sentiments of humanity to which you pretend, with that cruel joy which you discovered when you saw streams of blood flowing on the 10th of August. Every thing authorizes us to believe that you were humane only towards the assassins of the people, and that you have all the ferocity of the most blood-thirsty beasts towards the defenders of liberty. So far were you from giving any assistance to the last, that you provoked the massacre by your applauses: so far were you from disarming the murderers of the people, that you lavished on them by handfuls, instruments of death, by means of which you flattered yourselves, you and your accomplices, with the re-establishment of despotism and tyranny. Here is the humanity of the rulers of nations, who have

at

at all times facrificed millions of men to their caprice, their ambition, or their avarice.

The prifoner Elizabeth, whofe plan of defence confifts in denying every charge brought againft her, will fhe be honeft enough to agree that fhe has fed little Capet with hopes of fucceeding to his father's throne, and that by thefe means fhe has provoked to royalty.

A. I have chatted familiarly with that unfortunate child, who is dear to me on more than one account; and I gave him without premeditation all thofe confolations which appeared to me likely to make him amends for the lofs of thofe who gave him birth.

Q. This is faying in other words, that you fed little Capet with thofe projects of vengeance which you and yours have never ceafed forming againft liberty, and that you flattered yourfelf with building up again the wrecks of a broken throne by deluging it with all the blood of the patriots?

After this interrogatory, the public accufer moved for judgment; the official defenders were called upon, but do not appear to have made any defence, and the following fentence was pronounced, founded on the unanimous verdict of the jury:

"That plots and confpiracies have exifted, formed by Capet, his wife, his family, his agents and accomplices, in confequence of which excitements to civil war in the interior have been formed; aids in men and money have been furnifhed to the enemy; criminal correfpondences have been maintained with them; troops have been affembled; chiefs named, and difpofitions prepared to affaffinate the people, annihilate liberty, and re-eftablifh defpotifm.

"That it is proved that Elizabeth Capet, and twenty-four other perfons are convicted of being accomplices in thefe plots.

"Confequently the tribunal, after hearing the public accufer moving for judgment, and the laws cited by him on the application of punifhment, has condemned to death Elizabeth Capet, with the twenty-four other perfons accufed."

(They were all executed the fame day, except a woman named Sérilly, who obtained a refpite on account of her pregnancy.)

A GENERAL BILL OF All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 10, 1793, to DECEMBER 9, 1794.

Christened	Males 9538	Total.	Buried	Males 9826	Total.
	Females 9151	18689.		Females 9415	19241.

Decreased in the Burials this Year, 2508.

Died under Two Years	6543	—Forty and Fifty	1849	—Ninety and a Hundred	59
Between Two and Five	2126	—Fifty and Sixty	1563	A Hundred	2
—Five and Ten	772	—Sixty and Seventy	1280	A Hundred and One	2
—Ten and Twenty	647	—Seventy and Eighty	957	A Hundred and Two	2
—Twenty and Thirty	1363	—Eighty and Ninety	401	A Hundred and Five	1
—Thirty and Forty	1674				

DISEASES.						CASUALTIES.	
Abortive and Stillborn	795	Diabetes	1	Measles	172	Bit by Mad Dogs	4
Abscess	22	Dropsy	816	Miscarriage	1	Broken Limbs	5
Aged	1124	Evil	8	Mortification	193	Bruised	0
Ague	4	Fever, Malignant Fever, Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples	1935	Palsy	62	Burnt	20
Apoplexy	88	Fistula	2	Piles	1	Dropped dead	4
Asthma and Phthisic	401	Flux	4	Pleurisy	8	Drowned	168
Bed-ridden	6	French Pox	25	Quinsy	4	Excessive Drinking	5
Bile	1	Gout	97	Rheumatism	7	Executed *	5
Bleeding	9	Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	28	Rising of the Lights	1	Found Dead	3
Bloody Flux	1	Grief	3	Scurvy	7	Found hanging	1
Bursten and Rupture	17	Head-Ach	1	Small Pox	1913	Fractured	5
Cancer	97	Headmouldshot, Horshoehead, and Water in the Head	79	Sore Throat	11	Frighted	2
Chicken Pox	2	Heart overgrown	1	Sores and Ulcers	16	Killed by Falls and several other Accidents	54
Childbed	180	Jaundice	42	Spasm	1	Killed by Fighting	1
Cold	3	Imposthume	3	St. Anthony's Fire	1	Killed themselves	14
Cholic, Gripes, twisting of the Guts	12	Inflammation	366	Stoppage in the Stomach	17	Murdered	3
Consumption	4781	Leprosy	1	Suddenly	131	Overlaid	1
Convulsions	4368	Lethargy	2	Surfeit	0	Poisoned	1
Cough and Hooping-Cough	469	Livergrown	1	Teeth	430	Scalded	3
Cramp	1	Lunatick	77	Thrush	55	Starved	1
Croup	21			Tympany	1	Died of a Strain	1
				Vomiting and Looseness	0	Suffocated	10
				Worms	6		
						Total	311

* There have been executed, in Middlesex and Surrey, 11; of which number 5 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the Bills of Mortality.

The

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-houſe Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, Receiver of Corn Returns, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ended the 5th of* January 1795.

EXPORTED.

1794.	BRITISH.	FOREIGN.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.	Quarters.	Quarters.	£. s. d.
Wheat	18,764	56,268	
Rye	500	323	
Barley	2,028	775	
Malt	3,525	—	
Oats	11,658	692	
Beans	7,227	—	Bounties.
Peaſe	3,023	217	5,080 12 2¼
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	cwt. qrs. lbs.	Drawbacks Nil.
Wheat Flour	110,328 2 25	23,441 3 5	
Biſcuit	32,353 3 15	—	
Oatmeal	3,662 0 15	—	
Grits	371 2 0	—	
		qrs.	
Indian Corn	- - -	1,448	
SCOTLAND.			
	qrs.	qrs.	
Wheat	576	870	
Barley	20	—	
Bear	107	—	
Malt	2,947	—	
Oats	1,037	—	Bounties.
Beans	290	—	715 16 4
Peaſe	39	—	Drawbacks Nil.
Groats	37	—	
	cwt. qrs. lbs.		
Wheat Flour	1,360 2 20	—	
Biſcuit	1,698 2 14	—	
Barley, hulled	128 0 0	—	
Oatmeal	533 2 6	—	

IMPORTED.

IMPORTED.

ENGLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
		£. s. d.
Wheat	175,021	
Rye	20,898	
D° Malt	926	
Barley	119,289	
Oats	771,791	
Beans	89,899	
Peafe	39,491	
Indian Corn	1,600	13,881 5 9
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Wheat Flour	11,113 1 3	
	Bolls.	
Oatmeal	3,111	

SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
		£. s. d.
Wheat	20,209	
Rye	1	
Barley	6,466	
Oats	73,692	
Beans	343	
Peafe	298	3,076 18 10
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Wheat Flour	13 3 20	
	Bolls.	
Oatmeal	18,205	

The following is an Account of the Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the Standard Winchefter Buſhel, for the year 1794.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peafe.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
6 5½	4 8½	4 1¼	2 9	5 3¼	5 10

N. B. The price of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed, and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peafe.
Per buſhel,	6 d.	3 d.	3 d.	3 d.	6 d.	6 d.

An ACCOUNT of the Total Net Produce paid into the Exchequer, of the DUTIES of CUSTOMS in ENGLAND and SCOTLAND:

Distinguishing, as far as possible, the Produce upon every separate Article, the Duties on which shall have amounted to 1,000l. or more, in the four Quarters, ending October 10, 1794.

	Species of Goods.	Net produce, subject to the payment of bounties and management. *Charge.* £.	s.	d.
	Ashes, pearl and pot	962	1	10
	Barilla	13,078	17	2
	Brimstone	8,524	10	9
	Bristles, undressed	5,261	0	1
	Bugle, great	876	10	2
	Carpets, Turkey	207	13	6
	China ware	9,865	7	10
	Copper, unwrought	1,083	1	11
	Cork	3,777	15	1
	Corn, oats	7,136	6	8
	—— wheat	9,485	13	7
Drugs.	Borax, refined	4,396	11	0
	Cassia lignea	999	19	1
	Cortex Peruv.	12,351	6	9
	Juniper berries	1,047	17	3
	Manna	881	4	6
	Oil, perfumed	1,982	17	5
	Opium	1,064	8	0
	Quicksilver	3,666	4	7
	Rhubarb	2,015	17	0
	Saccharum saturni	1,542	1	4
	Senna	1,612	8	10
	Succus liquoritiæ	7,065	2	3
	Dye stuffs, smalts	9,630	12	2
	Elephants teeth	1,264	7	10
	Feathers for beds	7,527	6	10
	Fruit, lemons and oranges	9,879	19	2
	—— nuts, small	2,113	3	9
	Glass plates	5,807	7	2
Grocery.	Almonds, Jordan	2,912	1	4
	—— not Jordan	1,330	13	11
	Cinnamon	1,328	12	6
	Cloves	2,208	5	8
	Cocoa	1,079	13	6

	Species of Goods.	Charge.	Net produce, subject to the payment of bounties and management. £.	s.	d.
Grocery.	Coffee		45,851	0	11
	Currants		73,403	13	6
	Figs		1,088	1	8
	Ginger		2,223	12	9
	Mace		1,427	12	4
	Nutmegs		1,928	2	0
	Pepper		24,671	17	6
	Pimento		788	1	6
	Raifins, Denia		10,607	0	5
	——— Lexia		9,672	0	6
	——— Lipari		6,180	3	3
	——— Smyrna		18,162	2	4
	——— Solis		12,043	1	2
	Rice		11,656	3	8
	Sago		2,391	7	10
	Sugar, brown		1,448,195	19	5
	Tea		118,699	4	11
Hair, horfe			642	16	0
——— human			788	12	0
Hemp, rough			118,209	4	5
Hides, Indian			1,562	9	5
——— loffi			7,600	11	8
——— ox or cow			1,132	9	2
Incle, wrought			3,297	14	0
Iron, bar			146,284	7	10
——— caft			1,567	14	7
Kelp			1,190	19	9
Linens.	Cambricks		2,430	4	3
	Canvas, Heffens		19,917	17	6
	——— fpruce		5,093	1	11
	Damafk tabg. Sila.		1,327	7	10
	Drilling		2 176	18	2
	Germany, narrow		49,353	4	9
	Ruffia, broad, above 22½		21,354	17	2
	——— above 31½		1,717	12	7
	——— above 36		3,997	19	4
	——— narrow		4,701	6	6
	——— towelling and napkining		1,003	5	11
Manufactured articles of India			3,373	6	11
Mats. Ruffia			2,836	11	5
Hats, chip			2,270	3	9
Oil, ordinary			13,686	19	8
——— fallad			5,118	19	0
——— train			1,612	10	9
Paper, foolfcap			1,353	9	0

Pictures

Net produce, subject to the payment of bounties and management.

Species of Goods.		Charge. £.	s.	d.
Pictures		937	4	10
Piece Goods of India.	Calicoes	21,473	10	8
	Muslins	113,474	17	1
	Nankeens	11,647	17	0
	Prohibited	14,327	18	9
Saltpetre		846	10	0
Seeds, clover		4,363	16	4
Shells, mother of pearl		1,532	5	7
Silk, Bengal, raw		100,834	15	0
—— China, raw		24,854	4	10
—— Italian and Turkey, raw		6,945	18	10
—— thrown		93,703	16	2
Skins.	Bear, black	2,016	6	0
	Beaver	1,022	13	6
	Calf, undreſſed	1,801	8	5
	—— tanned	2,604	1	9
	Deer, in hair	3,268	5	6
	Kid, undreſſed	3,812	14	0
	Martin	324	15	8
Snuff		868	14	2
Spirits, brandy		29,388	14	8
—— Geneva		28,481	17	1
—— rum		49,086	19	10
Stones, blocks of marble		1,434	19	0
Tar		7,387	10	10
Thread, ſifters		1,174	10	1
Tobacco		235,211	6	0
Tow		1,259	19	6
Turpentine		3,068	0	5
Wax, bees		1,421	4	5
Wines, Cuſtoms only.	Canary	3,462	15	11
	French	10,465	9	10
	Madeira	12,082	3	2
	Portugal	377,794	19	11
	Rheniſh	3,213	5	4
	Spaniſh	75,558	6	2
Wood.	Balks	2,227	9	6
	Battens	11,201	14	7
	Boards, paling	1,215	8	9
	—— ſcale	1,223	11	2
	Deals	125,411	18	8
	—— ends	3,715	13	5
	Lath-wood	3,104	13	9
	Maſts	3,207	19	9
	Plank, oak	7,056	3	10

Net produce, fubject to the payment of bounties and management.

Species of Goods.	Charge.	£.	s.	d.
Wood: Staves		16,764	1	6
Wood: Timber, fir		54,963	13	1
Wood: ——— oak		1,051	5	6
Wood: Ufers		1,106	0	3
Wood: Wainfcot logs		3,228	12	6
Yarn, mohair		1,895	7	11
Allum	Subfidies on goods exported.	1,204	10	9
Coals	Subfidies on goods exported.	98,370	18	10
Indigo	Subfidies on goods exported.	8,119	8	2
Lead	Subfidies on goods exported.	33,697	12	7
Skins, beaver	Subfidies on goods exported.	3,479	10	6
Tin	Subfidies on goods exported.	4,453	18	5
Other fubfidy articles	Subfidies on goods exported.	6,641	7	10
Coals brought coaftways		518,239	6	9
Wine brought coaftways to London		907	1	11
Stones and flates brought coaftways		6,064	11	7
Surcharges on fundry fmall articles		2,579	19	9
Intereft on bonds		6	1	6
Tobacco condemned or fold for the duty		7,587	16	8
Duties on corn		23,129	12	8
Received from the infpector of corn returns		864	10	8
Duty on wine fold by the excife		179	13	1
Duties remitted from the plantations		24,507	4	1
Window, or commutation duty, by 24th George III.		229,848	1	8
Sundry fmall articles, the duties whereof have not amounted to 1,000l. on each		280,313	0	7½
		£. 5,101,206	10	0½

DISCHARGE.

	£.	s.	d.
Bounties	566,808	6	6
Repayments on over entries and damaged goods	41,118	8	0½
Charges of management	402,625	4	9
Money iffued out of the revenues of Scotland, applicable to his majefty's civil government	44,929	15	2¼
Paid treafurers of the counties in Scotland, on account of the corn returns	801	0	0
Paid into the Exchequer	4,044,923	15	6¼
	£. 5,101,206	10	0½

THOMAS IRVING,
Inſpector-General of the imports and exports of Great Britain.

Inſpector-General's office, Cuſtom-houſe, London, Dec. 16, 1794.

An

An ACCOUNT of the Total Produce of the DUTIES of CUSTOMS, EXCISE, STAMPS, and INCIDENTS, respectively, for one Year, ending October 10, 1794.

	£.	s.	d.
The total produce of the duties of cuſtoms for one year, ended the 10th day of October, 1794 -	4,044,923	15	6¾
Ditto of the duties of exciſe for one year, ended ditto (exclusive of 586,888l. the produce of the annual malt-duties) - - - - -	7,541,965	2	5¾
Ditto of the ſtamp duties for one year, ended ditto - - - - -	1,420,867	11	10
Ditto of incidents at the receipt of the Exchequer for one year, ended ditto - - -	2,368,839	5	10½
	£. 15,376,595	15	8½

Memorandum.—In the ſum of 2,368,839l. 5s. 10½d. ſtated as the amount of incidents at the exchequer, is included 352,184l. 6s. 5d¼. being the amount of the impreſt and other monies paid in there within the above period.

Preſented, purſuant to an act of the 27th year of his preſent majeſty's reign, the 2d day of January, 1795, by

GEORGE ROSE.

PRICES of STOCKS, FOR THE YEAR 1794.

N.B. The highest and lowest prices of each Stock in the course of any Month, are put down in that Month.

	Bank Stock.	3 per Ct. Reduc.	3 per Ct. Consol.	4 per Ct. Consol.	5 per Cent.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exch Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	165 7/8	73	73 7/8	87 3/4	101 1/4	21 1/16	9 9/16	209 1/2	23 pre.	—	71 5/8	66 5/8	11 1/2	12	16 7 6
	154	67 1/2	66 1/2	82 7/8	100	19 1/16	9 1/16	197 1/4	3 dis.	—	68	—	8	4	16 1 0
Feb.	161 3/4	69 1/2	68 3/8	85	101 7/8	20 1/4	9 1/16	202 3/4	19 pre.	73 1/4	63 3/4	67 3/8	8	12 pre.	16 13 6
	155	66 7/8	65 5/8	82 1/4	100	19 7/8	9 1/8	199 1/2	1 do.	71 3/4	67 1/4	66 3/4	4 1/4	6 dis.	16 5 0
Mar.	162 3/4	—	68 1/4	83 1/4	102 1/2	20	9 1/2	203 1/2	19	73 3/4	67 1/4	68 1/8	5 3/4	9 pre.	
	160	—	65 5/8	82 3/8	100	19 7/8	9 1/8	200 3/4	15	71	67	65 3/8	3 1/2	3 do.	
Apr.	169 3/4	71 1/8	71 3/4	85 7/8	106 1/2	20 1/4	9 1/4	208 3/4	19	75	—	68 7/8	4	10	
	161	68 3/4	67 3/8	84 1/2	100 7/8	19 1/16	9 1/8	200 1/2	6	73 1/2	—	68	1 1/4	5	
May	168 3/4	71	71 1/4	85 1/4	104 1/4	20 1/16	9 1/16	209	19	75 3/4	70 1/2	70 3/4	1 1/8	15	
	166 1/4	69 1/2	70	84 1/4	103	19 1/16	9 1/16	207	7	75	69 3/4	70 1/2	1 1/4	8	
June	167 3/4	71 3/4	71 5/8	84 7/8	104 7/8	20 1/4	9 3/16	211 1/4	9	76 1/4	71 1/2	70 7/8	2 3/8	10	
	161 1/4	67 1/4	67 5/8	82 5/8	103 5/8	19 1/2	9	203 1/4	3	—	69 7/8	70 1/4	1 1/2	3	
July	168	69 3/4	69 1/4	85 1/4	102 5/8	20 3/16	9 7/16	206 1/2	15	73 1/4	68 3/4	66 1/4	2 1/4	12	
	160	66 1/2	66 7/8	81 3/8	100 7/8	19 1/2	9	199	7	—	66 1/8	66 3/8	1 3/4	5	
August	165 3/4	69 1/4	68	85 3/8	101 1/4	20 1/4	9 1/2	199 1/2	16	72 1/4	69 3/8	68	2	15	
	163 1/8	67 1/4	66 1/2	84 1/4	101	19 1/16	9 3/8	197 1/4	10	70 1/8	67 7/8	66 1/2	1 1/4	6	
Sept.	164 1/2	67 7/8	67	85 1/2	102	20 3/16	9 1/2	197 1/2	19	71 1/4	—	66 3/4	2	17	19 17 0
	157 3/4	67 1/4	64 1/2	83	100 1/4	19 1/2	9 3/8	192 1/2	13	—	—	65	1 3/8	11	19 11 6
Oct.	158 1/4	67 3/4	68 1/4	85 1/2	103 3/8	20 1/8	9 3/8	194 1/2	16	69 3/4	66 1/4	63 7/8	2 1/8	17	20 9 0
	151 1/8	63 1/4	63 5/8	81 1/4	99 1/4	19 1/8	8 7/8	183 1/2	4	69 1/4	66	63 1/4	1 7/8	8	19 9 6
Nov.	160 1/2	68 3/4	69 3/8	84 3/4	103 3/4	20	9 1/16	195	18	73	68 1/2	67 1/2	1 7/8	18	20 14 6
	154 5/8	65 1/2	65 7/8	82 1/2	101 1/2	19 3/4	8 7/8	189 1/2	14	69 3/4	68 1/8	—	1 3/8	15	19 6 0
Dec.	159 5/8	68 1/4	68 1/2	84 1/2	103 3/4	19 7/8	9	192 1/2	19	72 1/4	67 1/4	68 1/4	2 1/4	19	20 18 0
	153 1/8	64 1/4	64 1/4	79 1/2	100	18 1/2	8 1/16	186	3	69	65	67 1/2	1 1/2	6	20 0 0

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1794.

1794.	Thermometer without.			Thermometer within.			Barometer.*			Hygrometer.			Rain.
	Greateſt height.	Leaſt height.	Mean height.	Greateſt height.	Leaſt height.	Mean height.	Greateſt height.	Leaſt height.	Mean height.	Greateſt height.	Leaſt height.	Mean height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.
January	50	22,5	35,6	54	43	48,6	30,56	28,75	30,03	88	58	74,3	0,403
February	56	36	47,0	62	51	56,8	30,29	29,40	29,85	80	58	71,8	0,655
March	56	36	46,9	60	54	57,1	30,46	29,50	29,98	79	56	69,5	1,077
April	71,5	38	52,8	66	55	59,7	30,44	28,98	29,90	77	49	64,4	1,396
May	71	43	54,5	63	56	59,2	30,58	29,43	29,96	89	47	62,4	2,215
June	79	48	61,5	70	55	63,2	30,34	29,70	30,03	70	45	59	0,385
July	84	57	69,4	74,5	68	71,2	30,37	29,47	29,99	66	46	56,9	0,515
Auguſt	77	52	63,7	71	64,5	67,4	30,28	29,51	29,91	74	51	59,8	1,605
September	67	39	56,4	66,5	59	62,6	30,36	29,24	29,85	84	52	66,8	3,012
October	63	36	50,8	65	55	60,0	30,34	29,34	29,81	86	55	70,0	2,842
November	56	31,5	45,7	60	49	56,2	30,19	29,11	29,73	89	58	72,9	3,340
December	52,5	27	38,7	61	46	53,8	30,44	29,49	29,94	79	63	73,7	1,021
Whole year			51,9			59,6			29,91			66,8	18,466

* The Quickſilver in the Baſin of the Barometer is 81 feet above the level of low water ſpring tides at Somerſent-houſe.

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1794.

NAVY.

JANUARY 31, 1794.

	£.	s.	d.
FOR 85,000 men, including 12,115 marines; their pay not exceeding 4*l.* per man per month, for 13 months, including ordnance for sea service	4,420,000	0	0

FEBRUARY 4.

For the ordinary of the Navy, including half-pay to sea and marine Officers	558,021	11	1
Towards the buildings, re-buildings, and repairs of ships of war in his Majesty's and the Merchants' yards, and other extra works, over and above what are proposed to be done upon the heads Wear and Tear and Ordinary	£. 547,310	s. 0	d. 0
Note.—March 4, it was resolved, That provision be made for enabling his Majesty to satisfy all bills payable in course of the Navy and Victualling Offices, which were made out on or before 31st day of March 1793, amounting to the sum of £. 1,930,029 18 11.			
	5,525,331	11	3

LAND SERVICE.

FEBRUARY 1, 1794.

To enable his Majesty to make good his engagements with the King of Sardinia	200,000	0	0

FEBRUARY 4.

For land forces, including 3,882 invalids, amounting to 60,244 effective men, commissioned and non-commissioned Officers included, being for guards, garrisons, and other forces, including those in Guernsey and Jersey, in Flanders, on an expedition under the command of the Earl of Moira, and on board the fleet	1,492,812	12	2
For forces in the plantations, including those in garrison at Gibraltar, and a corps of foot in New South Wales	677,682	12	4
For difference between the charge of the British and Irish establishments of five regiments of foot serving in the West Indies, at Gibraltar, and on board the fleet	50,279	13	4

On

On account for the pay neceſſary to be advanced to one regiment of Light Dragoons and nine battalions of foot in Eaſt India	8,323	17	10½
For recruiting, contingencies, and allowances of bread and neceſſaries, the allowance of extra feed to the cavalry in Great Britain, and poundage to be returned to the infantry	219,500	0	0
For levy money, and horſe furniture and accoutrements, for the augmentations of the forces	210,000	0	0
For General and Staff Officers and Officers of the hoſpitals ſerving in Great Britain, Guernſey, and Jerſey, in Flanders, and under the command of the Earl of Moira	97,389	1	1
For full pay to Supernumerary Officers, including the Officers of independent companies	39,118	16	7
For the Paymaſter General; the Secretary at War; the Commiſſary General of the Muſters; the Judge Advocate General; the Comptrollers of Army Accounts, and of Exchequer fees	64,790	18	3
Reduced Officers of land forces and marines	146,843	10	10
Allowances to private gentlemen of the late troops of horſe guards	156	9	2
Officers late in the ſervice of the States General	3,000	0	0
Reduced Officers of the Britiſh American forces	55,092	10	0
Allowances to reduced Officers of Britiſh American forces	4,907	10	0
Charge of penſions to widows of commiſſioned Officers and expences	9,931	19	3
Chelſea Hoſpital	151,742	5	10
Embodied militia in South Britain, of fencibles in North Britain, and the Iſle of Man	687,420	14	0
Contingencies of the allowances of bread and neceſſaries, and of poundage for the embodied militia and fencibles	160,000	0	0
Cloathing for the militia in South Britain	93,653	3	9
Corps transferred from the Iriſh to the Britiſh eſtabliſhment, and augmentations to forces, in 1793	185,667	15	6
Charge of 18,000 Hanoverians, for 1794	538,874	0	0
Charge of 12,000 Heſſians, together with ſubſidy to the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel	304,309	0	0
Charge of 3,000 troops of the Landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt, with ſubſidy	102,073	0	0
Charge of 754 troops of the Margrave of Baden, with ſubſidy	24,067	0	0
Extraordinary expences of land forces, and other ſervices	808,805	14	4

MARCH 31.

For seven regiments and forty troops of fencible cavalry, to be raised for service in Great Britain, from the 25th day of April 1794, to the 24th day of December following, both inclusive, being 244 days	300,117	16	6
	6,636,560	0	9½

ORDNANCE.

FEBRUARY 4, 1794.

Charge of the Office of Ordnance	701,736	3	8
Expence of services performed by the Office of Ordnance, for land service, previous to 31st December 1783, and not provided for	576	19	5
Expence of services not provided in 1792	925	4	3
Expence of services not provided for in 1793	611,419	11	8
Services performed by the Office of Ordnance for sea service, and not provided for in 1793	303,350	3	6
	1,345,008	2	6

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

FEBRUARY 4, 1794.

New roads and bridges in the Highlands of North Britain	4,500	0	0
Civil eſtabliſhment of Upper Canada	6,450	0	0
Civil eſtabliſhment of Nova Scotia	5,315	0	0
Civil eſtabliſhment of New Brunſwick	4,400	0	0
Civil eſtabliſhment of the iſland of Saint John	1,900	0	0
Civil eſtabliſhment of Cape Breton	1,800	0	0
Salaries of the Governor and Civil Officers of Newfoundland, and alſo of a patent, creating a Court of Civil and Criminal Juriſdiction	1,344	1	6
Civil eſtabliſhment of the Bahama Iſlands	4,250	0	0
Salary to the Chief Juſtice of the Bermuda or Somers Iſlands	580	0	0
Salary to the Chief Juſtice of Dominica	600	0	0
Civil eſtabliſhment of New South Wales	4,795	8	2

FEBRUARY 14.

For rendering the Houſe of Peers more commodious, by warming and ventilating the ſame	465	11	10½
Refugee Clergy and Laity of France	27,692	4	6½
Works at the Fleet Priſon	3,376	8	0
Works at Somerſet Place, and fixtures at the Signet and Privy Seal Offices, and the Offices of the Dutchies of Lancaſter and Cornwall	9,255	6	9

To

To pay the ſums aſſeſſed on the ſalaries of the Commiſſioners for auditing the public accounts, and their Officers, for land tax, for the year 1790; and to pay arrears from the Office for auditing the public accounts	1,814	15	4
For the diſcharge of debts contracted by Mr. Tully, late Agent and Conſul General at Tripoli	2,111	1	0
To John Marſh and John Spranger, Eſqrs. for their trouble in inquiring into and reporting upon the caſes of perſons who ſuſtained loſſes on evacuating the Moſquito ſhore in conſequence of the Convention entered into by His Majeſty with the King of Spain, in the year 1786	1,084	15	6
To Patrick Rooney Nugent, Eſq. Acting Surveyor General of lands at Cape Breton, on account of ſurveys and other ſervices	669	9	11
To the Biſhop of Quebec, for expences in proceeding to his ſee; Alexander Daviſon, Eſq. for ſtationary for the Surveyor General's and printing offices in Upper Canada; John Reeves, Eſq. for expences in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice at Newfoundland; William Chinnery, Eſq. to diſcharge ſums due to the late Attorney General of Nova Scotia, for grants of lands to the Loyaliſts; and to the repreſentatives of Philip Yonge, Eſq. for ſalary due to him as late Surveyor of lands in Georgia	1,504	10	6
To William Pollock, Eſq. as the balance due to him on account of the Commiſſioners for inquiring into the laws of Jerſey	537	12	6
To reimburſe to Samuel Starbuck, junior, who carried on the whale fiſhery in Nova Scotia, and who arrived at Milford Haven, in order to ſettle in this kingdom, the loſſes ſuſtained by him in conſequence of the ſale of his property by ſuch removal and for his paſſage	248	18	0
To allowances for relief of American Loyaliſts	19,500	0	0
To ſecret ſervice abroad	14,585	10	6
To ſums iſſued in purſuance of the addreſſes of the Houſe	46,619	13	7
To Commiſſioners appointed to inquire into the ſtate and condition of the woods, foreſts, and land revenues, belonging to the Crown, and their Officers	2,043	0	0
For relief of ſuch perſons as have ſuffered in their rights and properties in America, and in conſequence of the ceſſion of Eaſt Florida to Spain	211,295	6	8½
The ſame for a further period	56,796	7	6
Proſecution of Warren Haſtings, Eſq.	10,749	3	8

Expences

Expences and provifions for New South Wales	19,820	8	10
Convicts on the Thames	11,393	4	8
Convicts in Langftone and Portfmouth harbours	13,576	17	1¼
Extraordinary expences of the Mint in 1793	18,844	12	4
Forts and fettlements on the coaft of Africa	13,000	0	0

MARCH 31.

For reduction of the National Debt	200,000	0	0
Turkey Merchants	5,000	0	0

APRIL 15.

	£.	s.	d.
Sums iffued to fundry perfons out of the Civil Lift	15,277	9	7¼
Board of Agriculture	3,000	0	0
	746,196	18	2¼

LOANS DISCHARGED.

FEBRUARY 1, 1794.

For paying off Exchequer Bills, made out by virtue of an act of the laft feffion of Parliament	2,000,000	0	0
For paying off Exchequer Bills, made out by virtue of another act of the laft feffion	2,000,000	0	0
For paying off Exchequer Bills, made out by virtue of a third act of the laft feffion	1,500,000	0	0
	5,500,000	0	0

DEFICIENCY.

APRIL 10, 1794.

Deficiency of grants for the fervice of 1793	475,022	13	10½

RECAPITULATION.

Navy	5,525,331	11	3
Land fervice	6,636,560	0	9½
Ordnance	1,345,008	2	6
Mifcellaneous	746,196	18	2¼
Loans difcharged	5,500,000	0	0
Deficiency	475,022	13	10½
Total Supplies	20,228,119	6	7¼

WAYS

WAYS AND MEANS FOR RAISING THE SUPPLIES.

FEBRUARY 4, 1794.

Malt tax	750,000	0	0
Land tax	2,000,000	0	0
Loan	11,000,000	0	0
Conſolidated Fund	2,697,000	0	0

MARCH 27.

Exchequer bills	2,000,000	0	0
Exchequer bills	1,500,000	0	0

MARCH 31.

Lottery	240,666	13	4

APRIL 10.

Surplus of the Conſolidated Fund	231,841	16	10
Total	20,419,508	10	2

NOTE. On the 2d of May, it was reſolved, That a ſum not exceeding two millions five hundred thouſand pounds, be granted to his Majeſty, to make good the engagements which his Majeſty has entered into with the King of Pruſſia, as well as to defray any extraordinary expences which may be incurred for the ſervice of the year 1794, and to take ſuch meaſures as the exigency of affairs may require; and that ſuch ſum be raiſed by Loans or Exchequer Bills, to be charged upon the firſt aids to be granted in the next Seſſion of Parliament.

Public Acts paſſed in the fourth Seſſion of the ſeventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.

FEBRUARY 20.

For raiſing eleven millions by annuities.

FEB. 21.

For granting an aid to his majeſty by a land tax.

For continuing and granting duties upon malt, &c.

For making perpetual certain duties on foreign ſpirits, and on ſugar imported into Great Britain.

For granting additional duties upon worts, waſh, &c. and upon ſpirits made in Scotland and imported into England.

For granting additional duties on foreign ſpirits imported into Great Britain.

For the regulation of marine forces while on ſhore.

To continue the laws for regulating the trade with the United States of America.

To indemnify ſuch perſons as have omitted to qualify themſelves for certain offices and employments.

For puniſhing mutiny and deſertion.

For preventing money or effects in the hands of his majeſty's ſubjects, belonging to, or diſpoſable by, perſons reſident in France, being applied to the uſe of the perſons exerciſing the powers of government in France, and for preſerving the property thereof, for the benefit of the individual owners thereof.

For repealing the ſtamp duties on gloves.

For repealing the duties on the regiſter of burials, births, marriages, and chriſtenings.

MARCH 28.

For granting ſtamp duties on indentures of clerkſhips to ſolicitors and attornies.

For granting additional duties on bricks and tiles.

For regulating the portage and conveyance of letters by the penny poſt.

For granting rates of poſtage for the conveyance of letters and packets between Great Britain and the iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey, and within thoſe iſlands.

For augmenting the militia.

To enable the governor and company of the bank of Scotland further to increaſe their capital ſtock.

APRIL 4.

For repealing the duties on paper, paſteboard, millboard, ſcaleboard, and glazed paper, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof.

For granting annuities to ſatisfy certain navy and victualling bills, and for providing for the regular payment of all navy and victualling bills that ſhall be iſſued in future.

For allowing veſſels, employed in the Greenland Whale Fiſhery, to complete their full number of men at certain ports, for a limited time.

For amending and making perpetual an act made in the twenty-ſeventh year of his majeſty, intituled, "An act for the encouragement of the arts of deſigning and printing linens, cottons, calicoes, and muſlins, by veſting the properties thereof in the deſigners, printers, and proprietors, for a limited time."

APRIL 17.

For raiſing a certain ſum of money

money, by loans or exchequer bills, for the ſervice of the year. 1794.

For raiſing a further ſum of money, by loans or exchequer bills.

For granting additional duties on glaſs.

For making perpetual certain duties of excife on diſtilleries, and on licences granted to diſtillers in Scotland, and for appropriating the ſaid duties.

For enabling the commiſſioners of the ſtamp duties to ſtamp bills of exchange and notes in certain caſes.

For the pay and clothing of the militia in England.

For encouraging and diſciplining ſuch corps or companies of men as ſhall voluntarily enrol themſelves for the defence of their counties, towns, or coaſts, or for the general defence of the kingdom during the preſent war.

For indemnifying all perſons who have been concerned in adviſing or carrying into execution an order of the lords commiſſioners of his majeſty's treaſury, reſpecting the exportation of pot aſhes or pearl aſhes; for preventing ſuits in conſequence of the ſame; for authoriſing his majeſty to prohibit the exportation, or carrying coaſtwiſe, of pot aſhes or pearl aſhes; and for making further proviſions relative thereto.

For indemnifying governors, lieutenant-governors, and perſons acting as ſuch, in the Weſt India Iſlands, who have permitted the importation and exportation of goods and commodities in foreign bottoms.

To continue ſeveral laws relative to the exportation of culm to Liſbon; and to the aſcertaining the ſtrength of ſpirits by Clark's hydrometer.

MAY 9.

For granting to his majeſty a certain ſum of money out of the conſolidated fund.

For granting duties of cuſtoms on ſlate, ſtone, and marble.

For granting £. 200,000. for the reduction of the national debt.

For repealing ſo much of an act, made in the ſeventh year of his preſent majeſty, as directs that no cambric or lawns ſhall be imported from Ireland until the importation of cambrics and French lawns into Ireland ſhall be prohibited by law; to allow the importation of cambrics and French lawns from the Auſtrian Netherlands for a limited time, for making more effectual an act, made in the twenty-fourth year of his preſent majeſty, for the more effectual prevention of ſmuggling in this kingdom; and for preventing the fraudulent relanding of tobacco ſhipped for exportation.

To empower the Eaſt India Company to continue a bond debt of two millions, and to increaſe the ſame by a further ſum, as circumſtances may require.

To enable ſubjects of France to enliſt as ſoldiers in regiments to ſerve on the Continent of Europe, and in certain other places, and to enable his majeſty to grant commiſſions to ſubjects of France to ſerve and receive pay as officers in ſuch regiments, or as engineers, under certain reſtrictions.

For granting to foreign ſhips, put under his Majeſty's protection, the privileges of prize ſhips, under certain regulations and reſtrictions; for allowing aliens in foreign colonies, ſurrendered to his majeſty, to exerciſe the occupations of merchants or factors; and for repealing

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ing an act, paſſed in the twelfth year of the reign of his late majeſty, intituled, "An act for granting a "liberty to carry ſugars of the "growth, produce, or manufacture "of any of his majeſty's ſugar co-"lonies in America, from the ſaid "colonies directly to foreign parts, "in ſhips built in Great Britain, "and navigated according to law?" and alſo ſo much of an act, paſſed in the fifteenth year of the reign of his late majeſty, as amends the ſaid act.

To amend an act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion, intituled, "An act to provide for the families of perſons choſen by lot to ſerve in the militia, &c. and alſo an act made in this preſent ſeſſion, intituled, "An act "for augmenting the militia."

To continue an act made in the laſt ſeſſion for eſtabliſhing courts of judicature in the iſland of Newfoundland.

To enable his majeſty to eſtabliſh a court of criminal judicature in Norfolk iſland.

For taking of ſpecial bail in actions and ſuits depending in the court of common pleas of the county palatine of Lancaſter.

MAY 23.

For ſaving to his majeſty the duty of new ſubſidy on tobacco imported into Scotland.

For enabling his majeſty to raiſe £. 2,500,000. for the purpoſes therein mentioned.

To empower his majeſty to ſecure and detain ſuch perſons as his majeſty ſhall ſuſpect are conſpiring againſt his perſon and government.

For extending the time limited by an act of this ſeſſion for delivering in navy and victualling bills.

For extending the proviſions of an act, paſſed in the twenty-fifth year of his majeſty's reign, for the better examining and auditing the public accounts of the board of ordnance, the commiſſioners of the navy, the commiſſioners for victualling the navy, and the commiſſioners of ſick and hurt.

To prevent the removal of ſuits from the inferior courts in the county palatine of Lancaſter into the court of common pleas of the ſaid county palatine.

To continue ſo much of ſeveral laws reſpecting the tranſportation and impriſonment of offenders as relates to the removal of offenders to temporary places of confinement.

For further continuing an act, made in the fifth year of his late majeſty, intituled, "An act to pre-"vent the committing of frauds "by bankrupts."

To enable his majeſty to grant, in fee ſimple, certain eſtates veſted in him, by reaſon of the attainders of the perſons therein named, to the deſcendants of ſuch attainted perſons.

For the better obſervation of the lord's day, by bakers.

For better regulating and governing the watermen, wherrymen, and lightermen, upon the river Thames, between Graveſend and Windſor.

For more effectually repairing ſuch parts of highways as are to be repaired by two parihes.

For allowing the exerciſe of an invention of a new method of tanning hides and ſkins.

JUNE 11.

To enable the commiſſioners of ſtamp duties to ſtamp the paper

uſed

uſed for printing newspapers in ſheets of ſingle demy paper, inſtead of ſheets of double demy paper.

For better management of the land revenue of the crown; and the ſale of fee farm and other unimprovable rents.

For the further encouragement of Britiſh mariners.

To exempt ſhips of war, and private ſhips or veſſels of war, taken as prize, from payment of duty.

For directing the appointment of commiſſioners to adminiſter certain oaths and declarations, required by law to be taken and made by perſons offering to vote at the election of members to ſerve in parliament.

For diſcharge of certain inſolvent debtors.

For varying ſome of the proviſions in an act of the thirteenth year of his majeſty, reſpecting public highways, which relate to the performance of ſtatute duty.

For ſupplying French iſlands in his majeſty's poſſeſſion, with corn, meal, flour, and biſcuit.

For better regulating the harbour of Dover.

For veſting certain meſſuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in truſtees, for the better ſecuring his majeſty's batteries and other works in the counties of Kent and Devon.

JULY 7.

For more effectually preſerving money or effects, in the hands of his majeſty ſubjects, belonging to, or diſpoſable by, perſons reſident in France, for the benefit of the individual owners thereof.

To continue an act, made in the laſt ſeſſion reſpecting aliens.

To explain ſo much of an act, made in the twenty-eighth year of his majeſty, intituled, "An act for "the further regulation of the trials "of controverted elections or re-"turns of members to ſerve in par-"liament," as relates to the time of preſenting certain renewed petitions, and taking the ſame into conſideration.

For amending ſo much of an act, paſſed in the 13th and 14th Charles II. intituled, "An act for ordering "the forces in the ſeveral counties "of this kingdom," as relates to the militia of the city of London; and for the better ordering the ſame.

For erecting a penitentiary houſe or houſes for confining and employing convicts.

To continue and amend an act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion, intituled, "An act to continue, for a limited "time, and to amend ſeveral acts "of parliament, for regulating the "ſhipping and carrying ſlaves in "Britiſh veſſels from the coaſt of "Africa."

Road and Bridge Acts - - - - - - -	34
Canal Embankment and Internal Navigation - -	22
Paving Acts - - - - - - - - -	5
Churches and Public Edifices - - - - - -	3
	64

STATE PAPERS.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses, on opening the fourth Session of the seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain, 21st January 1794.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE circumstances under which you are now assembled, require your most serious attention.

We are engaged in a contest, on the issue of which depend the maintenance of our constitution, laws, and religion; and the security of all civil society.

You must have observed, with satisfaction, the advantages which have been obtained by the arms of the allied powers, and the change which has taken place in the general situation of Europe since the commencement of the war. The United Provinces have been protected from invasion; the Austrian Netherlands have been recovered and maintained; and places of considerable importance have been acquired on the frontiers of France. The re-capture of Mentz, and the subsequent successes of the allied armies on the Rhine, have, notwithstanding the advantages recently obtained by the enemy in that quarter, proved highly beneficial to the common cause. Powerful efforts have been made by my allies in the south of Europe; the temporary possession of the town and port of Toulon has greatly distressed the operations of my enemies; and in the circumstances attending the evacuation of that place, an important and decisive blow has been given to their naval power, by the distinguished conduct, abilities, and spirit of my commanders, officers, and forces, both by sea and land.

The French have been driven from their possessions and fishery at Newfoundland, and important and valuable acquisitions have been made both in the East and West Indies.

At sea our superiority has been undisputed, and our commerce so effectually protected, that the losses sustained have been inconsiderable, in proportion to its extent, and to the captures made on the contracted trade of the enemy.

The circumstances by which the farther progress of the allies has hitherto been impeded, not only prove the necessity of vigour and perseverance on our part, but, at the same time, confirm the

the expectation of ultimate ſucceſs.

Our enemies have derived the means of temporary exertion, from a ſyſtem which has enabled them to diſpoſe arbitrarily of the lives and property of a numerous people, and which openly violates every reſtraint of juſtice, humanity, and religion: but theſe efforts, productive as they neceſſarily have been of internal diſcontent and confuſion in France, have alſo tended rapidly to exhauſt the natural and real ſtrength of that country.

Although I cannot but regret the neceſſary continuance of the war, I ſhould ill conſult the eſſential intereſts of my people, if I were deſirous of peace on any grounds but ſuch as may provide for their permanent ſafety, and for the independence and ſecurity of Europe. The attainment of theſe ends is ſtill obſtructed by the prevalence of a ſyſtem in France, equally incompatible with the happineſs of that country, and with the tranquillity of all other nations.

Under this impreſſion, I thought proper to make a declaration of the views and principles by which I am guided. I have ordered a copy of this declaration to be laid before you, together with copies of ſeveral conventions and treaties with different powers, by which you will perceive how large a part of Europe is united in a cauſe of ſuch general concern.

I reflect with unſpeakable ſatisfaction on the ſteady loyalty and firm attachment to the eſtabliſhed conſtitution and government, which, notwithſtanding the continued efforts employed to miſlead and to ſeduce, have been ſo generally prevalent among all ranks of my people. Theſe ſentiments have been eminently manifeſted in the zeal and alacrity of the militia to provide for our internal defence, and in the diſtinguiſhed bravery and ſpirit diſplayed on every occaſion by my forces both by ſea and land: they have maintained the luſtre of the Britiſh name, and have ſhewn themſelves worthy of the bleſſings which it is the object of all our exertions to preſerve.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the neceſſary eſtimates and accounts to be laid before you, and I am perſuaded you will be ready to make ſuch proviſion as the exigencies of the time may require. I feel too ſenſibly the repeated proofs which I have received of the affection of my ſubjects, not to lament the neceſſity of any additional burdens. It is, however, a great conſolation to me to obſerve the favourable ſtate of the revenue, and the complete ſucceſs of the meaſure which was laſt year adopted for removing the embarraſſments affecting commercial credit.

Great as muſt be the extent of our exertions, I truſt you will be enabled to provide for them in ſuch a manner as to avoid any preſſure which could be ſeverely felt by my people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In all your deliberations, you will undoubtedly bear in mind the true grounds and origin of the war.

An attack was made on us, and

on our allies, founded on principles which tend to deſtroy all property, to ſubvert the laws and religion of every civilized nation, and to introduce univerſally that wild and deſtructive ſyſtem of rapine, anarchy, and impiety, the effects of which, as they have already been manifeſted in France, furniſh a dreadful but uſeful leſſon to the preſent age and to poſterity. It only remains for us to perſevere in our united exertions; their diſcontinuance or relaxation could hardly procure even a ſhort interval of deluſive repoſe, and could never terminate in ſecurity or peace. Impreſſed with the neceſſity of defending all that is moſt dear to us, and relying, as we may, with confidence, on the valour and reſources of the nation, on the combined efforts of ſo large a part of Europe, and, above all, on the inconteſtible juſtice of our cauſe, let us render our conduct a contraſt to that of our enemies, and, by cultivating and practiſing the principles of humanity, and the duties of religion, endeavour to merit the continuance of the Divine favour and protection which have been ſo eminently experienced by theſe kingdoms.

On the 27th of January, Mr. Dundas preſented to the Houſe of Commons the following meſſage from his Majeſty; and two days afterwards Lord Grenville preſented the ſame meſſage to the Houſe of Lords.

George R.

HIS Majeſty thinks it proper to acquaint the Houſe of Commons, that a corps of Heſſian troops, taken into the pay of Great Britain, to be employed on foreign ſervice, having been brought to the appointed place of rendezvous off the Iſle of Wight, his Majeſty has found it neceſſary, with a view to the preventing any ſickneſs taking place among the ſaid troops from their continuance on board of the tranſports, to order them to be diſembarked, and to be ſtationed, for the preſent, on the Iſle of Wight, at Portſmouth, and at places adjacent.

On the 25th of March, the following meſſage from the King was preſented by Lord Grenville to the Houſe of Lords, and by Mr. Dundas to the Houſe of Commons.

George R.

HIS Majeſty thinks it proper to acquaint the Houſe of Commons, that, for the purpoſe of more effectually guarding againſt any attempt which may be made, on the part of the enemy, to execute their profeſſed deſign of invading the kingdom, his Majeſty has ordered a farther augmentation of his land forces, the eſtimate for which he has directed to be laid before the houſe. It is alſo his Majeſty's intention to take meaſures in order to be able, in caſe of emergency, to aſſemble ſpeedily a large additional force in any part of the kingdom where it may become neceſſary: and his Majeſty relies, with confidence, on the cordial and effectual ſupport of parliament, and on the zealous and ſpirited exertions of his people, in carrying into execution

ſuch

ſuch meaſures as may be requiſite for the general ſecurity.

On the 28th of April, Lord Grenville preſented to the Houſe of Lords, and Mr. Dundas to the Houſe of Commons, the following meſſage from his Majeſty.

George R.

HIS Majeſty has ordered copies of a treaty, which has been ſigned at the Hague, by the Plenipotentiaries of his Majeſty and the States General of the United Provinces on the one part, and by the Plenipotentiary of the King of Pruſſia on the other part; and likewiſe of a convention agreed upon between the reſpective Plenipotentiaries of his Majeſty and the States General, to be laid before the houſe: and his Majeſty, relying on the zealous and affectionate ſupport of his faithful Commons, in the virgorous proſecution of the war in which he is engaged, recommends it to this Houſe to conſider of making proviſion towards enabling his Majeſty to fulfil the engagements which his Majeſty has entered into, as well as to defray any extraordinary expences which may be incurred for the ſervice of the preſent year, and to take ſuch meaſures as the exigency of affairs may require.

On the 12th of May, Mr. Dundas preſented the following meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, and on the 17th of the ſame month Lord Grenville preſented the ſame meſſage to the Houſe of Lords.

George R.

HIS Majeſty having received information, that the ſeditious practices which have been for ſome time carried on by certain ſocieties in London, in correſpondence with ſocietics in different parts of the country, have lately been purſued with increaſed activity and boldneſs, and have been avowedly directed to the object of aſſembling a pretended general convention of the people, in contempt and defiance of the authority of parliament, and on principles ſubverſive of the exiſting laws and conſtitution, and directly tending to the introduction of that ſyſtem of anarchy and confuſion which has fatally prevailed in France, has given directions for ſeizing the books and papers of the ſaid ſocieties in London, which have been ſeized accordingly; and theſe books and papers appearing to contain matter of the greateſt importance to the public intereſt, his Majeſty has given orders for laying them before the Houſe of Commons; and his Majeſty recommends it to the Houſe to conſider the ſame, and to take ſuch meaſures thereupon as may appear to be neceſſary for effectually guarding againſt the further proſecution of thoſe dangerous deſigns, and for preſerving to His Majeſty's ſubjects the enjoyment of the bleſſings derived to them by the conſtitution happily eſtabliſhed in theſe kingdoms.

PROTEST.

Die Veneris, 31 *Jan.* 1794.

THE order of the day being read for the Lords to be ſummoned.

It was moved, that the ſeveral entries in the Journal of the 8th, 10th, and 13th of June, 1689, relative to the bill intituled, "An act for reverſing the attainder of Henry Corniſh, Eſq. late Alderman of the city of London," be now read.

The ſame were accordingly read by the clerk.

Then it was moved, That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, humbly to repreſent to his Majeſty, that this Houſe has been informed that Thomas Muir, Eſq. who was tried before the High Court of Juſticiary, at Edinburgh, in the month of Auguſt laſt, upon a charge of ſedition, has been condemned and ſentenced to be tranſported beyond ſeas for the ſpace of fourteen years; and further to repreſent to his Majeſty, that this Houſe intends to proceed without delay to examine the circumſtances of ſuch condemnation and of ſuch ſentence; and therefore humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, that the ſaid Thomas Muir, Eſq. may not be tranſported beyond ſeas, until this Houſe ſhall have had ſufficient time to make ſuch examination.

Which being objected to. After debate,

The queſtion being put thereupon, it was reſolved in the negative.

Tellers.

E. Stanhope	Content	1
E. Stair	Not Contents	49

Diſſentient.

1ſt. Becauſe the attending to the due adminiſtration of juſtice, and the watching over the conduct of the various courts in this kingdom, is one of the moſt important branches of the buſineſs of this Houſe, and is at all times alſo one of its moſt eſſential duties.

2dly, Becauſe it obviouſly appears to be proper to examine into the juſtice and legality of a ſentence, before it is executed, and not to permit it to be executed firſt, and then to examine into its juſtice and legality afterwards.

3dly, Becauſe, for want of ſuch timely interference on the part of this Houſe, it has formerly happened, that, within a ſhort time, no leſs than four unjuſt and illegal judgments were actually carried into execution, as appears from the reſpective attainders of the innocent ſufferers having been afterwards reverſed and made void (when it was too late) by four acts of parliament, made and paſſed in the firſt year of the reign of their late Majeſties King William and Queen Mary, namely, in the caſes of Alderman Corniſh, Alice Liſle, Algernon Sidney, and Lord Ruſſel.

4thly, Becauſe it is contrary to the firſt and immutable principles of natural juſtice, that any thing to the prejudice of a defendant ſhould be brought before a jury in a criminal proſecution, that is "only collateral, not in iſſue, nor neceſſary in the concluſion."

5thly, Becauſe it is not (nor ought to be) competent for the proſecutor to produce any evidence to ſupport any matter that is not charged in the indictment; that is to ſay, diſtinctly and preciſely charged, and not by mere epithets or general words, ſuch as oppreſſion, ſeditiou, vexation, or the like.

6thly, Becauſe in like manner it is not, (nor ought to be) competent for a proſecutor to produce any evidence to prove any crime to have been committed by a defendant, in any other particular than

than that wherein it is in the indictment expreſsly charged to have been committed.

7thly, Becauſe no ſuch proceedings as thoſe above ſtated, nor any of them, can be juſtified under pretence, that "If it had been "neceſſary to ſpecify in the indict-"ment all the facts againſt the "defendant, the indictment would "have covered, by its magnitude, "the walls of the Court." And

8thly, Becauſe in one year of the trial of Warren Haſtings, Eſquire, namely in the year one thouſand, ſeven hundred, and ninety, there were no leſs than four deciſions of the Houſe of Lords upon this ſubject, viz. on the twenty-fifth day of February, when the Lords reſolved,

"That the managers for the "Commons be not admitted to "give evidence of the unfitneſs of "Kelleram for the appointment of "being a renter of certain lands "in the province of Bahar; the "fact of ſuch unfitneſs of the ſaid "Kelleram not being charged in "the impeachment."

And again on the 4th day of May, when the Lords decided,

"That it is not competent to the "managers for the Commons to "put the following queſtion to the "witneſs upon the ſeventh article "of charge, viz. Whether more "oppreſſions did actually exiſt un-"der the new inſtitution than un-"der the old?"

And again on the 18th day of May, when the Houſe of Lords reſolved,

"That it is not competent to "the managers for the Commons, "to give evidence of the enormi-"ties actually committed by Deby "Sing; the ſame not being charged "in the impeachment."

And again on the 2d day of June, when the Lords reſolved,

"That it is not competent for "the managers, on the part of the "Commons, to give any evidence "upon the ſeventh article of the "impeachment, to prove that the "letter of the 5th of May, 1781, "is falſe, in any other particular "than that wherein it is expreſsly "charged to be falſe."

The ſaid diviſions of the Houſe of Lords are founded upon principles not peculiar to trials by impeachment. They are founded upon common ſenſe, and on the immutable principles of juſtice. In Scotland thoſe principles are peculiarly neceſſary to be adhered to, inaſmuch as by the laws of that part of the kingdom, a defendant is obliged to produce a complete liſt of all his witneſſes in exculpation, the day before the trial. That alone appears to me a conſiderable hardſhip. But if, after ſuch liſt is actually delivered in by the defendant, any facts (or ſuppoſed facts) not particularly ſet forth as crimes in the indictment, may, on the following day, for the firſt time, and without notice, be ſuddenly brought out in evidence upon the trial againſt the defendant; ſuch defendant, from ſuch an entrapping mode of trial, may be convicted, although innocent. Such proceedings (whether ſupported or unſupported by any old Scotch ſtatute paſſed in arbitrary times) ought, I conceive, to be reviſed. For, in a free country, there ought not to be one mode of adminiſtering juſtice to one man, namely, to Mr. Haſtings, and an oppoſite mode of adminiſtering juſtice to another man, namely, to Mr. Muir.

Proteſt of the Earl Stanhope, upon the rejection of the Earl of Albemarle's motion (on the 21ſt of February, 1794) reſpecting the introducing of foreign troops into this country, without the previous conſent of Parliament.

Diſſentient.

1.—BECAUSE "It is contrary to law for the crown to keep an army in this kingdom, either in time of peace or in time of war, without the previous conſent of Parliament." And it is eſſential, that this important conſtitutional principle (which was unequivocally admitted in the debate) ſhould be for ever maintained inviolate in this country. And the friends of public liberty ought ever to bear in memory the admirable vote of the Houſe of Commons, on the fifth day of May, 1641, when it was reſolved, "That this Houſe doth declare, that whoſoever ſhall give counſel or aſſiſtance, or join in any manner, to bring any foreign force into the kingdom, unleſs it be by command of his Majeſty, with the conſent of both Houſes in Parliament, ſhall be adjudged and reputed a public enemy to the King and kingdom."

Secondly, Becauſe the annual Mutiny Bill is a proof, that the Crown cannot perpetuate or aſſume a prerogative, which Parliament annually beſtows; nor exerciſe at its own diſcretion that power, which the Legiſlature ſpecially limits.

Thirdly, Becauſe it is a moſt dangerous doctrine, that the Crown has a right (by virtue of an "*undefined* prerogative,") to do any act which is not warranted, either by common, or by ſtatute law, under the frivolous pretence of its appearing to Miniſters to be uſeful. And the ſupineneſs of Parliament, in the reign of King James the ſecond, when ſo many acts, notoriouſly illegal, were committed by the crown, and yet paſſed unnoticed by the two Houſes, clearly proves, that, from the want of vigilance in certain Parliaments, precedents may be eſtabliſhed, ſubverſive of the firſt principles of national freedom.

Fourthly, Becauſe the maintaining of a foreign army on the eſtabliſhment, or within the territory of this kingdom, is in open defiance of the very act of Parliament, which ſettles the crown on the preſent Royal Family (namely the 12th and 13th of William III. chap. the 2d.) which expreſsly enacts, "That no perſon born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging (although he be naturalized, or made a denizen, except ſuch as are born of Engliſh parents) ſhall be capable to enjoy any office or place of truſt, either civil or military." And the act of the 29th George II. chap. the 5th, is a proof, that the Legiſlature deemed a ſpecial act of Parliament neceſſary, to enable the King to employ even a limited number of ſubaltern foreign officers in America, only under certain reſtrictions and qualifications.

Fifthly, Becauſe "Foreign mercenaries have always been unuſeful, or dangerous to thoſe who employ them. Their conduct at firſt, has generally been peaceable and enſnaring; at laſt, ſeditious and deſtructive. And thoſe States, that have carried the points which

they

they intended, by their assistance, have usually in the event, been enslaved by them."

And Sixthly, Because a prerogative in the executive power, to introduce any number, without limit, of armed foreign hirelings into any country, without the previous and express consent of the Legislature, is totally incompatible with any form of a free Constitution. For, not only that Government is tyrannical, which is actually tyrannically administered; but that Government also is tyrannical (however administered,) where there is no sufficient security against its being tyrannically administered in future. And I so lemnly protest against a measure, which tends to endanger the rights and liberties of my fellow citizens, of whom I consider myself only as a trustee. STANHOPE.

Protest against the rejection of the Indemnity Bill, for the landing of troops in this kingdom without the consent of Parliament; which was moved by the Earl of Albemarle.

1.—BECAUSE, with the exception of only one noble Lord (not one of his Majesty's Ministers) it was in the debate unanimously admitted, that the keeping in this country troops, whether native or foreign, in time either of war or peace, without the consent of Parliament, is unconstitutional. And as it was also admitted unanimously and unequivocally, that the troops in question are here upon grounds of fitness and expediency; and as the consideration of fitness and expediency, though they render, and, in fact, in the present instance do render, not only justifiable, but highly meritorious, do in no degree so change the nature as to make it more or less constitutional.

II. This bill, though of a nature to be very sparingly adopted, yet was of particular propriety; for in a matter of great moment, it declared the law, saved the Constitution, and did justice to the motives of the executive government.

III. Because the stopping of this bill leaves the troops here, without any consent of Parliament.

IV. Because the effect of the declarations by which the right of the Crown so to keep troops here was disclaimed, however strong, general, and unequivocal, is yet transitory and fugitive; but the fact that troops are so here, is notorious and recorded; and when the motives which justified, and the declarations that reconciled to the House the measure, are forgotten, may be turned into precedent.

RADNOR.

Protest against the rejection of a motion for a declaration of the objects of the war.

Dissentient,

1.—BECAUSE it appears to us, that it would have been highly becoming and expedient for this house, as leading to the great and invaluable blessing of peace, at this time to have resolved, that it appears to this house, that during the several changes which took place in the constitution and government of France before the commencement

mencement of hoſtilities, and more particularly after the events of the 10th of Auguſt 1792, when his majeſty was adviſed by his miniſters to ſuſpend all official communications with France, it was, and continued to be the profeſſed principle and policy of his majeſty's government carefully to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, and uniformly to abſtain from any interference with reſpect to the internal affairs of France: that when his majeſty was adviſed to make a further augmentation of his forces by ſea and land, at the beginning of laſt year, it was for the declared purpoſe of oppoſing views of aggrandiſement and ambition on the part of France; and that when his majeſty acquainted parliament that acts of hoſtility had been directed by the government of France againſt his majeſty's ſubjects, and after war had been declared againſt his majeſty and the united provinces, the then avowed object of proſecuting the war on our part, was to oppoſe the farther views of aggrandiſement imputed to France, and that the proſecution of the war on this ground, and for the attainment of this object, was approved by both houſes of parliament.

2. Becauſe it would have been equally becoming and expedient in this houſe, as tending to the ſame deſirable object of peace, at this time to have declared, in conformity to the other reſolutions, opened, diſcuſſed, and ſubmitted to its conſideration.

That, at or before the end of April 1793, the armies of France were obliged to evacuate Holland and Flanders, and to retire within their own territory; and that the prince of Cobourg, commander-in-chief of the emperor's forces in Flanders, did, on the 5th of April, engage and declare that he would join and co-operate with general Dumourier to give to France her conſtitutional king, and the conſtitution which ſhe had formed for herſelf; and that the prince of Cobourg did alſo then declare, on his word of honour, that if any ſtrong places ſhould be delivered over to his troops, he ſhould conſider them no otherwiſe than as ſacred depoſits; and that on the 9th of the ſame month, all the preceding declarations of the prince of Cobourg were revoked.

That, by the 15th article of the treaty concluded with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, on the 10th of April 1793, his majeſty's miniſters were of opinion that *the ſituation of affairs had then entirely changed its aſpect*, in conſequence of which, his majeſty might not have occaſion for the Heſſian troops, and might be at liberty to relinquiſh their ſervice on certain conditions of compenſation to be made to the landgrave.

That, on the 14th of July 1793, a convention was concluded between his majeſty and the king of Pruſſia, in which their majeſties reciprocally promiſed to continue to employ their reſpective forces, as far as their circumſtances would permit, in carrying on a war equally juſt and neceſſary.

That, on the 23d of Auguſt 1793, lord Hood declared to the people of Toulon, that he had no other view but that of *reſtoring peace* to a great nation, upon the moſt juſt, liberal, and honourable terms: that the inhabitants of Toulon did in return declare, that it was their unanimous wiſh to adopt a monarchical government,

government, such as it was originally formed *by the conſtituent aſſembly* in 1789; and that lord Hood, by his proclamation of 28th Auguſt, accepted of that declaration, and did then repeat what he had already declared to the people of the ſouth of France, that he took poſſeſſion of Toulon, and held it in truſt only for Louis the Seventeenth.

That the conſtitution, to which the declaration and acceptance herein immediately before ſtated, was the ſame which his majeſty's ambaſſador at the Hague did, in a memorial prefented to the ſtates-general on the 25th of January 1793, deſcribe in the following terms, viz. "It is not quite four years ſince certain miſcreants, aſſuming the name of philoſophers, have preſumed to think themſelves capable of eſtabliſhing a new ſyſtem of civil ſociety; in order to realize this dream, the offspring of vanity, it became neceſſary for them to overturn and deſtroy all eſtabliſhed notions of ſubordination, of morals, and of religion;" and that this deſcription was applied by the ſaid ambaſſador to a government with which his majeſty continued to treat and negociate from its inſtitution in 1789, to its diſſolution in Auguſt 1792; and that his majeſty's ambaſſador was not recalled from Paris, until that government was diſſolved.

That, by the declaration made by his majeſty's miniſters, and dated on the 29th of October 1793, "that his majeſty only demands of France that ſome legitimate and ſtable government ſhould be eſtabliſhed, founded upon the acknowledged principles of univerſal juſtice, and capable of maintaining, with other powers, the accuſtomed relations of union and peace;" and that his majeſty, in treating for the re-eſtabliſhment of general tranquillity with ſuch a government, "would propoſe none other than equitable and moderate conditions, not ſuch as the expences, the riſks, and the ſacrifices of the war might juſtify;" and that his majeſty hoped to find in the other powers engaged with him in the *common cauſe*, ſentiments and views perfectly conformable to his own.

That at the commencement of the war, the proſecution of it was conſidered by his majeſty as a cauſe of *general concern*, in which his majeſty had *every reaſon* to hope for the *cordial co-operation* of thoſe powers who were united with his majeſty, by the ties of alliance, and who felt an intereſt in the ſame cauſe.

That in the proſecution of a war, conſidered by his majeſty as *a cauſe of general concern*, and as a *common cauſe*, his majeſty has not received that cordial co-operation, which we were led to expect from thoſe powers, and who were united with him by the ties of alliance, and who were ſuppoſed to feel an intereſt in the ſame cauſe.

That, on a review of the conduct of the ſeveral powers of Europe, from whom, if the cauſe was *common*, and if the concern was *general*, ſuch *cordial co-operation* might have been expected; that many of thoſe powers have not co-operated with his majeſty; that the empreſs of Ruſſia has not contributed, in any ſhape, to the ſupport of this common cauſe; that the crowns of Sweden and Denmark have united to ſupport their neutrality, and to defend themſelves againſt any attempt to

to force them to take part in this common cauſe; that Poland is neither able nor inclined to take part in it, and that Switzerland and Venice are neutral; that the king of Sardinia has required and obtained a ſubſidy from Great Britain to enable him to act even on the defenſive; that the king of the Two Sicilies, profeſſing to make common cauſe with his majeſty in the war againſt France, is bound to it by nothing but his own judgement, in the *courſe of events which may occur*, and that he is at liberty to abandon the common cauſe, *whenever he ſhall judge that he cannot any longer with juſtice and dignity continue the war:* that the efforts of Spain and Portugal have been completely ineffectual.

That with reſpect to the powers who were principals in the preſent war, (viz. the ſtates general, the king of Pruſſia, and the emperor) the ſtates general having refuſed to contract for the payment of their portion of the ſubſidies, to be paid to the king of Pruſſia, beyond the term of the preſent year, have thereby reſerved to themſelves a right to withdraw from the ſupport of the war at that period, and to throw the whole burden of it upon Great Britain; that the king of Pruſſia being bound, by the convention of July 1793, to act in *the moſt perfect concert, and with the moſt intimate confidence, with his majeſty, upon all the objects relative to the preſent war*, and having then promiſed to continue to employ his forces, as far as circumſtances would permit, in carrying on the war, and his majeſty having ſince been obliged, by the treaty of the 19th of April 1794, to grant to the king of Pruſſia an enormous ſubſidy, in order to engage him to continue to co-operate in the proſecution of the war, it follows, that the king of Pruſſia is no longer a principal party, nor even an auxiliary in the ſaid war; but that he barely lends out his troops to this country in return for a moſt profitable pecuniary compenſation, at our expence; and that Great Britain is, in fact, loaded with his proper ſhare of the burden of a war, which is ſaid to be the common cauſe of every civilized ſtate; and finally, that if it were expedient or neceſſary to purchaſe the king of Pruſſia's co-operation on ſuch terms, the emperor, whoſe intereſts are more directly at ſtake, was full as much bound, in reaſon and juſtice, as his majeſty, or the ſtates general, would be to contribute equally to that expence: and, that if, at any future period of the war, the emperor's finances ſhould be ſo exhauſted as to make it impoſſible for him to maintain it on his part, at his own charge, his imperial majeſty will be invited and encouraged, if not juſtified, by the example and ſucceſs of the king of Pruſſia, to call upon this country, to defray the whole expence of whatever army he may continue to employ againſt the French; nor does it appear by what diſtinction, in policy or in argument, the terms granted to the king of Pruſſia can be refuſed to the emperor, whoſe efforts and expences in the courſe of the war have infinitely exceeded thoſe of Pruſſia; or how this country can, in prudence or with ſafety, decline a compliance with ſuch demands, if it be true, as has been declared, that the deſtruction of the preſent French government *is eſſential*

eſſential to the ſecurity of every thing, which is moſt dear and valuable to us as a nation.

That, in conſequence of the events of the war on the continent and elſewhere, all views of aggrandiſement and ambition, on the part of France, ſuppoſing the French to entertain ſuch views, are evidently unattainable, and muſt be relinquiſhed by France; and therefore the object of the war, as it was originally profeſſed on our part, viz. the reſtoration of peace, on terms of permanent ſecurity, is now attainable and may be ſecured, provided that, on one ſide, the French ſhall be content with the poſſeſſion and ſafety of their own country, and that we, on the other, ſhall adhere to the principles of juſtice and policy, ſo often declared by his majeſty and avowed by his miniſters, *of uniformly abſtaining from any interference with reſpect to the internal affairs of France.*

3. Becauſe the facts hereinbefore ſet forth, being, as we conceive, undeniable truths, fit now to be reſolved and declared, it becomes the duty of his majeſty's miniſters, in conformity to two other reſolutions opened, diſcuſſed, and ſubmitted to the conſideration of this houſe, to avail themſelves of the preſent circumſtances of the war, to promote a pacification, by every means in their power, by propoſing to France, equitable and moderate conditions of peace, and above all things *by abſtaining from any interference in the internal affairs of France.*

4. Becauſe, in every poſſible caſe, it is equally deſirable that his majeſty ſhould make an explicit declaration of his views; for if, on the one hand, it is the intention not to interfere in the internal government of France, nothing can contribute ſo much to advance a negotiation with thoſe who now exerciſe the powers of government in that country, as ſuch a declaration, ſolemnly and explicitly made; ſo, on the other hand, if it is intended to interfere, it is highly eſſential to make the degree of interference preciſely known, ſo as to induce ſuch parts of the French nation as are diſſatisfied with the preſent government, to unite and exert themſelves, with ſatisfaction and ſecurity, to promote the aſcertained object.

NORFOLK, E. M.
GRAFTON,
ALBEMARLE,
DERBY,
BEDFORD,
LAUDERDALE,
LANSDOWNE,
THANET.

Proteſts againſt the Bill for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus Act.

Die Jovis, 22do Maii, 1794.

MOVED, that the bill, intituled, "An act to impower his Majeſty to ſecure and detain ſuch perſons as his Majeſty ſhall ſuſpect are conſpiring againſt his perſon and government," be read a firſt time.

The queſtion was put thereupon.

It was reſolved in the affirmative.

Then the ſaid bill was read the firſt time.

Diſſentient,

Becauſe I abhor the idea of eſtabliſhing a dangerous and unconſtitutional ſyſtem of *letters of cachet* in this country.

STANHOPE.

Die Jovis, 22do Maii, 1794.

Moved, That the Habeas Corpus ſuſpenſion bill be read the third time.

Read accordingly.

The queſtion was put, "Whether this bill ſhall paſs?"

Contents, 95; Not contents, 7.

Reſolved in the affirmative.

Diſſentient,

1ſt, Becauſe no evidence has been laid before us, that this kingdom is at preſent in thoſe circumſtances of imminent danger and imperious neceſſity which alone, in our opinion, would juſtify even the temporary ſurrender of that ſacred fundamental law which is the ſole guardian of the perſonal liberty and ſecurity of our fellow-ſubjects, None of theſe circumſtances, either of foreign invaſion or of domeſtic inſurrection, or of formidable conſpiracy, now exiſt, which induced our anceſtors to commit their liberties to the perilous guardianſhip of a deſpotical authority. Inſtead of ſuch an unequivocal public danger, which ſilences all deliberations and overrules all laws, we are now required to veſt an arbitrary power in his Majeſty's Miniſters upon the authority of a detail of the offences of individuals or ſocieties, whoſe ſtrength and numbers are not proved to our apprehenſion to be ſuch as would juſtify ſuch a meaſure as the preſent, eſpecially as the ordinary operations of the law is ſufficient to check the ſpirit which is ſuppoſed to prevail. One of the worſt effects of the conduct of theſe ſocieties is their having operated as the inſtrument for former artificial panic, and as a pretext for former meaſures, in our opinion the moſt hazardous and pernicious. They continued the ſame conduct without injury experienced by the public, without acceſſion of ſtrength, without the proof of any change in their ſyſtems or deſigns, We cannot therefore without betraying the truſt repoſed in us, conſent to reſign the liberties of all our fellow ſubjects to the diſcretion of the ſervants of the crown, on no better ground than that of a catalogue of offences which have been long notorious to the whole kingdom.

2dly, Becauſe even the proof that ſome individuals entertain thoſe deſperate deſigns which have been aſcribed to them would not, in our opinion, form any juſtification of the preſent meaſure. From the revolution to the complete defeat of the pretenſions of the Houſe of Stuart, the wiſdom of our anceſtors did not deem the exiſtence of a zealous, powerful, and indefatigable Jacobite party a ſufficient reaſon, without overt acts of rebellion, or actual exiſting conſpiracy, for ſubjecting the perſonal liberty of the whole kingdom to the will of Miniſters. Miſerable indeed, and precarious is our condition, if, at the pleaſure of a handful of viſionaries and incendiaries (characters which every age produces, and diſguiſes which the agents of every Government may aſſume,) our liberties are to be laid under a legal interdict, and Miniſters are to be veſted with an arbitrary power over the perſons of all the freemen of this realm.

3dly, Becauſe, even if the danger had been as real and imminent as is pretended, it might have been provided againſt by meaſures far leſs

leſs odious than that of depriving the ſubject of thoſe rights of perſonal ſecurity which diſtinguiſhes the Britiſh Conſtitution beyond any other free government ancient or modern, and changing it for the time from a Government of law to a Government of will. One expedient, comparatively more moderate, is obvious, namely, to put the law reſpecting bail for miſdemeanors which affect the ſtate, for a limited time, on the ſame footing with bail in caſes of treaſon.

4thly, Becauſe this bill appears to us, under a ſtill more melancholy and alarming aſpect, when we combine it with declarations which have been made by conſiderable perſons during the dependence of this bill. Even this, the utmoſt extremity to which our anceſtors were ever driven, by the preſſure of the greateſt danger, is but the prelude to a ſyſtem of meaſures (if poſſible) ſtill more violent and arbitrary. Theſe menaces too forcibly illuſtrated by ſome paſt meaſures, in our opinion of a rigour equally impolitic and odious, fill us with the moſt melancholy apprehenſions that deſigns are entertained by a progreſſive ſeries of encroachments, to annihilate all the rights of Engliſhmen, and to extinguiſh all the free principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution.

5thly, Becauſe the precipitation with which this bill has been hurried through the Houſe is both indecent in itſelf, and directly repugnant to two ſtanding orders of this Houſe, one of the 28th June, 1715, and the other of the 28th April, 1699, ſtanding orders which inſure to this Houſe the advantages of mature deliberation, and to the ſubject the invaluable privilege of petitioning againſt meaſures which, like the preſent, are ſubverſive of his fundamental rights.

ALBEMARLE.
BEDFORD.
LAUDERDALE.
DERBY.

Proteſt againſt the vote of thanks to Lord Hood.

Diſſentient,

1.—BECAUSE it has not been the practice of this Houſe to vote thanks to officers commanding his Majeſty's forces by ſea or land, except on occaſions where they have eminently advanced the honour and promoted the intereſts of their country, by the moſt important and acknowledged ſervices.

2. Becauſe by voting the thanks of this Houſe, except in ſuch inſtances, we diminiſh the value of the moſt honourable reward we have it in our power to confer, and leſſen one of the beſt incitements to future ſervice.

3. Becauſe the reduction of Baſtia, does not in itſelf appear to us to be ſuch a ſervice as calls upon this Houſe for any extraordinary mark of approbation or applauſe.

4. Becauſe, whatever the merit of that ſervice may be, the other Admirals of the fleet, and the Commanding Officers of his Majeſty's land forces, muſt have had their ſhare in it, and to refuſe thanking them, as had been uſual on ſimilar occaſions, appears to us to juſtify an opinion, that the vote of thanks to Lord Hood originated

ginated from some motive of a private and personal nature, which it is improper for this House to countenance.

5. Because even Ministers themselves do not seem, in the first instance, to have considered that service as entitled to such a mark of approbation; for though accounts had been received of the reduction of Bastia, previous to those of the victory obtained by the fleet under the command of Earl Howe, no intention was announced of moving a vote of thanks to Lord Hood, till this House had paid the just tribute of gratitude and honour for that most important and splendid victory.

BEDFORD.
LAUDERDALE.
DERBY.
THANET.
ALBEMARLE.

The speech of the speaker of the house of commons, when he gave the thanks of the house to the managers of the impeachment against Warren Hastings, esquire, June 20.

Gentlemen,

IT is my duty to communicate to you the thanks of this house, for the manner in which you have discharged a most arduous trust, on an occasion highly interesting to the honour and justice of the nation.

The subject to which your attention has been directed, was intricate and extensive beyond example: you have proved, that it was well suited to your industry and eloquence, the exertions of which have conferred honour, not on yourselves only, but on this house, whose credit is intimately connected with your own. A forcible admonition has been given, on this occasion, to all persons in situations of high and important national trust, that they can neither be removed by distance, nor sheltered by power, from the vigilance and authority of this house, which is possessed of no privilege more important, than that by which it is enabled to bring public delinquents to the bar of public justice, and thus to preserve, or rescue from dishonour, the British name and character.

But in addressing you on this occasion, and in considering the beneficial consequences to be expected from this proceeding, it is impossible not to advert to the increased security, which the constitution has derived in the course of it, from the recognition and full confirmation of the principle, that an impeachment is not discontinued by a dissolution of parliament; a principle essential to the privileges of this house, and to the independent and effectual administration of public justice.

Under these impressions, suggested by the nature and importance of your trust, and by the manner in which you have discharged it, I obey, with the utmost satisfaction, the commands of this house, by stating to you their resolution;

"That the thanks of this house "be given to the members, who "were appointed the managers of "the impeachment against Warren "Hastings, esq. for their faithful "management in their discharge "of the trust reposed in them."

On Friday, 11th July, his Majeſty went in State to the Houſe of Peers; and being ſeated on the Throne, and the Commons attending at the Bar, delivered the following moſt gracious Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE ſtate of public buſineſs enables me to cloſe this ſeſſion of Parliament; in doing which I have again to acknowledge that aſſiduity and zeal for the intereſts of my people, of which you had before given me ſo many proofs, and which have been ſo particularly manifeſted in the preſent year.

I am perſuaded that you entertain too juſt a ſenſe of the nature and importance of the conteſt in which we are engaged, to ſuffer your zeal to be abated, or your perſeverance ſhaken, by the recent ſucceſſes of the enemy in the Netherlands.

In a moment which ſo ſtrongly calls for energy and vigour, it is peculiarly gratifying to me to reflect on the uniform ſkill and bravery of my fleets and armies, the undaunted ſpirit and unwearied exertions of my officers and troops in every ſituation, and the general public ſpirit of my people, which have never at any period been more conſpicuous.

I have obſerved with the higheſt ſatisfaction the rapid and valuable acquiſitions made in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, the ſucceſsful operations which have been carried on in the Mediterranean, and the brilliant and deciſive victory obtained by my fleet under the command of Earl Howe, an event which muſt ever be remembered as one of the moſt glorious in the naval hiſtory of this country.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I return you my warmeſt thanks for the cheerfulneſs and liberality with which you have granted the large ſupplies which were neceſſary for the ſervice of the year, and for the maintenance of a cauſe equally important to the ſecurity and happineſs of every claſs of my ſubjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I feel it incumbent upon me particularly to acknowledge your diligence in the inveſtigation of the deſigns which had been formed againſt the government and conſtitution of theſe kingdoms, and to thank you for the confidence you have repoſed in me on this occaſion. It will be a principal object of my attention to make a vigorous and prudent uſe of the additional powers veſted in me for the protection and ſecurity of my people; and relying, as I do, with the utmoſt confidence, on the uniform loyalty and public ſpirit of the great body of my ſubjects, I have no doubt of ſpeedily and effectually repreſſing every attempt to diſturb the public peace, and of defeating the wicked deſigns which have been in agitation.

It muſt not, however, be forgotten, that theſe deſigns againſt our domeſtic happineſs are eſſentially connected with the ſyſtem now prevailing in France, of which the principles and ſpirit are irreconcileably hoſtile to all regular and eſtabliſhed government: and that we are therefore called upon by every conſideration of our own internal ſafety to continue our efforts in conjunction with my allies, and to perſevere with increaſed

creaſed vigour and exertion in a conteſt, from the ſucceſsful termination of which, we can alone expect to eſtabliſh on a ſolid and permanent foundation the future ſecurity and tranquillity either of this country, or of the other nations of Europe.

The ſpeech of his excellency John, earl of Weſtmoreland, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houſes of Parliament, Jan. 21.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE his majeſty's commands to meet you in parliament. You muſt have felt, with the higheſt ſatisfaction, that, by the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms and thoſe of his allies, the hopes of France, in their unprovoked declaration of war, to impair the ſtability or ſhake the conſtitution of Great Britain and Ireland, have been utterly diſappointed.

The forces of his majeſty and his allies are in poſſeſſion of many important fortreſſes which belonged to the French, and many of their oppreſſive and unjuſt conqueſts have been wreſted from them; and whilſt the trade of the empire has been generally protected, the reſources which our enemies derived from their wealthy ſettlements and extenſive commerce have been almoſt entirely cut of.

I have the ſatisfaction to acquaint you, that the ſpirit of inſurrection, which was for ſome time prevalent among the lower orders of people, is in general ſuppreſſed. No exertion ſhall be wanting, on my part, to bring them to a due ſenſe of order and ſubordination, and to prevent and puniſh the machinations of thoſe who may aim to ſeduce them from their accuſtomed loyalty into acts of ſedition and outrage.

The law for rendering a militia in this kingdom effectual has been carried ſucceſsfully into execution. I am happy to find that the people are at length fully reconciled to this inſtitution, which has already been attended by the moſt beneficial conſequences, in producing internal tranquillity, and contributing to the general ſtrength and force of the empire.

I am commanded to acquaint you, that his majeſty has appointed a commiſſion under the great ſeal, to execute the office of lord high treaſurer of this kingdom, in order that the payment of the civil liſt granted to his majeſty, and a regular appropriation of the revenue to diſtinct ſervices, may be carried into execution in a manner as conformable to the practice of Great Britain, as the relative ſituation of this kingdom will permit.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the national accounts to be laid before you, as well as the eſtimates for the ſervice of the enſuing year. It is painful to me to obſerve, that the exigencies of the times will require a large ſupply and additional reſources; but when you conſider that this is a war of abſolute neceſſity, and that you are contending for your liberty, property, and religion, I doubt not that you will cheerfully contribute to ſupport the honour of his majeſty's crown, and the eſſential intereſts of the kingdom.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly the linen-manufacture of Ireland, the Proteſtant charter ſchools, and various other inſtitutions of public utility, have ſo conſtantly received the benefit of your care and liberality, that I need not particularly, at this time, inculcate their importance.

His majeſty has the fulleſt reliance upon the loyalty and attachment of his people of Ireland. You are now, by the unjuſt aggreſſion of France, involved in a conteſt for your religion, for your conſtitution, and for the preſervation of every principle which upholds ſocial order, or gives ſecurity to your perſons or properties. In ſuch a cauſe, his majeſty has no doubt of being cordially ſupported by the efforts of all his ſubjects, in reſiſting the deſperate deſigns of men, who are endeavouring to erect their own power and dominion on the ruins of law and order, and to involve every government of Europe in a general ſcene of confuſion and anarchy.

His majeſty's object is peace; and he will exert himſelf, in conjunction with his allies, whenever an occaſion ſhall preſent itſelf, for obtaining this deſirable end, without ſurrendering the honour of his crown, or ſacrificing the preſent or future ſecurity of his people and of the reſt of Europe.

You may depend upon my faithful repreſentations of your ſervices to his majeſty; and I will zealouſly co-operate with your exertions for the welfare and proſperity of Ireland.

The ſpeech of his excellency John, earl of Weſtmoreland, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houſes of Parliament, on cloſing the ſeſſion, March 25.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE important objects which engaged your attention being concluded, I am enabled to relieve you from farther attendance in parliament.

I have his majeſty's commands to expreſs his moſt entire ſatisfaction in the zeal and unanimity which have governed your proceedings during the preſent ſeſſion, and the cheerfulneſs with which you have provided for the extraordinary emergencies of the ſtate. This conduct, ſo honourable to yourſelves, muſt eſſentially tend to preſerve the internal tranquillity of your country, to maintain that free conſtitution under which you enjoy ſuch ineſtimable bleſſings, and is highly beneficial to the general intereſts of the empire, and to the common cauſe of Europe.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I am directed by his majeſty to return you his thanks for the very liberal ſupplies you have voted for the public ſervice. You may rely on their faithful application to the purpoſes for which they were granted.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His majeſty feels, with the moſt cordial pleaſure, the loyalty of his people of Ireland, and the affectionate determination they have always ſhewn to ſtand or fall with Great Britain. In the conteſt in which we are engaged, by the un-

provoked aggreſſion of France, meaſures of the moſt vigorous nature continue to be requiſite, and his majeſty will perſevere in his exertions, in conjunction with his allies, againſt the common enemy. Under the Divine Providence, on the juſtice of his cauſe, on the diſciplined valour of his fleets and armies, and the united efforts of all his ſubjects, his majeſty relies for a favourable iſſue to a war, which, on the part of our enemies, is waged againſt the envied liberty of theſe kingdoms, and the eſtabliſhed government of every ſtate in Europe.

I applaud your wiſdom in paſſing an act for preſerving the property, within this kingdom, of perſons reſident in France, from becoming the plunder of thoſe who have uſurped the government of that unhappy country. It is peculiarly our duty to ſupport the ſecurity of private property, and to maintain the principles of juſtice, when doctrines have been advanced, and attempts endeavoured to be carried into execution, for the deſtruction of both.

I am ſorry to inform you, that in ſome parts of the county of Cork, the people, deluded by the artifices of wicked and deſigning men, have aſſembled in numerous bodies, and have compelled many to take unlawful oaths. The timely exertions of the magiſtrates, aided by the ſpirited conduct of his majeſty's regular and militia forces, have nearly ſuppreſſed thoſe diſturbances. No attention ſhall be wanting on my part to the protection of the peaceable and induſtrious, and to the puniſhment of offenders againſt the law, and eſpecially of thoſe who have inſtigated the ignorant to the commiſſion of ſuch dangerous crimes.

The early concluſion of the ſeſſion will enable you, in your reſpective counties, to enforce a due obedience to the laws, and to inculcate that ſpirit of loyalty to the king, and attachment to our happy conſtitution, which has ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed your conduct.

I am truly ſenſible of the repeated teſtimonies I have received of your confidence and ſupport, for which I return you my moſt ſincere thanks, and ſhall endeavour to enſure their continuance by employing every power, with which I am inveſted, for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the advantage of this kingdom, and by faithfully repreſenting to his majeſty your unremitting attention to the welfare of Ireland, and your unanimous exertions for the general cauſe of the empire.

In the month of February 1794, *ſome French Commiſſioners arrived in great pomp at Francfort to treat with the Pruſſian Officers upon an exchange of priſoners: and in moſt of the foreign accounts it was inſinuated they were alſo ſecretly negociating a peace with his Pruſſian Majeſty. The Leyden Gazette of March* 17, 1794, *ſays*—

WE have received a letter from the magiſtrates at Francfort, deſiring to contradict the paragraphs aſſerting, "that ſome of the people at Francfort had inſulted the French Commiſſioners; that it was true the ſight of their arrival drew a number of ſpectators, but there was none behaved

haved indecently, or even attempted any offenfive act, and that the Commiffioners alfo were ready to give the lie to fuch paragraphs, being void of all truth."

It is nevertheleſs true that their entry into Francfort was in a remarkably ſplendid carriage, on which were diſplayed all the diplomatique emblems; it appeared to have belonged to the royal ſtables, and where the fleur-de-lys had been painted, the red bonnet or cap of liberty was put on each of the pannels in the eſcutcheons of France.

The following letter, addreſſed by the Magiſtracy of Francfort to the Editor of the Leyden Gazette, was inſerted in that paper of March 18, 1794.

THE arrival of the Commiſſioners of the National Convention produced no other effect on the inhabitants and burghers of the city of Francfort, than that naturally occaſioned by a ſpectacle in every reſpect novel: and we have the honour to aſſure you, that none of the burghers or inhabitants of this city, drawn together by this ſpectacle, attempted any act in the leaſt offenſive, or even contrary to public decorum.

As it follows, that the article dated Francfort, February 19, inſerted in the ſupplement of your paper, No. 18, (which article can only have been dictated by the malevolent) is contrary to truth; and that military meaſures were never in any caſe employed againſt the burghers or inhabitants of this city, we flatter ourſelves, that we may expect from your veracity, that you will revoke the purport of that erroneous article, which the above-mentioned Commiſſioners can further moſt completel contradict.

Given the 7th of March, 1794.

The burgomaſters and magiſtrates of the free Imperial city of Francfort on the Mayne.

Declaration of the King of Pruſſia to the Diet of Ratiſbon, made in the beginning of February 1794.

THE electoral miniſter of Brandenbourg notifies to the diet, now aſſembled, that the King his maſter, perceiving the indiſpenſable neceſſity of continuing the war againſt the common enemy, is not adverſe to the increaſe of his army on the Rhine to 80,000 fighting men; but as the hoſtilities on the part of the French are rather directed againſt the empire, than againſt his Majeſty's own territories, nothing more can be required of him than his ſimple contingent. Being willing, however, to forego all theſe conſiderations, the King is ready to fulfil his engagements, provided the following demands are previouſly complied with:—

1. That each of the princes and ſtates of the empire ſhall furniſh immediately, and without delay, the contingents of men preſcribed.

2. That the empire ſhall provide for the ſubſiſtence of the Pruſſian troops, by reſerving for them 20,000 rations of bread, and 24,000 rations of hay and corn daily.

If the Germanic body ſhould refuſe to acquieſce in the juſt de-

mands of his Majesty, so far from sending any future force to the succour of the empire, he will feel himself under the necessity of recalling his troops on the Rhine, and leave no more than the simple contingent prescribed by the terms of alliance between the states of Germany.

Memorial of M. de Dohm, the Prussian Minister, to the Circles of the Lower Rhine and Westphalia, dated at Cologne, the 12th of February 1794.

THE war without example, which his Majesty the King has maintained during two campaigns, against a furious nation, not upon the frontiers of his own dominions, but in countries very distant, and already almost entirely exhausted, in the midst of the greatest scarcity of provisions, of difficulties of every species, without sparing the greatest sacrifices, and under the necessity of carrying out of his own states enormous sums in specie;—such a war must necessarily have undermined the strength of Prussia in a proportion much greater than that of the powers who are situated nearer to France. His Majesty, for this reason, finds himself absolutely incapable of co-operating, with his own resources alone, in a third campaign, with the same activity that he hitherto has done; he is, on the contrary, under the necessity of withdrawing, in a few weeks, his troops from the frontiers of the German empire, which he has till now so well protected and defended, and of ordering them to retire to his own dominions, if some method or other is not found to provide for their pay and support. The King has, some months since, made a free overture on this subject to the coalesced powers, from which there have resulted negociations, of which the issue will, no doubt, be satisfactory; but of which the result cannot be so immediate as the necessity of commencing a new campaign. In the uncertainty in which his Majesty is thus placed, whether he will take a further part in the war, and in the impossibility which arises from that circumstance, of making the necessary dispositions for the future support of the Prussian troops, he has commanded this state of things to be laid before the diet of the empire, and proposed at the same time, that the empire, in a body, should charge itself from the date of the 1st of February, with the pay of the army destined to act against the enemy; that a prompt decision should be taken on this subject, and that the re-partition of the quantum on the circles should be decreed. The urgency of the present conjuncture so strongly justifies and supports this proposition, that it is not to be doubted but the empire in general will acknowledge the injustice of expecting that his Prussian Majesty will any longer continue, with his own forces alone, to the great prejudice of his dominions, those sacrifices which he has hitherto made with so much disinterestedness and patriotism; but that, on the contrary, after so many Prussians have perished in the defence of the empire, and the sacred person of his Majesty, and those of the princes

of

of his family have been expoſed to ſuch multiplied perils for the ſame object, it now is the duty of the States of the empire to concur ſeriouſly, by all the means in their power, after the example of his Majeſty, to avert a danger with which they themſelves are threatened. Although his Majeſty is convinced that theſe undeniable truths will make a due impreſſion on the diet, and that the deciſion of that body will be conformable to his expectations; yet, conſidering the nature of the deliberations of the diet, that deciſion will demand more time than the urgency of the danger permits; ſince if the King is to continue to defend and protect the empire in the campaign which is about to be opened, the empire muſt charge itſelf without delay, with the ſupport of the Pruſſian army. In this ſtate of things, the only expedient that remains, is, that the ſix anterior circles who are the moſt expoſed to danger, and who have the moſt need of protection, namely, thoſe of Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, the electoral circle of the Upper Rhine, that of the Lower Rhine, and of Weſtphalia, ſhould take upon themſelves, proviſionally, from the date of the 1ſt of February, under the reſerve of the eventual deciſion of the diet, and until its full completion, the ſupport of the Pruſſian army which acts againſt the enemy. The proviſions to be delivered to it will comprehend daily 41,966 rations, and 82,154 portions, with the neceſſary wood, ſtraw, carriages, &c, and that after the deciſion of the diet ſhall have taken place, they ſhall receive from the other circles an indemnification in money, proportionate to their advances. That this meaſure, which circumſtances render ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary, may be as ſoon as poſſible carried into execution, the King has requeſted his Serene Highneſs the Elector of Mentz, as arch-chancellor and director of the empire, to convoke without delay, in an aſſembly at Francfort, the above mentioned circles, with the reſerve of what is due in ſuch caſes to his Imperial Majeſty, as chief of the empire, for the collection and partition of the proviſions, that meaſures may be taken in concert with the Pruſſian commiſſary, deputy to this aſſembly of the circles, the Baron de Herdenberg, without delay, and without obſerving the formalities uſeful in other caſes, but in this deſtructive, to determine the place, the manner, and the time of delivering them. The undersigned is commanded, at the ſame time, to give this information to the circles of the Lower Rhine and Weſtphalia, and to requeſt of them to deliberate immediately upon an object ſo important and ſo urgent, and to ſend to Francfort a deputation which may co-operate towards it. The reaſons which make the greateſt celerity neceſſary, are too evident to require any further illuſtration: the tearing aſunder all the bands of ſociety; the ſubverſion of all conſtitutions, political and eccleſiaſtical; the annihilation of all property, and the deſtruction of every ſpecies of happineſs and proſperity, among all claſſes of men; ſuch would be the melancholy fate of Germany, if our country were to be con-

quered by a nation which breathes only murder and pillage: and this conquest would be the almost inevitable consequence of the retreat of the Prussian army, to which his Majesty would, by different reasons, be infallibly compelled, though with regret, if the anterior circles did not resolve without delay, the provincial maintenance which is demanded of them, and did not immediately make the necessary dispositions to that effect. His Majesty, full of confidence in his co-estates of this circle, assures himself that, penetrated by the urgency of circumstances, they will conduct and accelerate this negociation with all the zeal which is inspired by the defence of their own existence, as well as that of all Germany. At the same time that the undersigned has the honour to recommend with the greatest confidence, this affair to the patriotism of the two high co-directors, he must request that this proposition, made on the part of the King of Prussia, may be immediately communicated to the whole circle, and that the assembly of the circle, at present separated, may be called together, to take the affair into consideration, and to send a deputation to the assembly of Franconia, for which the letter of convocation of the Elector of Mentz will soon be issued, and of which the opening will very probably be fixed for a very early period. The undersigned ventures to hope, from the sentiments of enlightened patriotism of the two high co-directors, that they will co-operate with all their efforts, for the attainment of so important an object; and it is in this hope that he will expect their declaration to be communicated to his court.

Verbal Declaration to the other Deputies from Baron de Hugel, Minister from Austria, to the Diet of the Empire, made in February 1794.

IN the present posture of affairs, his Majesty the Emperor deems it necessary for the safety of the Germanic body, that a numerous army belonging to the circles of the empire should be assembled on the Higher Rhine, under the orders of a general; and as this has been long the wish of many considerable States, their august chief flatters himself that all the members will be eager to hold their respective contingents in readiness, and that those who formerly redeemed them by means of money, will henceforth furnish men. His Imperial Majesty, in order to give a new proof of his solicitude in favour of the Germanic body, will confer the command on the Prince of Saxe Teschen, and will not, in the meantime, make any alteration with regard to the Austrian troops now on the Rhine.

Note delivered by the Austrian Envoy at the Diet of Ratisbon, on the part of the Emperor, to demand the sense of the Germanic States respecting the necessity of arming all the inhabitants on the frontiers of Germany, and the furnishing of a triple contingent on the part of the said States.

ALL Europe knows the manifold and just grounds which have compelled

compelled the Germanic empire, united under its ſupreme chief, to declare a general war, for the maintenance of the moſt binding covenants and the moſt ſacred treaties; for the preſervation of ſocial order, from a wild, deſtructive, and moſt anarchic tyranny, falſely called freedom; for the defence of an acknowledged religion from peſtilential atheiſm; for the ſupport of the conſtitution of the empire againſt an arbitary, horrible, and univerſal revolutionary power; for keeping up the Imperial honour; for the protection and future ſecurity of the Imperial privileges and the frontiers, and for obtaining a ſuitable and entire ſatisfaction againſt the common enemy of all public order, againſt the moſt wanton diſturbers of all the beneficent ties of ſocial happineſs, and the moſt cruel deſpots and violators of the moſt ſacred rights of mankind.

Equally well known are the different ſplendid victories from the firſt day of the opening of the laſt campaign, which were gained blow upon blow by the almoſt incredible bravery of the German troops on the Rhine, the Ruhr, the Maas, the Mayne, the Mozelle, &c. which were happily followed by the deliverance of the United Netherlands, invaded in the moſt lawleſs manner, and the emancipation of many other German diſtricts and important countries, from the ſway of falſe French liberty; the capture of Condé, the re-capture of the city and important fortreſs of Mentz, the taking of Valenciennes, Queſnoy, &c.

But this campaign, ſo glorious for battles, ſieges, and conqueſts, could not bring back the French to a more equitable and more juſt ſenſe of reaſon, principle, and action, towards the Germanic nation, offended to the higheſt degree. That faction, hoſtile to the human race, which ſtiles itſelf the National Convention of France, ſtrengthens daily her power of reſiſtance by the moſt terrible means, by numberleſs arbitrary confiſcations, by the plundering of the churches and the rich, having already ſeized the property of the clergy, nobility, and crown, and by the moſt deſperate meaſure of a general requiſition of all fighting men, ſupported by that moſt terrific inſtrument the guillotine.

The violent decrees, compelling the people to riſe in a maſs, have given additional force and ſtrength to the numerous hoſtile armies now in the field, ſo that they ſucceeded at laſt, after renovated, daily, and moſt violent attacks, notwithſtanding the ſteadieſt countenance and moſt gallant reſiſtance on the part of the German warriors, to re-take by their ſuperiority a part of the conqueſts—a loſs which, in all probability, would not have enſued, if the contingents of the empire had been properly ſent.

This general requiſition of all the fighting men effected a great ſuperiority, and changed entirely the mode of making war, increaſed the dangers and difficulties of this coercive war, and ſeems in ſome manner to neceſſitate the riſing in a maſs of the inhabitants of the frontiers of the Netherlands, Anterior Auſtria, Briſgau, and other places, in order to procure ſafety to

to the property of the royal subjects of the empire, againſt the ravages branded with the wildeſt exceſſes, occaſioned by an enemy driven to deſpair by the miſery which reigns in their own country, and emboldened by their recent ſucceſſes.

(Signed) COLLOREDO.
February, 1794.

Declaration of the King of Pruſſia againſt a general armament of the Inhabitants of the Empire, made in February 1794.

WHEN the propoſition for a general armament of the ſubjects of the empire was made at the aſſembly of the diet, the King of Pruſſia repreſented ſuch eſſential difficulties againſt this meaſure, that he could not have expected that the propoſition would have been carried to a *concluſum*.

II. For this reaſon his Majeſty finds himſelf under the neceſſity of laying them again once more before the ſix neareſt circles, with this obſervation, viz. "That if the ſaid circles cannot determine with themſelves to withdraw the ſaid *concluſum*, and render it of none effect, he will be forced, however contrary to his inclination, to withdraw his troops, as he cannot expoſe them to the danger which muſt neceſſarily reſult from this meaſure.

III. The reaſons that his Pruſſian Majeſty oppoſes to a general armament of the inhabitants of the empire, are the following, viz.

1. By employing the peaſants againſt the enemy, agriculture will want hands.

2. That there are not arms ſufficient to give to ſuch a maſs of people.

3. That it is impoſſible, in ſo ſhort a time, to teach the manual exerciſe to the inhabitants.

4. It has been found, by the experience of the two laſt campaigns, that the ſoldiers oppoſed to the French muſt be perfectly exerciſed to make head againſt them.

5. Laſtly, independent of the above reaſons, it is infinitely dangerous, at a time like the preſent, when the French are watching every advantage to inſinuate their principles, to aſſemble ſuch a maſs of men, whoſe ideas upon forms of government muſt be various, and among whom conſequently diſſenſions might ariſe, diſaſtrous in their conſequences both to the armies and to the conſtitution of the empire.

Declaration of his Pruſſian Majeſty, delivered to the States of the Germanic Circle, aſſembled at Frankfort, in February 1794.

HIS Majeſty the King of Pruſſia could not but hear with the higheſt diſpleaſure, that deſigns were imputed to him, tending to ſecularize biſhoprics and chapters, to ſuppreſs them, and to appropriate to himſelf certain cities of the empire, in order to indemnify himſelf for the immenſe ſums which he has expended for near two years, to carry on the war againſt the French, and to defend againſt them the Germanic empire and his illuſtrious allies.

His Majeſty, confident that his deſigns are pure, might paſs in ſilence

ſilence over ſuch rumours, and content himſelf with the conviction that they would find no belief on the part of the well-diſpoſed ſtates of the empire: but to give the moſt ample ſatisfaction, and to confound the malevolent, who invent ſimilar ſtories purpoſely, and perhaps to excite diſtruſt, the underſigned has orders formally to declare, that while his Majeſty makes war upon the French, he has never any view but the defence of the Germanic empire, and the maintenance of the conſtitution; that it never was his Majeſty's deſign to make conqueſts for himſelf; and that if conqueſts are made from France, the empire will have its ſhare; that he never conceived the leaſt idea of indemnifying himſelf at the expence of the empire, whoſe conſtitution has always been ſacred to him, and for whoſe maintenance he has already made ſo many ſacrifices, as is generally known.

The underſigned finally declares, that his Majeſty will never belie thoſe intentions in future, and will be always ready to ſecure and guaranty to the Germanic empire its territery and conſtitution, and to its ſtates in particular, both ſpiritual and temporal, their poſſeſſions and rights; in a word, the inviolable maintenance of the whole Germanic body, provided the empire, and above all, thoſe ſix circles which are moſt expoſed to danger at the preſent, will cooperate as much as the conſtitution and patriotiſm require of them.

(Signed) BARON HOCHSTETTER.

Letter from the King of Pruſſia to the Prince of Saxe Coburg.

I AM eager to inform you, that in conſequence of the negociations which have hitherto been carried on, it is my intention to give orders to my Field-marſhal Mollendorff to leave behind a corps of 20,000 men, under the command of Lieutenant-general Kalkreuth, to withdraw with the reſt of my army from the environs of Mentz, and to march towards Cologne. I requeſt you, for that purpoſe, to take the neceſſary meaſures, that the retreat of the moſt conſiderable part of my troops do not turn out advantageous to the enemy, but that the fortreſs of Mentz, and the empire in general, remain covered againſt hoſtile invaſion. It being in other reſpects neceſſary to make arrangements to procure to the troops who put themſelves on their march the neceſſary proviſions on the road to Cologne, their departure will not follow ſo rapidly; and thoſe troops ſhall not file off at once, but by diviſions—you will, therefore, have time ſufficient to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions. I hope, at the ſame time, that you will have the goodneſs to take ſuch meaſures, that when Field-marſhal Mollendorff ſhall have finiſhed his preparations, and when, by virtue of the orders received, he ſhall have informed you of the days on which the troops ſhall depart, the execution of this reſolution do not ſuffer any obſtacle.

(Signed) WILLIAM FREDERICK.

Potſdam, March 11, 1794.

Declaration of the King of Pruſſia to the German Empire, on his ſeceſſion from the preſent Continental Confederacy.

THE period being arrived in which his Pruſſian Majeſty is forced

is forced to diſcontinue taking that active part in the preſent war, which hitherto has been the effect of his generoſity and pure patriotiſm; on account, and in conſideration of what is owing by his Majeſty, to the preſervation of his own eſtates, and to the welfare of his ſubjects, his Majeſty thinks it particularly his duty to lay before their Highneſſes the Co-States of the Germian empire, the real cauſes and true motives by which he was induced to take ſuch a reſolution.

At the time when the French nation, in the unfortunate deluſion of imaginary liberty, had not only diſſolved every tie of civic order amongſt themſelves, but alſo meditated the ſubverſion of the repoſe and welfare of other nations, by the introduction of their anarchic horrors, and in fact, had already fallen in an hoſtile manner on ſuch territories of his Imperial Majeſty, and of the German empire, as were neareſt to them, his Majeſty thought proper to unite his juſt arms with thoſe of his Imperial Majeſty, and afterwards with thoſe of the whole German empire, and thoſe of his other allies, in order to ſet bounds to the deſtructive enterprizes of a delirious nation, and to reſtore peace and happineſs to thoſe as guiltleſs as highly endangered ſtates. This object was ever the guide of the arms of his Majeſty down to this preſent moment, and more impreſſive on his mind, in proportion as the madneſs of the French augmented, and the danger of all Germany became more imminent. The efforts of his Majeſty to ſet a boundary againſt this mighty torrent of ill fortune on the German territories, were, it is true, at firſt but proportioned to the danger, but ſoon exceeded the utmoſt of his ability. The war was not a war with a civilized nation, and well-diſciplined armies, but a war with a delirious and never diminiſhing ſwarm of men, with a highly populous nation, provided with every reſource for war to back them—a ſet of men who did not fight merely for victory, but who fought by fire, ſword, and the poiſon of their pernicious doctrines, to ſubvert the whole ſocial edifice of Germany.

To oppoſe this almoſt unconquerable enemy, the King, on his part, brought into the field 70,000 men, and thoſe his choiceſt troops; with theſe has his Majeſty combated, even until this third campaign, under every imaginable obſtacle, far from the Pruſſian dominions, amidſt already exhauſted lands, exceſs of dearneſs of the neceſſaries of life, and almoſt inſupportable expence.

Beſides theſe unparalleled efforts, his Majeſty has made to the common cauſe every poſſible ſacrifice which the national ſtrength of Pruſſia would permit; nor has he heſitated to expoſe even his ſacred perſon, and the princes of his family, to every danger by which the repoſe and ſafety of Germany could be conquered from the enemy. For this object alone has ſo much Pruſſian blood been ſpilt—for this, ſuch immenſe treaſures drained from his dominions. Such a war muſt neceſſarily have more exhauſted his reſources, than thoſe of ſuch powers whoſe dominions lay more contiguous to the ſcene of

of hoſtility; and thus his Majeſty fell into an abſolute impoſſibility of taking any longer that active part from his own means, without utterly ruining his own dominions, and entirely exhauſting the property of his ſubjects.

His Majeſty, however, ſtill remained deeply impreſſed with a patriotic hope of being able ſtill to lend help and protection, and that with increaſed force, to the German empire; and to be enabled to do this, he entered into a negociation with the confederate powers, propoſing certain arrangements to them, the principal points of which were, beſides the payment of a ſubſidy to him, a ſtipulation that the ſubſiſtence of the greateſt part of the Pruſſian army ſhould be provided for by the empire in general; and that, until a final plan ſhould be concluded to this effect, that the ſix anterior circles of the empire, who lay moſt expoſed to danger, and who reaped immediate benefit from the defence, ſhould be charged proviſionally with the furniſhing of the ſame; and it was alſo declared to the diet of the empire, and the circles above-mentioned, that in caſe theſe frank and free propoſals were not acceded to by the Emperor, his Majeſty would be compelled to withdraw the greateſt part of his troops, and to leave the empire to its fate.

Several ſtates have made declarations ſuitable to the preſſing circumſtances, in which they, and the whole empire, were placed; in particular his Electoral Highneſs of Mentz, full of exalted and patriotic ſentiments towards the empire, complied with every requiſition relative to the ſubſiſtence of the Pruſſian troops which depended upon him, and ſummoned an immediate congreſs of the ſix circles. His Majeſty entertained a juſt expectation, that ſimilar good conſequences would every where have flowed from his patriotic intentions, and his hard-earned merits in his former defence of the whole empire. Every retroſpect ſeemed to confirm theſe hopes; on one ſide, the paſt afforded the admoniſhing picture of the dreadful torrent of an all-ſubverting enemy; on the other, the noble and heroic ſtand of the Pruſſian army, and the immenſe ſacrifices of the blood of his warriors, and the treaſures of his dominions, made by the magnanimity of his Pruſſian Majeſty. Even then that army was ſtanding on the banks of the Rhine, the bulwark of the whole empire, and to which the enemy did not dare to penetrate; but the ſubſiſtence of that army, undertaken by the whole empire, was the ſole condition under which it no longer could be effective, and which the phyſical impoſſibility of Pruſſia alone bearing the burthen, did abſolutely oblige Pruſſia to inſiſt upon. Was it acceded to, ſo as the future afforded the conſolatory proſpect of his Majeſty acting with that known alacrity—that well proved fidelity, in the defence of the empire, and the protection of its conſtitution, to the utmoſt of his power? But every impartial obſerver might have eaſily anticipated the conſequences of the refuſal of the required ſubſiſtence and the return of the Pruſſian troops into his Majeſty's own

ſtates.

ſtates. Then might the overpowerful and delirious enemy ravage, uncontrouled, throughout the empire, and with plundering and murderous hands, unbridled and unlimited, bear down the Germans, their huſbandry, all law, order and property, ſubvert with anarchic abominations, the conſtitutions of more imperial ſtates, annihilate princes and nobles, erafe the temples of religion, and drive from the hearts of Germans their natural love of virtue and order, by the aids of the ſeductive allurements of licentiouſneſs, and the precepts of an unfeeling immorality.

All theſe and ſimilar obſervations, ſo ſimple and ſo obvious as they were, did, nevertheleſs, not ſucceed in bringing the arrangement for the ſubſiſtence of the army to a juſt concluſion. This propoſal was, beſides this, ſufficiently connected with another arrangement, which his Majeſty had deſigned to offer the confederate powers, but which it did not ſeem good to his Imperial Majeſty to comply with, and which other ſtates did alſo not approve.

Moreover, this propoſal gave riſe to an exception, which, after ſo many and meritorious actions, ſuch unparalleled ſacrifices which his Majeſty had already made, he in truth, had no reaſon to expect, and on which his Majeſty, not without much ſorrow, finds it his duty to make ſome remarks.

The ſummoning of the ſix circles, by the Elector of Mentz, has been repreſented as irregular, though in fact it is ſtrictly conſtitutional. Meaſures there were propoſed preciſely contradictory to the negociations for the ſubſiſtence, and the univerſal arming of the peaſants was reſolved on, though it is plain, that ſuch a meaſure is as inefficient as dangerous, and completely adverſe to the object propoſed—inefficient againſt an enemy who preſſes forward in a maſs with an infanity of fury, approved tactics, and a numerous artillery—dangerous, becauſe, when the peaſant is armed and brought away from his ordinary mode of life, the enemy may eaſily become his moſt dangerous ſeducer, and finally adverſe to the object propoſed, becauſe ſuch an armament is wholly incompatible with the operations and ſuoſiſtence of diſciplined armies. Theſe reaſons, which flowed from the moſt ſincere conviction of his Majeſty, have been repreſented in the moſt odious colours; and the moſt falſe and ſcandalous motives have been attributed to him for his diſſent to this meaſure;—and, in order to prevent the arrangement of the ſubſiſtence, projects of extending his dominions, of ſecularizing eccleſiaſtical territories, and of oppreſſing the empire, have been rumoured to have been by him in contemplation; and of which his Majeſty's known patriotiſm, and acknowledged virtues, will form the beſt contradiction.

After what is paſt, every hope of the ſubſiſtence being acceded to, being now vaniſhed, his Majeſty does now renounce the ſame, and alſo every other reſolution of the empire, and of the circles relative thereto.—his Majeſty has therefore taken the reſolution no longer to grant his protection to the German empire; but to order

his

his army, (excepting twenty thousand auxillaries, according to different treaties) inſtantly to return to his own dominions.

At the ſame time that his Majeſty finds himſelf compelled to withdraw a portion of his troops from the defence of thoſe ſtates, for which they have already combated with ſo much glory, he expreſſes the moſt earneſt wiſhes, that thoſe conſequences he has above alluded to may not take place, but that the exertions of his Imperial Majeſty, and of the empire, may eventually inſure to both a full indemnity, and a general and honourable peace. To his Majeſty remains the juſt conſolation, and permanent glory of having on his part, made ſuch ſacrifices to the defence and ſafety of the Emperor in the preſent awful criſis, as certainly few ſtates in Europe, or members of the Germanic body, could, without much heſitation, have reſolved upon.

Berlin, *March* 13, 1794.

Count Goltz, the Pruſſian Ambaſſador, at the Diet of the German Empire, on the 7th of April, 1794, declared, in the name of the Sovereign his Maſter:

THAT his Pruſſian Majeſty, in conſequence of the repeated wiſhes of the ſtates of the empire, and the negociations which are going forward between him and the court of Great Britain, has at laſt yielded to continue his troops in their preſent poſition for the protection of the empire, and this only in the confidential expectation, that the eſtates will ſpeedily proceed to deliberations upon the meaſures for procuring to his Majeſty the means of maintaining thoſe troops for the future for the protection of the empire againſt a powerful enemy.

Declaration of the Pruſſian Miniſter, Baron Hochſtetter, to the Circles of the Upper Rhine, dated 5th April, 1794, reſpecting the Pruſſian contingent.

IN anſwer to the claim made by the Comte de Lechrbach, in the name of his Majeſty the Emperor, as chief of the Germanic corps, the court of Berlin has reſolved to declare, that the King would never refuſe doing his duty as a member of the empire; but that in the caſe in which he now is effectively called on, he will conduct himſelf after the example of the other Electors and illuſtrious Co-eſtates, proportionably to his obligations, according to the Germanic conſtitution and the ancient uſage.

To the above Declaration the Baron Hochſtetter verbally added,

1. The greater part of the army under command of Field-Marſhal Mollendorff, will defer their march into the Pruſſian dominions, and remain in the places of the Lower Rhine, until further orders.

2. This delay of the return of the Pruſſian troops to his Majeſty's dominions, however, is eventual, and will certainly ceaſe as ſoon as the hopes of his Majeſty vaniſh with reſpect to the ſubſidies which he claims from the ſix anterior circles.

3. His Majeſty wiſhes that the States of the ſix anterior circles might aſſemble, and deliberate proviſion-

provisionally upon the question, whether measures were to be taken for the purpose of providing for, and maintaining the army of his Prussian Majesty, for the protection of the empire.

4. There is no time to be lost; if his Majesty once should give decisive orders for the army to return to his dominions, no remonstrances upon that subject would any longer be listened to.

5. His Majesty has to add, to the demands already specified in his declaration to the directors of the treasury of the empire, the just claim of 1,800,000 rix-dollars, the expences for the siege of the fortress of Mentz.

Treaty between his Britannic Majesty, the King of Prussia, and the States General of the United Provinces. Signed at the Hague, the 19th of April 1794.

THEIR Majesties the King of Great Britain, and of Prussia, and their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, being animated by the same desire of putting a stop to the progress of the system of anarchy and crimes by which civil society has been menaced, and being desirous of concerting together to support, in the most effectual manner, the common cause in which they are engaged, in consequence of the unjust and cruel war, which the persons, who exercise the powers of government in France, have raised up against several of the great powers of Europe, have agreed, in conformity to the bonds of friendship and alliance which so happily unite them, to conclude the present treaty; and, for this purpose, they have named their respective plenipotentiaries, to wit, his Britanic Majesty, the Lord Baron of Malmsbury, a peer of the kingdom of Great Britain, privy counsellor, knight of the order of the Bath; his Prussian Majesty, the Sieur Chrêtien Henry Curce, Count de Haugwitz, his minister of state, of war, and of the cabinet, knight of the order of the Red Eagle; and their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, the Sieurs Laurent Pierre Van de Spiegel, counsellor, pensionary of the province of Holland and West Friesland, keeper of the seals, and deputy of the said provinces at the Assembly of the States General, and Henry Fagel, greffier of their High Mightinesses: who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles.

Aricle I. His Majesty the King of Prussia engages to furnish an army, which shall be composed of sixty-two thousand four hundred men, conformably to the establishment which he has caused to be delivered to the ministers of the maritime powers; which establishment shall be considered as making part of the present treaty. This army shall remain united under a Prussian commander, and shall act, in the most effectual manner, against the common enemy, either separately or jointly, with a body of troops, in the pay of the maritime powers, or of one of them. The said army shall be and shall remain as complete as possible, and shall be employed, according

cording to a concert on military points between his Britannic Majeſty, his Pruſſian Majeſty, and their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces, wherever it ſhall be judged to be moſt ſuitable to the intereſts of the maritime powers: this army ſhall arrive at the place of its deſtination on the twenty-fourth of May, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-four, or ſooner if poſſible. It ſhall be provided with field-pieces with their carriages, and alſo with the tents and all military equipments neceſſary for acting in the field.

Art. II. It is agreed by the high contracting parties, that the troops which his Pruſſian Majeſty is bound to furniſh to his Britannic Majeſty and to their High Mightineſſes, by virtue of the reſpective treaties of alliance between his Pruſſian Majeſty and the maritime powers, ſhall be compriſed in this army of ſixty-two thouſand four hundred men; and that, by employing the ſaid army in the manner declared in this preſent treaty, his Pruſſian Majeſty ſhall be deemed to have furniſhed to his high allies the ſuccours ſtipulated in the ſaid treaties.

Art. III. In order to facilitate to his Pruſſian Majeſty the means of acting with vigour, and conformably to the ſentiments of zeal and concern with which he is animated for the common cauſe, his Britannic Majeſty and their High Mightineſſes agree to furniſh to his Pruſſian Majeſty a ſubſidy of fifty thouſand pounds ſterling per month, until the end of the preſent year, and to be reckoned from the beginning of the month in which the preſent treaty is ſigned.

Art. IV. His Britannic Majeſty and their High Mightineſſes will pay to his Pruſſian Majeſty, immediately, the ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, to enable him to defray the charge of completing the above-mentioned army, and the firſt expences neceſſary for putting it in a ſtate of action, and for carrying it to the place where it is to act; and, at the period of the return of the ſaid troops, his Britannic Majeſty and their High Mightineſſes will moreover pay to his Pruſſian Majeſty the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, for the expences of the return of the army into the territories of his Pruſſian Majeſty. The ſaid payments, for the expences of completing and putting the troops in motion, ſhall be made immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, as well as that of the firſt ſubſidy, to be paid monthly, of fifty thouſand pounds. The following months ſhall be diſcharged in advance, at the beginning of each month. All theſe payments ſhall be made at Berlin by the maritime powers, agreeably to ſuch arrangement as they ſhall agree upon between themſelves; and the pound ſterling ſhall be reckoned at ſix crowns in Frederics d'Or.

Art. V. The above-mentioned ſubſidy and payments ſhall ſatisfy all demands which his Pruſſian Majeſty might be entitled to make upon the maritime powers for the expence of the army; all theſe

expences, of what nature soever they may be, being to be defrayed by his Prussian Majesty, with the exception only of the expences of bread and forage, which shall be furnished by the maritime powers, as well for the thirty-five thousand four hundred men, whom his Prussian Majesty engages to employ over and above the stipulated succours, as for those succours themselves, in a manner conformable to the terms of the treaties of alliance subsisting between the maritime powers and his said Majesty. But, in order to avoid the difficulties which might arise relative to the furnishing of these articles in kind, the high contracting parties agree that this expence shall be satisfied in money, reckoning at the rate of one pound twelve shillings (sterling money of England) per month, for each man of the sixty-two thousand four hundred to be furnished by his Prussian Majesty, according to the establishment hereinbefore mentioned, and the payment of this sum shall be made in advance, at the beginning of each month, in the same manner as that of the subsidy, and shall begin the same day. But, if it shall happen in future that any variation shall be made, by consent of the high contracting parties, in the respective proportions of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, settled by the said establishment; in such case a new valuation of the aforesaid pecuniary aid shall be made, according to the new proportion of rations and portions which may result from the said variation, so that the said valuation may not be beyond the actual expences occasioned by the furnishing of the articles in question, according to the proportion of men and horses which shall be employed.

Art. VI. It is agreed, that all conquests made by this army shall be made in the names of the two maritime powers, and shall remain at their disposal during the course of the war, and at the peace, to be made such use of as they shall then judge most proper.

Art. VII. The two maritime powers shall name two persons commissioned to reside in their names at the head quarters of the Prussian army, to keep up the necessary communication and correspondence between the respective armies.

Art. VIII. This treaty shall continue in its full force until the end of the present year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

Art. IX. The present treaty shall be ratified by all parties, and the exchange of the ratifications shall be made in the space of one month, or sooner if possible.

In witness of which, we the Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty, and of his Prussian Majesty, and of the Lords States General of the United Provinces, by virtue of our respective powers, have signed the present treaty, and have thereunto affixed the seal of our arms.

Done at the Hague, the 19th of April, in the year of grace one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

(L. S.) HAUGWITZ.
(L. S.) MALMSBURY.
(L. S.) H. FAGEL.
(L. S.) L. P. VAN DE SPIEGEL.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

THE Plenipotentiaries of their High Mightineſſes not having thought themſelves empowered to contract, at the preſent moment, any engagements relative to the payment of the ſubſidies ſtipulated in the preſent treaty, beyond the term of the preſent year, this treaty has been concluded only for that term; but their Britannic and Pruſſian Majeſties, being deſirous of continuing the effect of the aforeſaid engagements until the end of the war, will enter into further concert, as well between themſelves as with their High Mightineſſes, for the renewal of the preſent treaty, for ſo long as the war ſhall laſt, on the ſame conditions as are therein declared with reſpect to the troops, to their employment, and to the payment of the aforeſaid ſubſidies, as well as to the furniſhing bread and forage, conformable to Art. V. of the treaty; without however adding any thing for the expences of completing the troops, or for thoſe of putting them in motion.

Done at the Hague, the nineteenth of April, in the year of grace one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-four

(L. S.) HAUGWITZ.
(L. S.) MALMSBURY.

Proclamation by the Emperor, dated Bruſſels, 17th April 1794.

EUROPE has, during five years witneſſed the calamitous ſtate of the wretched kingdom of France; the evils of which increaſing daily, do not as yet hold out a proſpect of their termination. The impious faction which tyrannizes over that kingdom, to maintain its monſtrous ſyſtem has at once attacked under the ſpecious pretext of reform, religion, the conſtitution of the ſtate, and all the baſes of ſocial order, which this faction has haſtened to deſtroy, ſubſtituting in its place a pretended equality, abſolutely chimerical.

Reſolved invariably to maintain the religion and the conſtitution which have for ages conſtituted the happineſs of the Belgic provinces, we are deſirous, by a rigid law, to ſupport the public wiſhes ſo ſtrongly and generally pronounced by the horror the whole country has diſplayed at the French revolutionary ſyſtems.

The undermentioned articles follow the preamble in the uſual form:

I. All perſons, whether foreigners or inhabitants, who ſhall, by conſpiracies or plots, attempt to introduce or propagate in this country, the above ſyſtem, ſhall be conſidered as guilty of high treaſon, and puniſhed with death.

II. All thoſe who by words or writing ſhall favour the propagation of ſuch a ſyſtem, ſhall be puniſhed by impriſonment.

III. The aſſociations, known under the titles of clubs and literary ſocieties, as well as every other ſimilar aſſemblage of men, whatever its denominations may be, ſhall be bound to inform the fiſcal counſellors of the object of their ſociety, and the names of thoſe who compoſe it, for the purpoſe of obtaining in writing a conſent from the ſaid fiſcal counſellors, which ſhall, however, be merely

provisional. Every act of disobedience to be punished by a fine of one hundred crowns. This clause to extend to all the cities, towns, and villages, of the Imperial Netherlands.

IV. Those who shall lodge informations against such as are guilty of the above-named crimes and excesses, shall have a recompence, proportioned to the magnitude of the discoveries they shall make. For the crimes mentioned in the first article this recompence shall not be less than 1000 crowns. And,

V. Informing accomplices shall have the same recompence, with forgiveness, unless they shall have been the chief and principal abettors.

Address to the Inhabitants of the Netherlands.

The Emperor and King,

REVERED Fathers in God, Nobles, dear and liege vassals, dear and well beloved: by our Royal dispatch of the 30th of April last, we announced to you the motives which induced us to have recourse to your zeal; the motives which our commissioners have since disclosed to you, concern yourselves as much as they concern us.—Since that period the mass of the enemy, which has precipitated itself on Belgium, rendering your danger more pressing, it becomes more necessary to employ all the means in your power, and to check the operation of that mass by all the force which it is possible to collect and combine.

Our armies have suffered, and stand in need of a large number of recruits; and although we have seen with as much satisfaction as gratitude, the sacrifices which you have evinced a wish to make, in order to excite our subjects to enter into voluntary engagements, we cannot conceal from you that, as this resource has been hitherto unproductive and unavailing, our army will perhaps be no longer in a condition to employ, against an enemy who makes such efforts to invade these provinces, that resistance and those offensive measures which have hitherto preserved them.

It would be superfluous to recal to your recollection that hitherto our Hereditary States have furnished the major part of those who have defended you, and undoubtedly our Belgic provinces, so flourishing, so populous, and so interested in the success of the war, which unhappily may be attended with their annihilation and total ruin, will not be backward in furnishing men to assist in the defence of those provinces.

It is at the present moment, while the period is not yet elapsed, that we address ourselves to you for an object more important even than that contained in our dispatch of the 30th April; we demand for our army, from all the provinces, a levy of men, and we are persuaded that, penetrated with the necessity of satisfying so just a demand, you will only pause on the mode of carrying it into execution. We do not hesitate to propose to you that which is most conformable to reason, to justice, and to the general interests and exigencies of the moment, viz. An equitable assessment on all the districts, each of which shall be directed to furnish one man in every hundred,

hundred, as far as it regards its general population, and five men in every hundred capable of bearing arms.

It is to this demand that we immediately expect your conſent, and your moſt efficacious concurrence, leaving, however, to your choice the beſt means of ſatisfying it, at the ſame time informing you that this extraordinary levy is ſo neceſſary and ſo preſſing, that if in the execution of it you ſtand in need of our ſovereign authority, we are diſpoſed to grant it to you in the moſt extenſive manner.

You have, it is true, offered ſeveral times to raiſe ſome new corps, but we have conſidered that it would take too much time to organize them, and to train them to the military exerciſe and evolutions; while, on the other hand, men mingled among ſoldiers will immediately render us that ſervice which we expect from them.

You cannot diſſemble—your future exiſtence depends perhaps on the ſpeedy execution of ſuch an increaſe of force—you ſee your enemies multiply at all points of your frontiers, while our armies moulder away by our victories, and by thoſe glorious conteſts which they are forced ſo frequently to maintain.—Beſides, the efforts that you will make in this reſpect, cannot be a grievous burthen on a country ſo populous, and on a nation formerly recognized as brave and warlike.

Given at our head-quarters at Tournay, 26th May 1794.

To our revered Fathers, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS.

Manifeſto preſented by Barrere, from the Committee of Public Safety, to the National Convention of France, on the 30th of May.

SHALL the French Republic be always forced to derive her energy only from events? Too long has the attention of France been concentred on the conſpiracies of Danton and Hebert. It is time that ſhe ſhould know, that if the traitors were allowed to carry on their criminal projects with impunity but for a few days, France, ſurrendered to England and Auſtria, would be nothing more than a pile of cinders.

At the period when the conſpirators firſt took the veil of patriotiſm, a ſyſtem of calumny was adopted at London—a ſyſtem that has ſince been rendered permanent. From that period, too, projects have been continually formed againſt the lives of certain members of the National Convention of France.

A few days only have elapſed ſince the journals of foreign powers aſſerted, that the poignards of aſſaſſins had ſtabbed all the members of the committees of Public and General Safety, and that a revolution had taken place at Paris. A few days only have elapſed ſince the Engliſh newſpapers propheſied that Robeſpierre would ſoon be no more. Robeſpierre has eſcaped the poignards of the aſſaſſins; but theſe miniſters ſtill think, that, at leaſt, he cannot exiſt under their calumnies, and that, by aſſerting that his intentions are to make himſelf the dictator of France, they ſhall be able to concentre on his head the combined deteſtation of the people of the French Republic.

In theſe deſpicable journals the Republican ſoldiers are invariably

characterized as the ſoldiers of Robeſpierre—the ſoldiers of Robeſpierre, it is ſaid, have attacked Menin—the ſoldiers of Robeſpierre have evacuated Arlon, the ſoldiers of Robeſpierre have advanced towards Furnes.

We ſhould think that we were guilty of injuſtice to the power of the people, to the authority of the National Convention, to the unremitted labours of the committee of Public Safety, to the patriotiſm of Robeſpierre, and to the courage of the armies, if we were to condeſcend to refute ſuch calumnies, which, equally groſs and atrocious, are calculated only to amuſe the Engliſh in their brothels or their taverns. We ſtate them merely to prove the intimate relation that ſubſiſts between the calumniator of Robeſpierre and that Engliſh agent who ſo lately ſent a new Corday to Paris.

It is the ſame Engliſh who, in ſpeaking of the French armies, expreſs themſelves in the following manner:—That horde, the Convention, have adopted ſuch a mode of conduct—the committee of Public Safety has iſſued ſuch orders, as if no national repreſentation exiſted, and as if the power of the French Republic were in the hands of one man.

The Engliſh have invariably attempted to miſlead the human mind. At the commencement of the revolution they endeavoured to produce a belief that France was contending only for a change of dynaſty. In the progreſs of the revolution they inſinuated that projects had been formed in France to raiſe a particular perſon to the dictatorſhip—Theſe projects were attributed to the committee of Public Safety, for the purpoſe of aſſerting that Robeſpierre was to be the dictator.

The phantom, which the Engliſh conjured up, has been made to flit before the eyes of Republicans, who have proved themſelves to be ſuperior to corruption, and whoſe mighty efforts, ſeconded and ſupported by the invincible courage of the armies, and the gigantic power of the people, muſt annihilate Great Britain. The Engliſh ring in the ears of the people the word dictatorſhip, for the purpoſe of exciting them to riſe up and murder their repreſentatives.

Are we returned to the time of the Briſſotine dominion, when the inſidious Louvet ſcattered his venom againſt Robeſpierre? Are we returned to the period of the conſpiracy of that animal, Egalité? Muſt we again endeavour to preſerve the friends of liberty, and the armies of the Republic, from theſe new ſnares which England has prepared, by diſperſing her journals through the frontier departments.

We have been witneſſes to an inſidious expreſſion of uneaſineſs for the ſafety of the deputies, and to a propoſition for ſurrounding them with guards, and thereby diſtinguiſhing them from the maſs of the people. Friends of liberty, ſuſpect ſuch inſidious propoſitions. Be aſſured that the authors of them are not ſincerely attached to the Republic.—The members of the committee of Public Safety need no guard—their beſt, their

ſureſt

ſureſt protection is the love of the people—the eſteem of every good citizen—and the fortitude of their fellow deputies.

Five years of revolutionary experience have taught the people to miſtruſt the exaggerated repreſentations of men who are the natural foes of liberty.

They are the ſcoundrels who, to make us hatred, endeavour to aſſimilate us to themſelves, and who ſpeak of the troops of a deputy in the ſame manner as they ſpeak of the troops of William, or of George. They wiſh to attach to us the character of tyrants, becauſe they are convinced that all France deteſts tyranny.—Yes, ye ſpeculators, ye dealers in treachery and ſlaves, ye bankers of crimes, we deteſt tyranny, for we abhor you.—The hatred of Rome againſt Carthage is revived in the hearts of Frenchmen, in the ſame degree as the Punic faith is revived in the hearts of Kings.

Not content with letting looſe aſſaſſins to maſſacre us—not content with letting looſe calumniators to defame us, you wiſh to make us die a lingering death, and to ſtarve us by ſeizing the corn which is deſtined for our ſupport.

The favourite ſyſtem of England is to corrupt the human race, and to exterminate one country for the purpoſe of enſlaving another.—That ſyſtem which they beſt underſtand is a ſyſtem by which murder is organized, and a project of famine carried with facility into execution.

What people, not in Europe alone, but in the globe, we would aſk, have not been furniſhed with ample cauſe of accuſation againſt theſe iſlanders? Africa bids them give her back the ſons whom they have ſent into perpetual ſlavery.

Aſia demands from them thoſe poſſeſſions which they have laid waſte.

America points to them, with a reproachful hand, as the cauſe of her miſeries.

Europe owes to them her corruption.

They do not diſgrace their origin. Deſcended from the Carthaginians, who dealt in the fleſh of beaſts and ſlaves, they have not diſcarded the commerce of their forefathers. Cæſar, when he landed on their iſland, found them a ferocious race, contending with the wolves for the fee-ſimple of the woods. Their ſubſequent civilization, their civil and naval wars, all bear the ſtamp and character of their primeval ferocity.

In Bengal they ſtarved ſeveral thouſands of the human race for the purpoſe of conquering a ſmall number, and of procuring an inconſiderable extent of territory. This project was executed with that degree of coldneſs which is the prominent feature of their national character.—They would rather reign the ſovereigns of a church-yard than ceaſe to extend their conqueſts.

On the 7th Prairial (26th May 1794) a ſuppoſed deſign of aſſaſſinating Robeſpierre was diſcovered and attributed to the Engliſh, upon which the National Convention of France decreed; THAT NO ENGLISH NOR HANOVERIAN

PRISONERS SHALL BE MADE; and on the 11th Prairial, after the above declaration, Barrere propoſed to the Convention, that the above decree ſhould be accompanied by the following *addreſs to the armies of the Republic*; which was agreed to.

England is capable of every outrage on humanity; and of every crime towards the Republic. She attacks the rights of nations, and threatens to annihilate liberty.

How long will you ſuffer to continue on your frontier, the ſlaves of George—the ſoldiers of the moſt atrocious of tyrants?

He formed the Congreſs of Pilnitz, and brought about the ſcandalous ſurrender of Toulon. He maſſacred your brethren at Genoa, and burned our magazines in the maritime towns. He corrupted our cities, and endeavoured to deſtroy the national repreſentation. He ſtarved your plains, and purchaſed treaſons on the frontiers.

When the event of battles ſhall put in your power either Engliſh or Hanoverians, bring to your remembrance the vaſt tracts of country Engliſh ſlaves have laid waſte. Carry your view to La Vendee, Toulon, Lyons, Landrecies, Martinique, and St. Domingo, places ſtill reeking with the blood which the atrocious policy of the Engliſh has ſhed. Do not truſt to their artful language, which is an additional crime, worthy of their perfidious character and Machiavelian government. Thoſe who boaſt that they abhor the tyranny of George, ſay, can they fight for him?

No, no, Republican ſoldiers, you ought therefore, when victory ſhall put it in your power, either Engliſhmen or Hanoverians, to ſtrike; not one of them ought to return to the traiterous territory of England, or to be brought into France. Let the Britiſh ſlaves periſh, and Europe be free.

Duke of York's General Orders,

JUNE 7.

HIS Royal Highneſs the Duke of York thinks it incumbent on him to announce to the Britiſh and Hanoverian troops under his command, that the National Convention of France, purſuing that gradation of crimes and horrors which has diſtinguiſhed the periods of its government, as the moſt calamitous of any, that has yet occurred in the hiſtory of the world, has juſt paſſed a decree, that their ſoldiers ſhall give no quarters to the Britiſh or Hanoverian troops. His Royal Highneſs anticipates the indignation and horror which has naturally ariſen in the minds of the brave troops, whom he addreſſes, upon receiving this information. His Royal Highneſs deſires, however, to remind them, that mercy to the vanquiſhed is the brighteſt gem in a ſoldier's character, and exhorts them not to ſuffer their reſentment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty on their part, which may ſully the reputation they have acquired in the world. His Royal Highneſs believes that it would be difficult for brave men to conceive that any ſet of men, who are themſelves exempt from

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sharing in the dangers of war, should be so base and cowardly as to seek to aggravate the calamities of it, upon the unfortunate people who are subject to their orders.

It was, indeed, reserved for the present times to produce to the world the proof of the possibility of the existence of such atrocity and infamy. The pretence for issuing this decree, even if founded in truth, would justify it only to minds similar to those of the members of the National Convention. It is, in fact, too absurd to be noticed, and still less to be refuted. The French must themselves see through the flimsy artifice of an intended assassination, by which Robespierre has succeeded in procuring that military guard, which has at once established him the successor of the unfortunate Louis, by whatever name he may choose to dignify his future reign. In all the wars which from the earliest times have existed between the English and the French nations, they have been accustomed to consider each other in the light of generous as well as brave enemies, while the Hanoverians for a century, the allies of the former, have shared in this reciprocal esteem. Humanity and kindness have at all times taken place, the instant that opposition ceased; and the same cloak has been frequently seen covering those who were wounded, and enemies, whilst indiscriminately conveying to the hospitals of the conquerors.

The British and Hanoverian armies will not believe that the French nation, even under their present infatuation, can so far forget their characters as soldiers, as to pay any attention to a decree, as injurious to themselves, as it is disgraceful to the persons who passed it: on this confidence his Royal Highness trusts, that the soldiers of both nations will confine their sentiments of resentment and abhorrence to the National Convention alone; persuaded that they will be joined in them by every Frenchman who possesses one spark of honour, or one principle of a soldier: and his Royal Highness is confident, that it will only be on finding, contrary to every expectation, that the French army has relinquished every title to the fair character of soldiers, and of men, by submitting to and obeying so atrocious an order, that the brave troops under his command will think themselves justified, and indeed under the necessity of adopting a species of warfare, for which they will then stand acquitted to their own conscience, to their country, and the world: in such an event the French army alone will be answerable for the ten-fold vengeance which will fall upon themselves, their wives, and their children, and their unfortunate country, already groaning under every calamity, which the accumulated crimes of unprincipled ambition and avarice can heap upon their devoted victims.

His Royal Highness desires these orders may be read and explained to the men at their successive roll-callings.

Commentary of Robespierre, on the humane and manly Instructions issued by his Royal Highness the Duke

Duke of York, in General Orders to the Army. Delivered in the Jacobin Club, on the 3 Meſſidor, June 21, 1794.

IT is time that patriots ſhould fix their attention on the dangers of the country; they are not yet paſt. In vain the armies of the Republic ſhall triumph over our enemies from without, if we do not deprive their emiſſaries of all the means of aſſaſſinating liberty even in its moſt ſacred aſylum. I do not come to point out to you all the dangers which threaten the national repreſentation; I have to lay before you an object ſtill more important, from the deep laid manner in which it is concerted, and the perfidious end which it has in view.

I come to ſubmit to your inſpection a ſort of proclamation, publiſhed in the Britiſh armies by order of the Duke of York, a proclamation iſſued in conſequence of the report of Barrere, and the decree by which it was followed; that no Engliſh or Hanoverian ſoldier ſhould be made priſoner, and publiſhed with a deſign of exciting the hatred of the ſoldiers, in a more direct and forcible manner againſt the Convention. (Robeſpierre then read the proclamation.) Though very contemptible in itſelf, it will not be amiſs, continued he, to accompany it with a ſhort comment.

His Royal Highneſs reminds the Britiſh and Hanoverian troops, that clemency is the brigheſt gem in the character of a ſoldier: on this head he refers to the example of former periods; but what ſimilitude is there between the circumſtances as they were formerly, and as they are at preſent? What is there in common between liberty and deſpotiſm, between vice and virtue? That ſoldiers fighting for deſpots ſhould give their hands to conquered ſoldiers to return together to the hoſpital, can eaſily be conceived; that a ſlave ſhould hold intercourſe with a ſlave, a tyrant with a tyrant, can alſo eaſily be conceived, but that a freeman ſhould make any compromiſe with a tyrant or his ſatellite, valour with puſillanimity, virtue with vice, is what cannot be conceived, and is in its own nature impoſſible.

A free man can pardon his enemy if he only preſent to him death: he never can pardon him if he preſent to him chains. York talks of humanity! What! York a prince, a ſoldier of deſpotiſm. How odious is a tyrant, even when he talks of humanity!

York aſcribes the decree to a pretext, and he does not undertake to prove what the pretext is. Our troops, ſays he, will not believe that even the French nation, in their infatuation, &c. And what ſignifies to us what they believe, provided they believe in the valour of our ſoldiers, and the force of our bullets? Undoubtedly the French nation is infatuated, but the infatuation continues for a length of time, and undoubtedly it is reſerved for the Duke of York to enlighten the French nation.

His Highneſs draws a compariſon between France and England. To what tends this parallel? What is there in common between the inanimate heart of a ſlave, and that which glows with the ſacred love of liberty? England is a deſpicable meteor, which diſappears

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before the republican luminary. They would assimilate the French to the English in the field of battle, in order to corrupt the Republican virtues: a distance must be kept up between the soldiers of liberty and the slaves of tyranny.

We are not astonished that the Duke of York should have been so frightened by this decree, for the principal force of the tyrants combined against France consists in those machinations which they have been able to carry on in the heart of the country; they wish, after being conquered, still to preserve a medium of communication, in order to carry on their perfidious plots.

The Duke of York, by circulating his proclamation, probably imagines that the French armies will pay more deference to his orders than to the decrees of the Convention; but we are no longer in the time of Brissot, of Guadet, of Gensonné; the Republic has extricated itself from the numerous factions, it has destroyed them all. That of Orleans no longer exists, but the Republic exists, although it has not completely attained the end of the revolution; for it has secretly glided, if I may so express it, over a revolutionary tract, amidst rival factions, all of which tended to establish a new system of tyranny. The true republicans were regarded as intruders. While the Republic was advancing in its progress, all the factions exerted themselves in order to crush it, and its defenders: there were but few patriots in the commencement of the revolution; tyrants and their agents exerted themselves in every sense to sow amongst us division, discord, and disorganization: they well knew that no people can successfully combat its combined enemies, except by that concert, that union, that common point of rallying, which is alone the soul of all victories and triumphs.

This plan of division has been incessantly pursued in its immense ramifications: not being able to attack the people in a mass, they attempted to separate them from the Convention, the Convention from its Committees, and the members of the Committees from one another. Such is the object of the proclamations of the Duke of York: the factions are not yet annihilated, they will still raise their head. His Royal Highness flatters himself that the soldiers of the two nations will confine their resentment to the National Convention.

The Duke of York, then, relies upon treacherous plots in the interior: he relies upon the snares of imposture, on the system of immorality, and in fine on all crimes. What means also that distinction which the Duke of York confers upon me? I suppose myself a French citizen, and he makes me King of France and Navarre. I esteem too much the title of citizen, not to spurn at any title that would assimilate me to the Duke of York.—Can there be any thing more dear to a friend of liberty than the love of his fellow citizens? And would the French people descend from the highest summit of glory to debase themselves to a throne?

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The Duke of York says I am surrounded with a military guard; you best know how far such is the fact; but it is not difficult to perceive the insidious nature of the insinuation.

Let us distrust such snares: let us firmly adhere to principles: the system is against the Convention, and that is all that is necessary in order that it should be defeated.—They wish to render us suspected to the people, and deprive us of the courage requisite to unmask and encounter our enemies: they can only effect their object by poignards; while we exist, we will unmask and oppose tyrants, traitors, and criminals!

Barrere, on the 5th July 1794, said to the French Convention, "I am charged to present to you the following Decree:"

THE National Convention, after having heard the report of the committee of Public Safety, declare that the army of the North, and the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, do not cease to deserve well of their country.

The National Convention decree, that all the troops of the combined tyrants, who remained garrisoned in French towns, invaded by the enemy on the frontiers of the North, and who shall not surrender at discretion within 24 hours after being summoned by the generals of the armies of the Republic, shall not be admitted to any capitulation, and shall be put to the sword.

The present decree shall immediately be transmitted to the armies of the Republic.

This decree was adopted with the greatest applause, and a shout on all sides of Vive le Republique!

Substance of an Imperial Decree of Ratification, dated Vienna, the 14th of June 1794, and presented to the Dictature, in the Diet of Ratisbon.

SINCE the extraordinary manner in which the French seem determined to carry on this war, namely, by violence and force, to oblige all the men of their nation, able to carry arms, to march against the combined armies, by which means they increase their hostile forces to extraordinary numbers; and since the danger to which the German empire is exposed from the invasions, which such innumerable hordes are induced to make, from motives of hunger and desire to plunder, measures are required more than ever to strengthen the military forces of the empire: it is therefore advisable, that the army of the empire should be reinforced by a regular and well-equipped army, procured by the means of subsidies.

His Imperial Majesty, therefore, proposes to the empire to enter into a treaty with his Prussian Majesty, in consideration of reasonable subsidies, to furnish a certain specified corps of his troops for the service of the general cause. His Prussian Majesty, from his character of a generous and distinguished member of the Germanic empire, will undoubtedly oppose no obstacle to such a treaty, particularly as there exists already a corps of such brave troops (over

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and above the number of Pruſſian troops ſerving as contingents in the army of the empire) on the very ſpot where they might be ſerviceable to the general cauſe, and ready for action in a very ſhort time. Theſe ſubſidies ought to be offered in ready money, and his Imperial Majeſty to be authoriſed to enter into a negociation with the King of Pruſſia for that purpoſe, in the name of the empire.

His Imperial Majeſty, for the reaſon above ſtated, requeſts that the contingent troops, ſtill due from ſeveral of the ſtates of the empire, ſhall be ſent into the field againſt the moſt cruel of all enemies, as ſoon as poſſible.

Proclamation circulated at Bruſſels.

French Republic, one and indiviſible—Liberty—Equality.

Ghent, 20th Meſſidor, (8th July) the ſecond year of the French Republic.

RICHARD, the Repreſentative of the people, ſent to the army of the North, decrees as follows:

I. The perſons and property of the inhabitants of the conquered countries are put under the immediate protection of the French ſoldiers.

II. Every individual belonging to the army who ſhall be found a quarter of a league from the poſts, camps, or cantonments occupied by the French troops, and who cannot juſtify his conduct by the ſanction or leave of abſence from his officers, ſhall be conſidered as a plunderer, and puniſhed with death.

III. All the generals, captains, and ſubordinate officers, are made reſponſible for the rigid execution of this decree.

IV. The French ſoldiers are required, in the name of their country, to denounce to their chiefs all thoſe who may be found aiding, by exceſſes or acts of depredation, the cauſe of the enemies of liberty, or by violating the principles upon which the French Republic has been inſtituted.

V. The preſent decree ſhall be read at the head of every corps, and their officers ſhall notify the ſame to their generals by a certificate from their adminiſtrative council. It ſhall, beſides, be printed, ſtuck up, and publicly read three times every decade, until otherwiſe ordered. (Signed) RICHARD.

And ſealed with the ſeal of the repreſentatives of the French people.

Certified according to the original.

SOUHAM,

The general of the Diviſion.

Copy of a Proclamation publiſhed in French and Flemiſh, relative to the circulation of Aſſignats.—Liberty—Equality.

THE Repreſentatives of the French people ſent to the armies of the North, the Sambre, and the Meuſe, hereby decree:

I. That the aſſignats of the French Republic ſhall be circulated in Bruſſels and other conquered countries, in the ſame manner as metal money.

II. All the inhabitants, whether merchants or others, are hereby prohibited from fixing two prices for their commodities, and from refuſing

refuſing or diſcrediting aſſignats, under the penalty of being regarded as the enemies of the Republic, and ſent to take their trials before the revolutionary tribunals of France.

L. B. GUITTON, RICHARD.
23d Meſſidor, 11th July,
2d year of the Republic,
One and Indiviſible.

French Proclamation.

Bruſſels, Thermidor 23, (Auguſt 5, 1794.)

Second year of the Republic, one, indiviſible, and imperiſhable.

THE Repreſentatives of the people with the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, conſidering that amongſt the perſons abſent from the evacuated country, there are a great number devoted to tyranny, who quitted their home to join the enemies of the Republic, and who equally deſerve the rigour of the revolutionary laws, as the French emigrants, decree as follows:

I. All thoſe who have quitted or ſhall quit the country evacuated by the enemy, in order to carry arms againſt the Republic, or in any manner favour counter-revolutionary projects, ſhall not re-enter it under the penalty of death.

II. Judgment ſhall be pronounced by the commiſſion eſtabliſhed in the armies for the trial of emigrants, and ſhall be executed in 24 hours.

III. All the effects, moveable and immoveable, of thoſe who are abſent, are hereby forfeited to the Republic. It is, therefore, enjoined to every poſſeſſor, farmer, depoſitary or guardian, who may have their titles to property and truſts, to make a declaration of the ſame within eight days after the publication of the preſent decree, under the penalty of being treated as accomplices of their emigration, and puniſhed as ſuch.

IV. The ſame puniſhment ſhall be inflicted on all thoſe who, knowing of any depoſits made by thoſe that are abſent, ſhall not give information of them within the time ſpecified, or ſhall in any way evade the proviſions of this decree.

V. The depoſitaries of the funds, and the debtors of thoſe that are abſent, ſhall not deliver up or make payment but to the uſe of the Republic. They ſhall make their declaration to the paymaſters of the army neareſt to their reſidence; ſhall give up to them the funds with which they were entruſted, and pay into their hands whatever debts may at the time be owing.

VI. The declaration of the jewels and other property of the abſent, the depoſits of their titles, plate and valuable aſſets for Bruſſels, its quarters, ſhall be made at the office, and delivered into the hands of citizen Chupiet, the commiſſary nominated for that purpoſe. He is empowered to nominate his agents for the ſame purpoſe to the other towns of the evacuated country, with reſpect to which the final term (of eight days) before mentioned, ſhall commence on the day when ſuch nomination ſhall be made public.

VII. The citizen Chupiet, the paymaſter of the army, and the other commiſſaries nominated for the reception of declarations and depots, ſhall alſo receive denunciations

ciations againſt ſuch as may contravene the preſent decree, and ſhall make the neceſſary ſearch after the accuſed; for this purpoſe they are empowered to call in the aſſiſtance of the armed force.

VIII. They ſhall be aſſiſted by a citizen of each town, to obtain local intelligence, and by their advice ſhall determine the number of agents neceſſary to be employed. They ſhall give an account of their proceedings to the repreſentatives of the people, and to the national treaſury and commiſſion of commerce, reſpectively, on the objects that concern them.

IX. The preſent decree ſhall be printed and publiſhed in the two languages, paſted up and diſtributed where it may be neceſſary, ſo as that no perſon may plead ignorance of it.

(Signed) LAURENT.

Subſtance of a Decree of the Imperial Court, dated Vienna, 13th Auguſt 1794, and preſented ſoon afterwards to the Diet at Ratiſbon.

UNFORTUNATELY, ſince the month of laſt January, the neceſſity of increaſing the forces of the empire is become moſt urgent.

The war, on the part of the enemy, from the violent meaſures taken by the ruling party in France, and from the formidable ſuperiority of numbers of their armies, having taken the appearance of the moſt obſtinate offenſive war, renders even the defenſive operation of the combined powers not only painful and difficult, but requires an extraordinary exertion, combination, and union of power, to reſiſt the deſtructive enterprizes of enthuſiaſtic hordes, encouraged by various and alarming ſucceſſes. Which exertion and extraordinary efforts, on our ſide, are the more preſſing, and require the ſpeedier to be put into execution, as there is no time to be loſt, leſt the evil ſhould riſe to a degree, which would render the united forces of the empire inſufficient to ſtop its progreſs.

The country being in danger, ought to ſound the alarm bell throughout the German empire. The meaſure of a quintuple contingent cannot but be an afflicting effort for the paternal heart of your Imperial ſovereign. His Majeſty, however, hopes that ſuch a meaſure, conſidering the preſent urgent circumſtances, and the population of the German empire, will not be looked upon as extravagant. The Emperor thinks it almoſt unneceſſary further to declare, that, on account of the ſacrifices made during the three laſt obſtinate campaigns in men and money, that his Majeſty, without the co-operation of the ſtates of the empire, is totally incapable by himſelf to continue the protection of the empire, his domeſtic reſources being entirely exhauſted, by having already ſtrained all the political nerves of his hereditary dominions, for the defence and protection of the empire.

Memorial from the Imperial Miniſter Count Schlick, to the Aſſembly of the Circle of the Upper Rhine,

Rhine, presented on the 16th of August 1794.

THE undersigned Imperial Minister is expressly charged to submit instantly to the illustrious diet of the circle of the Upper Rhine, the following most important observations:

His Imperial Majesty has not failed to make to the most powerful individual members of the empire, all the representations, admonitions, and demands which were to be expected from his sincere love for his country, and from his active care for the general welfare of the empire. Every thing which the Imperial court foresaw and predicted, has taken place: the time for speculating upon possible disasters is past; and the imminent dangers with which we are surrounded demand the most prompt and efficacious measures; unless we wish to renounce at once the welfare of the empire, and abandon again to the usurpation of the French, the territories and provinces of the empire, from the mouth of the Rhine to its source.

The present war involves in it the fate of our constitution, our religion, and our properties. The Imperial court has more than once represented with energy to its allies and co-estates of the empire, that a powerful nation, to which all means were alike, which set at defiance every law, of religion and morality, must inevitably triumph, if other nations did not unite their forces, and prepare themselves to make in time a vigorous resistance.

The Imperial court did not fail to observe, that it could not alone defend the empire. It is not only during this bloody war, and the course of its fluctuating events, that the Imperial court has submitted these reflections to the empire; but even before the commencement of a war, which the court of Vienna did every thing to avoid, it did not fail to make known to the States which demanded its protection, that the enterprize was full of danger, and that the resources of the House of Austria were limited.

Upon the first explosion of this terrible war, a proposal was made, for putting at least the frontiers in a state of defence and security: during the last *interregnum* an association, and a strict union of the anterior circles, proportioned to the danger, were proposed, because these provinces were most exposed to the devastation of the enemy; because the resolutions of the whole empire would require time, and the distant states, by means of their complicated forms, would save themselves as long as possible from any active co-operation. Although this proposal was generally admitted to be proper as well as constitutional, yet, through certain formalities, it has failed of its effect.

The House of Austria was flattered, that after the election of the emperor, grand and energetic measures would be adopted by the whole empire; but in the mean time, from the above prudent precautions being neglected, those provinces were left totally defenceless, when it was found necessary to remove the body of Imperial troops commanded by Count d'Erback;

d'Erback; the consequence was, that Mentz fell into the hands of the enemy, a misfortune of which the magnitude may be estimated, when we consider that almost the whole of a second campaign was spent in attempts to retake it.

On the declaration of war several of the states represented the extreme urgency of public affairs, and resolved, that without losing a single moment in preparation, an Imperial army should be regularly constituted. In order to carry this resolution into effect, his Imperial Majesty permitted his contingent to join the allied powers. But the want of money equalling this accession to their force, it was agreed that the states of the empire which could not raise and equip soldiers, should furnish their contingents in specie, according to a very moderate computation.

The Imperial court, with the strictest honour and punctuality and much to its prejudice, has replaced those contingents. The circles would have found it inconvenient and oppressive, if the mode of furnishing their respective contingents had been adopted which is prescribed by the decree of 1681. Some states have renewed their application for a diminution of their quota in the matricular registers of the empire; others have urged their inability; and some of the most active states have withheld their contingents under the most frivolous of all pretexts, that an Imperial army had not been formed.

After the victories of the allied army in the circle of Bourgogne, victories, purchased by torrents of blood and a profusion of treasure, the King of Prussia, at the commencement of the present campaign, threatened to withdraw his troops, assigning as a reason, that he had not a subsidy for their support. In this interval of inactivity the enemy procured reinforcements, and became exceedingly numerous and formidable. Under these circumstances the only alternative was to insist upon the inhabitants of the circles to rise in a mass, and in order to obviate every difficulty, to expedite the organization of the army in a constitutional manner.

Thus his Imperial Majesty has uniformly and invariably acted as became his dignity, and the paternal care which he has always evinced for his subjects. But the arming of the inhabitants on the frontiers was a measure which proved abortive. Some of the states had not sufficient confidence in their subjects, and others dreaded the expense.

The Imperial army is not complete at this moment. Two-thirds of the empire are already conquered, and the enemy is triumphant every where. The states will not, or some say, cannot, contribute, and that is the only pretext by which they evade the contingents of the empire.

This then is the support which the Imperial and Royal court has so much desired of the empire, which it has expected in full confidence of the public spirit and the love of their country; this is the effect of the pressing instances which his Imperial Majesty has generously seconded by his own example. All the world knows how much this court has done for the defence of the empire, and for the common cause. At the first break-

ing out of the war, he ſent to the field a numerous and well-provided army; he abandoned all ſecondary views by not contracting any other engagements than thoſe which were judged productive of general utility. The war of the empire being decreed, he, to his own detriment, relieved the ſtates from the performance of their contingents; at the firſt unfavourable blow which affected the empire, his Majeſty ſent ſpeedily to its ſuccour the army of the reſerve from his own hereditary ſtates, and maintained it at his own expenſe; and thus he employed all the force of his houſe to ſave the Germanic body.

The Imperial troops have almoſt ſingly, and without any aſſiſtance, covered the circle of Suabia, and thus have hindered the enemy from penetrating as far as the frontiers by aſcending the Higher Rhine. They have conducted themſelves valiantly in thoſe quarters, and had a great ſhare even in the re-taking of Mentz. Notwithſtanding the well-founded immunities of his houſe, his Majeſty has given in Auſtrian Flanders, and in the country of Briſgaw, the firſt uſeful example of arming the inhabitants; and, at the firſt propoſition of organizing a ſeparate army of the empire, he immediately furniſhed an extraordinary contingent of 37,000 men. This conduct merits conſideration the more in that the other ſtates, who take hold of every pretext to refuſe their contingents, if they had been in the place of the Imperial court, and poſſeſſed of ſuch an exemption, acknowledged by the Emperor and the empire, and ſolemnly maintained upon every occaſion, would have regarded the demand of ſuch a ſuccour, under the name of a contingent, as an infraction of their rights as members of the Germanic body.

The putting on foot ſuch numerous armies, the great expenſe of maintaining them with the current coin of the empire, the events of the war which have ſucceeded each other with ſuch rapidity and changes of fortune, have required immenſe ſums, which it was neceſſary to ſend from the hereditary ſtates into foreign provinces; and to ſupply this his Majeſty has ſacrificed, with an unexampled generoſity, his own revenues, the voluntary ſubſidies of his faithful ſubjects, and his individual abilities.

To theſe ſacrifices ought to be added others equally great and diſtreſſing. His Imperial Majeſty, beſides his numerous contingent, has kept up a conſiderable force from Baſle to Philipſbourg, for the general defence of the empire. He has even employed, for the protection of the Germanic body, 20,000 men, as ſtipulated in the treaty with his Pruſſian Majeſty, notwithſtanding the important ſervices which thoſe troops might have rendered in defending his own poſſeſſions in the Low Countries. He ſtill undertakes, however, to ſupply them with bread and forage.

Another ſacrifice of no leſs importance, and of greater prejudice to his Majeſty's hereditary ſtates, is, the Imperial court has not applied to the Court of Great Britain, its faithful ally, to oblige the 62,000 Pruſſians, ſubſidized by the maritime powers, to march into the Low Countries. According

to the expreſs terms of the treaty, theſe troops were at the diſpoſal of theſe powers, and to act in ſupport of the common cauſe. They would have been employed to the greateſt advantage in the Low Countries, and by co-operating with the allied armies, might have averted the calamities which have taken place.

Theſe extraordinary efforts; theſe grievous and irreparable ſacrifices which have not been ſeconded with energy and alacrity, can only protract for a ſhort period the laſt melancholy blow, which the empire has too much reaſon to apprehend, from the conqueſt of the provinces on the banks of the Rhine, and on the other ſide that river. However, as his Majeſty's ſtates are in fact drained of their men and money, by the favourable, as well as by the adverſe occurrences of this deſtructive war, the extreme remedy muſt now be reſorted to, in order to prevent the annihilation of our troops, ſhould we be inclined ſtill to parry off the mortal blow, which threatens the ſubverſion of the conſtitution and government of Germany.

The enemy, availing themſelves of the perplexed ſtate of public affairs, increaſe their exertions in all quarters, and ſeem determined to prevent the defection of the armies, depreſſed by a ſeries of fatigue and defeats. Their progreſs has been ſo rapid, and their army ſo formidable, that the Imperial and Royal court will be unavoidably obliged to withdraw its troops, and to ſtation them within its own frontiers, if the empire does not think proper to oppoſe to the irruption of the French an adequate force, and to co-operate with his Majeſty at this awful and momentous criſis. His Majeſty's ſolitary efforts would be fruitleſs, if he were to attempt to cover the frontiers from Baſle to Luxembourg; and it cannot be denied, that an army exhauſted by fatigue, without opportunity of recruiting itſelf, receiving aſſiſtance from no one, and at a diſtance from home, ought to make an effort to reach their own country, where they would be better furniſhed with neceſſaries, and ſupported by the faithful inhabitants of the Imperial and Royal ſtates. It would appear at leaſt equitable to hazard his laſt effort in defence of his own dominions, when we have before our eyes the melancholy truth, that with the moſt upright and ſympathetic intentions, it is impoſſible to protect his friends and neighbours.

The ſpiritual and temporal communities of the ſuperior and lower claſſes are ſtill poſſeſſed of treaſures which remain untouched, but which might be beneficially applied. The people of property of every deſcription have a credit, which they ought to lend to raiſe great ſums of money, to complete that, which the houſe of Auſtria, after ſuch an immenſe influx of money into the empire, only drawn from its own hereditary dominions, is no longer able to afford by itſelf.

It is only by ſuch an influx of money, that the ſtanding armies can be ſupplied with what is moſt neceſſary for their preſervation, that the fortreſſes can be put in a proper ſtate of defence, and that the maſſes who are to haſten to the frontiers will be ſupported.

The underſigned Miniſter Plenipotentiary is charged by the Emperor and King moſt ſolemnly to declare, in his Imperial Majeſty's name, that, if the Imperial Royal court is abandoned at this deciſive criſis, it will not be able to ſave the empire; but it will conſole itſelf with the idea of having done all that could poſſibly be done for the country; and that the Imperial court will be obliged to make reſponſible before God, and to poſterity, for all thoſe misfortunes that will then unavoidably cruſh the provinces of the Germanic empire, and for the miſery which may then ſpread infections all over Europe, by the propagation of principles of anarchy; nay, the Imperial court will make reſponſible, thoſe who by neglect, by inactivity, or even by mercenary private views, ſhall have omitted conſcientiouſly to exert themſelves for the general preſervation.

(Signed) COUNT VON SCHLICK.

Done at Frankfort, Aug. 12, 1794.

Addreſs from the General Verifier of Aſſignats at Bruges, 21ſt of Aug. 1794.

Equality! Liberty! Fraternity! or Death!

The General Verifier of Aſſignats to his Fellow Citizens.

Republicans,

THE enemies of our glorious revolution do not ceaſe to attack it by the moſt vile and moſt criminal methods. The coaleſced deſpots againſt it have not bluſhed to rank themſelves among the forgers of aſſignats.

Crimes coſt nothing to tyrants in the war which they wage againſt a people who combats for the ſacred rights of man. Theſe royal robbers (brigands) have eſtabliſhed fabrications of falſe aſſignats; and in this emulation of turpitude the Engliſh government ſhews itſelf zealous of occupying the firſt rank. The proof of it reſults from the moſt exact information, which has been taken on account of this falſe paper, of which Liege, Flanders, Holland, and Germany are like ſo many magazines, deſtined at length to vomit the poiſon on the territories of the Republic.

But their criminal attempts have been baffled. Long ſince meaſures have been taken, which are crowned with ſucceſs; and ſtill further to exterminate the falſe aſſignats among us, the following ordinance is to be publiſhed and attended to, in all the conquered countries as well as in France; and that no perſon may pretend ignorance thereof, it is to be publiſhed in the two languages, and ſtuck up conſpicuouſly as uſual.

(Signed) DEPEREZ,
The General Verifier of Aſſignats.

Proclamation.

1. It is hereby enjoined to all citizens of every rank and deſcription whatever, who are in poſſeſſion of aſſignats, either belonging to them, or to any other perſon or perſons whatever, to bring them within the ſpace of twenty-four hours to the verifiers to be verified at the Maiſon de France in all the different towns now poſſeſſed by the French Republic; otherwiſe they ſhall be treated as ſuſpected perſons, and impriſoned until

until a peace, in some town in the department of Pas de Calais.

2. Any person or persons knowing of a depôt of false assignats, and not making an immediate declaration of the same, to be ranked as an accomplice, and punished as such.

3. All shipping, merchants, and others, are required daily to bring the assignats they receive, within twenty-four hours after the receipt of them, to be verified, or, in default of so doing, to be treated as suspected.

4. Every person, or persons, who shall be found endeavouring to pass false assignats, are immediately to be denounced by the party, or parties, to whom such assignats are offered, or those neglecting so to do, shall be brought before the criminal tribunal of the department de Pas de Calais.

Seen, and judged proper to be affixed in the usual manner, in my presence,

LAURENT, General.
AGEYMAS,
Commandant Amovible.

(Signed) BEYTS.

Proclamation published the 31st of August, 1794, at Brussels, under the Authority of the Chief Magistrates.

YOU are aware that the punishment of death is ordered to be inflicted on those who shall impose on the public, by vending articles at different prices, refuse assignats in payment, depreciate their value, or in any other manner abridge their circulation. Comply, citizens, we conjure you, with those laws which will assuredly attach on offenders of every description.

We now admonish you for the last time. Contemn not our interference; the sword of the law is suspended over the heads of those who may fall victims to their criminal neglect. Should this admonition be disregarded, we shall not consider ourselves as responsible for the fatal, the unavoidable consequences which the obstinacy of the indolent and slothful shall have provoked.

Proclamation by the Magistracy of Brussels, early in Sept. 1794.

THE magistracy of the free town of Brussels inform the Public, that if our unfortunate fellow-citizens still remain in the unpleasant situation in France, as hostages for the contribution required by the French Republic, it can be attributed only to the base conduct of the regular clergy.

The clergy have been assessed, in consequence of the consent of the three members accepted by this town, and sanctioned by the council of Brabant, in the sum of 2,500,000 livres, nevertheless, they have now only furnished between seven and eight hundred thousand livres, whilst three millions six hundred thousand have been furnished by the laity, and that even in great part by the good citizens, who, not being subject to the contribution, have voluntarily advanced it through humanity for the unfortunate hostages, who can hope only to recover their liberty when the contributions of five millions shall be furnished; in consequence the magistracy, much af-

fected by this unpardonable careleſſneſs of the regular clergy, have taken the reſolution to adopt meaſures the moſt rigorous towards thoſe of the ſaid clergy who have not furniſhed their quota in the contribution; and to effect which, the magiſtracy command the proper officers to compel in a military manner, the regular eccleſiaſtical bodies, who have not yet furniſhed their reſpective quotas, inſtantly to come forward with the ſame, declaring the ſaid officers reſponſible for the leaſt delay in the execution of the preſent.

Inſpected and approved of,
(Signed) LECLERE,
Adjutant-General.

A Second Proclamation.

THE magiſtracy of the free town of Bruſſels, conſidering that the ſcarcity of bread daily increaſes, from whence might reſult evils the moſt alarming, command, in order to prevent thoſe misfortunes, every merchant and vender of flour to provide himſelf within 24 hours with all that ſhall be neceſſary for the daily ſubſiſtence of the people, on pain of being arreſted and puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour.

The magiſtracy having alſo been informed that ſome of the bakers have refuſed to ſell any more bread to the public, order all the bakers of this town and its diſtrict to bake and ſell bread as uſual to the people, under the above-mentioned penalty.

(Signed) FERRAND,
General of Diviſion.

Preſſing Requeſts having been made early in September, 1794, to the Electorate of Brandenburg, relative to the Contingent due from that State to the Army of the Empire, the King of Pruſſia refuſed in nearly the following Terms.

THE King of Pruſſia did not expect ſuch repreſentations, on the part of the German empire. His Majeſty has already made ſacrifices, which in expenſes far exceed thoſe of the required contingent. His troops have rendered the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſervice to the empire. The expenſes incurred in the re-conqueſts of Frankfort and Mentz, have not yet reimburſed his Pruſſian Majeſty. The war in Poland, excited againſt his Majeſty by the common enemy, in revenge for having oppoſed his brave troops againſt their ſavage incurſions into the German empire, diſpenſes his Majeſty from all further contribution and co-operations.

The Poles, in a ſtate of revolutionary madneſs, carry on their rebellion with fury, which forces his Majeſty to defend his own dominions with all his might. His Majeſty is in a ſimilar ſituation with the Elector Frederick William the Great, who, in the year 1765, was glorioufly combating againſt the enemy on the banks of the Rhine, but was ſuddenly obliged to return with his army into his own territories, in order to reſiſt the Swediſh invaſion excited by the ſame enemy of the empire. Therefore, far from conſenting to the requeſt of contingent, the King of Pruſſia is entitled to demand indemnifications to enable him

him to defend his own territories. His Majesty further thinks himself happy in asserting, that if all the states of the empire had acted in as disinterested a manner, and with as much energy as himself, Germany would have been saved by this time!

Substance of an Edict of the Emperor, dated the 28th of October, 1794, to the Directors of the Circles of the Empire.

1. THAT vigorous measures should be taken to recruit and increase the army of the empire to triple the number of troops of which it consisted hitherto, which shall be affected in the speediest manner possible, that the reinforcements should arrive at the army on the 1st of February next.

2. That all the states of the empire who have already troops upon an established footing, should in these pressing and dangerous times march them immediately to join the grand Imperial army for the defence of the empire.

3. That his Imperial Majesty expects that no state will shew, from individual interest, or from other false principles, any backwardness against contributing to the general defence of the empire. His Majesty would never have manifested any suspicions respecting this point, if unfortunately experience had not shewn him, that from the time the increase of the army had been determined to be of triple the number of the former establishment, that the measure has not yet been accomplished to this day.

His Imperial Majesty, however, from the confidence he placed in the Princes who are invested with the directions of the circles, hopes that they will take the most vigorous measures to enforce the recruiting of the army of the empire.

The circles of the empire having received early in November the preceding circular letter from the Emperor, relative to the real performance of their contingents for the support of the army of the empire;

Count Schlick, the Emperor's minister with the circle of Franconia, also presented a memorial to the assembly of that circle, in substance the same with that presented to the circle of the Upper Rhine on the 16th of August, and containing complaints of the enormous extraction of specie which has been made from the hereditary states of Austria for the countries of the empire, and of the scarcity of money which necessarily results from this, even for the pay of the Imperial army; because the circles not having provided either for the subsistence of that army, or the regulation of the price of necessaries, those necessaries either fail entirely, or cannot be procured for the troops under an enormous price. These circumstances necessitate the proposition which is the object of this memorial, made in the name of the Imperial court to the circle of Franconia.

"To put the subsistence to be furnished by the country into a speedy requisition, according to the existing necessity.—To accept in return an indemnity, regulated according to the medium price for the last ten years; the payment to be made in notes, instead of money,

which it is absolutely impossible to furnish at the present moment."

The circle of Franconia immediately commenced its deliberations upon this proposition; but, at the same time, testified its desire to see an end to this ruinous and bloody war; in which respect it is seconded by the other circles of the empire, particularly that of the Upper Rhine, which, on the 14th of November, sent the strongest and most pressing representations to the Emperor and to the King of Prussia to obtain their effectual concurrence to a pacification.

The Note delivered by the Imperial Minister, Count de Schlick, to the States of the Upper Rhine, on the 16th of August, 1794, in which the Emperor claims a speedy Supply of Money and Men against France, was also delivered to the Circles of Franconia and Suabia in the End of September, where the Prussian Minister seconded it with all his Power, and presented the following Note,

HIS Prussian Majesty seconds the request of his Imperial Majesty, since both courts, after having indefatigably continued the war, and made immense sacrifices, have a right to require of the other states, that they do oppose with all their might the danger which increases every day, and to furnish without delay every thing that Germanic good sense and spirit deem requisite.

Meanwhile, his Majesty the King of Prussia cannot but signify, that the Imperial court laid a false construction on the treaty for a subsidy between Prussia and England; who, though she pledged herself to pay the subsidy, has no right to dispose at her own pleasure of the Prussian army, which is forthwith to remain to defend Germany in that quarter where his Prussian Majesty will deem it most expedient, or wherever the allied powers have agreed or will agree with Prussia to let it act.

Conclusum of the Circle of Franconia, addressed to their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, for the Purpose of obtaining a Peace, or at least a speedy Truce, agreed to in November, 1794.

CONSIDERING the most dangerous turn which the present war against France has taken, in several events which succeeded each other; considering the most imminent danger which is more and more approaching with rapid strides the frontiers of the circle of Franconia; considering further, not only the afflictive apprehensions which his Imperial Majesty has reiterately manifested, that it might happen, that the august House of Austria would find itself so much weakened, as to be under the necessity of retreating to its own frontiers, without being capable any longer to save the territories of the Germanic empire; and that his Majesty the King of Prussia has likewise recalled a considerable number of his brave troops from the theatre of war, to protect his own dominions, and signified that according to circumstances, the remainder might also be withdrawn; and considering the internal con-

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cerns of this circle, render the repoſe and the momentary re-eſtabliſhment of this circle at leaſt neceſſary at this preſent period; the general circle, by virtue of a repeated propoſition of his moſt ſerene Highneſs the Prince of Saxe Cobourg Saalfeld, and of Saxe Meningen, as a venerable co-ſtate, on the part of Henneberg Roembild, has unanimouſly reſolved:

1. It is underſtood of itſelf, and there can be no doubt in this reſpect, that there is by no means any deſign to encroach upon the deliberations of the empire in general, upon the important queſtion —how the country, under the dangerous circumſtances which have occurred, ſhall ſave itſelf, not to loſe ſight of the neceſſary order which ought to take place agreeable to the conſtitution, and with relation to the whole empire?

2. But whereas, it cannot be unlawful or ſuſpicious to any ſingle ſtate of the empire, and leſs ſtill to the conſtitutional union of a whole circle, whoſe union has for its original and primitive end, the public ſafety, in caſe of the moſt urgent neceſſity; and when its deliverance and conſervation are at ſtake, to have recourſe to the ſupreme chief of the empire, as likewiſe to the principal co-ſtates and the reſpective powers, in order moſt humbly to ſupplicate his Majeſty, by a reſpectful repreſentation as well of the interior concerns of this circle, as on account of the danger conſtantly increaſing from without, to take ſuch convenient and efficacious meaſures as his Majeſty ſhall judge proper; through which, by means of a previous truce, the ceſſation of hoſtilities, and an ever deſirable peace may be, as much as poſſible, obtained.

3. Afterwards to intereſt in the ſame manner his Pruſſian Majeſty, as a ſublime co-ſtate of the empire, and particularly this circle, to cooperate to this end by an active aſſiſtance, and to favour the deſired effect, particularly to ſolicit him, with equal reſpect and urgency, not to withdraw his brave troops, at leaſt as far as it concerns the conſtitutional exigency of the political ſtate of the empire and the circle, from the defence of the Germanic domains, at the moſt critical and moſt dangerous moment, but to continue generouſly to employ them with their whole force wherever they ſhall be wanted.

4. Further to expedite with all poſſible diſpatch, this propoſition to his Imperial Majeſty by means of an eſtafette, and to tranſmit a copy thereof without delay, beſides a memorial for the information of his Excellency Count Von Schlick, privy counſellor and miniſter of his Imperial Majeſty; and to tranſmit to the Pruſſian miniſter reſident here, the letter of ſolicitation to his Pruſſian Majeſty, accompanied by a copy, with requeſt of expediting the ſaid letter as ſoon as poſſible.

5. To commence a ſincere and ſocial correſpondence on this important buſineſs, with the circles of the empire, namely, the electorates of the Rhine, Upper Saxony, Bavaria, Suabia, and the Upper Rhine, by communicating to them this preſent reſolution of the circle, as likewiſe the above-mentioned letters of ſolicitation to their Imperial and Pruſſian Majeſties.

6. Finally,

6. Finally, not to be diſſuaded by the meaſures taken by theſe preſents, for purſuing moſt eagerly the concluſions of the empire, and the lawful re-eſtabliſhment of its political ſtate; and from continuing without delay, the preparations of defence, in order to remain always faithful to all duties, which ought to be more and more acknowledged in a ſituation of affairs like the preſent, for the ſake of ſelf-preſervation, as likewiſe for the general and local relations of the ſtate.

Anſwer of the King of Pruſſia to the Repreſentations of the Circle of the Upper Rhine, in favour of Peace, made on the 14th of November, 1794, and in Subſtance the ſame with the Concluſum of the Circle of Franconia.

WE are much affected by the preſent dangerous criſis that involves the German empire, and with the warmeſt degree of ſympathy we are fully convinced, that peace only is the moſt certain means of ſaving it from the effects of an unhappy iſſue of a juſt war of defence. Nothing, therefore, can be more important or more agreeable to us than an energetic contribution of every exertion in our power for the obtaining of ſo deſirable an object as ſpeedily as poſſible, and, previous to this, a ſuſpenſion of arms. We ſhall willingly ſeize every occaſion that may contribute towards a happy iſſue of affairs, hoping that the repreſentation ſubmitted to us, and ſent to the Emperor by the laudable aſſembly of the circle, will not fail of its object.—In the meanwhile, our whole army ſhall remain upon the Rhine and the Mayne, to cover and defend the contiguous parts of the empire, and the right ſhore of that river.

After the above Proceedings, the Twenty Thouſand Pruſſians who were on their march to the Frontiers of Poland, received Orders from Berlin to return to their former Situation on the Banks of the Rhine; on account of that Event, and in order to prepare the neceſſary Proviſions for them in the Places through which they were to march, the following Requiſition of Count Hardenberg, the Pruſſian Miniſter of State, was circulated.

WHEREAS the motives which induced his Pruſſian Majeſty to order a corps of 20,000 men from his army deſtined for the defence of the German empire, to march to Southern Pruſſia, have at preſent been removed by the happy occurrences which happened in thoſe countries: his Majeſty, being beſides convinced, that in order to procure the accompliſhment of the anxious wiſhes of ſeveral of the ſtates of the empire to obtain a ſpeedy peace, his Majeſty thinks it indiſpenſably neceſſary to oppoſe to the enemy the moſt vigorous preparations of war, and to prevent their further progreſs. His Majeſty, therefore, has come to a reſolution to order this corps of 20,000 of his troops to return to their former poſition on the Rhine, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the German frontiers againſt the dangers with which they are threatened.

The underſigned miniſter of ſtate to his Pruſſian Majeſty not having due time to make formal requiſitions,

tions, in order to procure the free paſſage for thoſe troops through the different places on their route, and which might in a great meaſure oppoſe their ſalutary march, he has to requeſt, that by this his underſigned requiſition, theſe troops not only ſhould be permitted to paſs freely through the different towns on the road towards their deſtination, but alſo to find quarters every where, and to be ſupplied with proviſions, and other articles of neceſſity, according to the regulations eſtabliſhed for their former march to join the grand army on the Rhine.

Given at Francfort on the Mayne, Nov. 21, 1794.

(Signed) HARDENBERG,

Miniſter of State to his Pruſſian Majeſty, and his Directing Miniſter of both the dukedoms in Franconia.

Proclamation of the French General on the Arrival of Part of his Troops at Ruremonde.

Head-quarters at Ruremonde, 17th Vendemiaire, (Oct. 8, 1794) third Year of the Republic.

In the name of the French Republic.

The Aid-de-camp Soullain, charged provisionally by General Compere with the police of Ruremonde, to the inhabitants of the ſaid city.

GENERAL Compere's object in taking poſſeſſion of your country has been to eſtabliſh in it the order and intelligence that become republican conquerors. He has lamented the exactions of ſome individuals unworthy of the French name, and would have put a ſtop to them ſooner, if obſtacles had not retarded his march. He has made every other conſideration give way to that of ſending you a part of his troops, who habituated to conquer, are alſo habituated to obey, and to fraterniſe with the inhabitants of the countries they traverſe. He reckons, therefore, on the grand police. Let confidence revive! I ſhall do every thing in my power to protect you from the ravages of war. Denounce to me courageouſly the diſturbers of your repoſe, the violators of your perſons or property. If any ſuch be found, you ſhall have the moſt ſpeedy juſtice upon them. Let us be united, and, amid the horrors of a war undertaken for the liberty of a nation that wars only againſt tyranny, you will ſee eſtabliſhed the reign of that concord and quiet which the whole human race muſt one day enjoy.

SOULLAIN.

Proclamation of Compere, dated Straben, Oct. 15, 1794.

General Compere, commandant of the advanced guard of the right wing of the army of the North, to the inhabitants of the city of Guelders and its dependencies.

THE French troops, in taking poſſeſſion of your territory, bring with them no hoſtile intentions towards the inhabitants. They make war only upon tyrants and their ſatellites.—They know how to reſpect the opinions, political and religious, the morals, uſages, miniſters, and forms of worſhip of the countries they enter. Be tranquil, therefore;

therefore, banish the alarms, fears, and gloomy colours which the perfidy of our enemies has mixed up, and calumny and falsehood disseminated respecting the French republicans. I say again, be tranquil; be confident; and assure yourselves that I shall neglect none of the means the law has put into my hands, for maintaining the best order, the most severe discipline, among the troops I command; and that they are disposed to live in the best and most perfect understanding with you.

The General commanding a division of the French army,

LEFEVRE.

Order published by the French General, Lefevre, at Neuss.

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

Head-quarters at Neuss, 20th Vendemiaire (Oct. 11) third Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

THE National Convention has passed a decree, by which the conquered countries are put under the special protection of the Republic, by ordering that property, persons, established usages and customs, public worship, and, in general, the mode of government, shall be respected and protected.

I therefore call upon you, warriors, to observe the duty which this order and mutual fraternity impose upon you. Treat the peaceable inhabitants of these countries as your representatives desire and order. Magnanimity and honour ought to be your guides in the glorious career you are pursuing, and the inhabitants of the countries into which you enter, will soon be your brothers and friends. Above all, disturb not their ecclesiastics and nobles who shall peaceably exercise their functions. I have a firm confidence, citizens, that each of you will be eager to observe punctually the law set forth in the present order; but, if contrary to all expectation, any person should violate it in any way whatever, he will infallibly, and without hope of pardon, incur the punishment of death.

(Signed)

The General commanding a division of the French army,

LEFEVRE.

Proclamation.

Liberty! Equality! Fraternity!

Antwerp, 3 Brumaire (24 Oct. 1794) the third Year of the French one and indivisible Republic. The Representatives of the Armies of the North, the Sambre, and the Maes, being informed, that, notwithstanding the often repeated Warnings, the Inhabitants of Antwerp give the greatest Proofs of their Tardiness and Ill-will concerning the Payment of the Contributions,

Resolve,

I. THE amount of the contribution laid on the town of Antwerp shall be estimated from the 5th inst. (26th October) and be augmented every day with one hundred thousand livres, ready money, till the day of the full payment of said contribution.

II. The general commander of Antwerp shall, besides the already-taken hostages, take a fresh ten each day, till the full payment of the contribution; the new hostages shall be taken and transported, to begin with the 5th instant.

The

The preſent reſolutions ſhall be ſent to the general commander and magiſtrates of Antwerp.

Proclamation by Petit, one of the French Commiſſaries of War, iſſued early in November 1794, to the Burgomaſters and Sheriffs of Ruremonde.

HEREWITH I ſend you, Citizens, the ordinances, or repreſentations to the armies and military tribunals. You will ſee in theſe the conduct which our armies are to practiſe in your territories. My country wages war with thoſe who ſtiled themſelves our maſters, and not with the people. Our enemies during the ſhort period that they remained in France, introduced murder, carnage, and violation of perſons and property; we, on the contrary, in entering your walls, ſwear to maintain and defend them. You will behold this ſolemn declaration in the reſolution of the committee of Public Safety, of which I tranſmit you ſeveral copies, that you may preſerve them; it is confirmed in that of the repreſentatives of the people to the armies, dated the 14th of Auguſt, of which I alſo ſend you a copy for the ſimilar purpoſe.

Undoubtedly, in armies ſuch as ours, ſome wretches, unworthy of the name of Frenchmen, have committed exceſſes, worthy only of our enemies. But the moment they were known, they were ſeized, as is proved by the ſentences of the military criminal tribunals, which are ſubjoined.

Our enemies had ſpread a thouſand abſurd reports reſpecting our conduct in conquered countries: habituated to every crime, they imagined that the horrors which they occaſioned in our country, would be retorted by us in your's; you have witneſſed the contrary: ſome miſguided individuals, however, have fled, and abandoned their all. The eighth article of the ordinance of the 14th of Auguſt allows them 15 days to return, you will therefore do well in letting it be proclaimed to-morrow morning.

Ill-diſpoſed perſons have occaſioned you to entertain apprehenſions, reſpecting the due payment for thoſe articles of which we may ſtand in need: you will ſee by the ordinance which I incloſe to you, but which I muſt requeſt you to return to me as ſoon as you have peruſed it, that every thing that is legally provided, will be punctually paid for. You will alſo ſee by the ordinance of the 8th of September, which you will likewiſe ſend back to me, that thoſe who have in their poſſeſſion merchandize and effects belonging to emigrants as our enemies, are immediately to declare ſo, under the ſevereſt penalties.—You will alſo find ſubjoined a proclamation for the ſuppreſſion of ſtock-jobbers, our common enemies, who are making every effort for the diſcrediting of our money. You will be ſo good as to give theſe ſeveral documents all poſſible publicity, and to acknowledge the receipt of them.

ART. 8. Every inhabitant of a conquered country abſent from his place of abode is permitted to return within a fortnight from the date of this arret; after that period thoſe who do not return will be conſidered as emigrants. This permiſſion, however, is not to extend to thoſe who have been guilty of

of any crime againſt the Republic, for which they will be purſued and treated as the enemies of the French people. It is not to extend to the inhabitants of the conquered countries, whoſe effects have been ſequeſtered by laws anterior to this arret. The delay granted to the inhabitants of places actually blockaded ſhall be eſtimated from the day in which the blockade ſhall ceaſe; their effects, however, ſhall continue proviſionally ſequeſtered.

Proclamation ſent with the preceding.

Equality, Liberty, Fraternity, or Death!

Richard and Chodieu, Repreſentatives of the People with the Army of the North, in order to ſecure to the Inhabitants of the conquered Countries their Tranquillity, Safety, and Property, and to take meaſures to prevent all Enterpriſes in thoſe Countries which may be hoſtile to the Intereſts of the French Republic, order as follows:

ARTICLE I. Every inhabitant of a conquered country abſent from his place of abode, is permitted to return within a fortnight from the date of this arret; after that period, thoſe who do not return will be conſidered as emigrants. This permiſſion, however, is not to extend to thoſe who have been guilty of any crime againſt the Republic, for which they will be purſued and treated as the enemies of the French people. It is not to extend to the inhabitants of the conquered countries, whoſe effects have been ſequeſtered by laws anterior to this arret. The delay granted to the inhabitants of places actually blockaded, ſhall be eſtimated from the day in which the blockade ſhall ceaſe; their effects, however, ſhall continue proviſionally ſequeſtered.

II. All the inhabitants of the conquered Belgic provinces, under the ſpecial protection of the French Republic, are charged not to favour, directly or indirectly, the arms of the combined powers.

III. All thoſe who ſhall be convicted of correſpondence with the enemy, either by act, conſpiracy, or diſcourſes, to the injury of the French people, ſhall be given up to the revolutionary tribunal of France, and dealt with according to law.

IV. Every individual, now domiciliated in the conquered countries, who has quitted France in conſequence of the laws of the Republic, is ordered to depart in twenty-four hours, under pain of being treated as a French emigrant.

V. The military commanders are enjoined to take rigorous meaſures for the preſervation of order and tranquillity in the conquered places, and to prevent any violence to the ſafety or property of the inhabitants, under any pretext whatſoever. The freedom of worſhip muſt be reſpected.

VI. The magiſtrates of the conquered towns and communes are enjoined, on their reſponſibility, to comply with the requiſitions made by the commiſſaries of war, for the ſervice of the Republic, within the time preſcribed. In caſe of diſobedience, they will be treated as enemies to the Republic.

VII. All magiſtrates that ſhould be found favouring, or exciting, by their private or public conduct,

or

or by discourses against the French Revolution, any commotions against the Republic, shall be given up to the revolutionary tribunals, and considered as enemies to the French people.

VIII. The police of the conquered places shall be administered by the military commandants, till it shall be otherwise ordained: they must use the most active vigilance to discover the plots, and to prevent the designs of the enemies of the Republic; they must be careful to prevent any public or private assembling of the inhabitants, and shall employ the military force to disperse them.

IX. The inhabitants of the conquered countries shall resign their arms into the hands of the military commandants within the space of twenty-four hours after the publication of the present arret. Those convicted of secreting them, shall be given up to the military commission, and punished with death.

X. Assignats shall be received at all the public banks, and in all commercial transactions: those who shall refuse, deny, or forge, and those who shall circulate false ones, are to be given up to the criminal tribunal of the department of Pas de Calais, and punished conformably to the laws of the Republic upon that head.

XI. To prevent the disaffected from raising the price of merchandize and wares of the country, on account of the introduction of assignats, the maximum established in the city of Lisle shall be adopted in all the conquered countries of West Flanders.

XII. The imposts and other duties established in the conquered countries, under whatever denomination they may exist, shall continue to be received for the use of the Republic.

XIII. The soldiers of the Republic shall observe the strictest discipline in the conquered countries, and refute by their conduct the calumnies of their enemy. The commanders of corps and the generals shall cause to be given up all those who commit disorders, the effect of which would be to favour the designs of the enemy.

Done at Lisle, 4th Messidor, (22d June) in the second year of the Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) RICHARD,

A true copy. S. BOURJER, Commissary in Chief.

Further Proclamation.

Liberty, Fraternity, Agency of Commerce and Provisions, Equality, or Death.

Bois-le-duc, the 19th Brumaire, (9th November, 1794) the third Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

AGENCY of Commerce.—In virtue of the resolution of the representatives of the people of the 3d Vindemaire, desirous to secure as much as possible to the inhabitants of the town and circuit, the necessary subsistence, it is required—

ART. I. That all factors, merchants, in the wholesale and retail in any article whatever, shall furnish within four-and-twenty hours for all delay, an exact declaration of the goods which are in the warehouses, shops, &c.

II. All inhabitants who are acquainted with any private place where furniture or any other objects

jects whatever are hidden, belonging to emigrants or abſent people; alſo thoſe who have the management of lands, dominions, or any other adminiſtration of the revenues of emigrants or abſent people, ſhall give within the above-mentioned time a true and exact information and declaration of it.

III. All tranſgreſſors of the diſpoſitions contained in the above-mentioned articles, ſhall be regarded as enemies of the Republic, and be puniſhed according to the laws.

(Signed) HONORE, VALLE.
DAUION, POTIER.

Treaty between his Britannic Majeſty and the Duke of Brunſwick. Signed at Brunſwick the 8th of November, 1794.

BE it known to thoſe whom it does and may concern: the preſent ſituation of affairs in Europe having cauſed a deſire in his Britannic Majeſty that a corps of Brunſwick troops ſhould be granted to him, the Moſt Serene Duke of Brunſwick has ſeized, with all poſſible eagerneſs, the opportunity of proving his unalterable attachment to his Britannic Majeſty, and his zeal for every thing that can tend to the good of the country. To which effect, his Serene Highneſs has engaged himſelf to furniſh his Britannic Majeſty a corps of two thouſand two hundred and eighty-nine men. In order to conclude a treaty relative to this object, his Britannic Majeſty has named, on his part, the honourable William Eliot, and the Moſt Serene Duke of Brunſwick has named, on his ſide, the Sieur John Batiſte de Feronce de Rotencreutz, his miniſter of ſtate, and knight of the royal order of Dannebrog.

Theſe two miniſters plenipotentiary, after the exchange of their full powers, have agreed to the following articles.

Art. I. The Moſt Serene Duke of Brunſwick furniſhes, in virtue of the preſent treaty, to his Majeſty the King of Great Britain, a corps of troops, amounting in the whole to two thouſand two hundred and eighty-nine men, amongſt whom is included a company of horſe chaſſeurs of one hundred and five men. This corps ſhall be furniſhed with the following artillery; namely,

Four ſix-pounders, a battery of ſix ſix-pounders, two three-pounders, for the corps of chaſſeurs.

This artillery ſhall be provided with every thing neceſſary for its complete equipment.

The compoſition of the aforeſaid corps is according to the following ſtatement:

	Men.
1ſt. The ſtaff - - - - - -	27
2d. A regiment of infantry -	724
3d. A ſecond regiment of infantry - - - - - - -	724
4th. A corps of horſe and foot chaſſeurs - - - - - -	454
5th. A detachment of artillery, forming two companies, including artificers, workmen, and ſervants neceſſary for the train - -	360
Total - -	2,289

Art. II. Theſe troops, at the time of their march, ſhall be well diſciplined, completely armed and equipped; and his Moſt Serene Highneſs engages himſelf, during the

the exiſtence of this treaty, to keep the ſaid troops on the moſt proper footing, in order that they may be employed with ſucceſs in the military ſervices which ſhall be required of them by virtue of the preſent treaty; the duration of which is fixed to three years, counting from the day of its ſignature.

Theſe troops ſhall not be ſeparated, unleſs the neceſſity of the war ſhall require it, but they ſhall always remain under the orders of their chief, ſubordinate to the command of the general to whom his Britannic Majeſty ſhall entruſt that of the whole army. It will depend on his Britannic Majeſty to retain this corp of troops in his ſervice all the time of the duration of this treaty, to make uſe of them in any part of Europe where he may have occaſion for them, provided it be not on board the fleet. The ſaid troops ſhall take the oath of fidelity to his Britannic Majeſty, at their firſt review, before an Engliſh commiſſary, without any prejudice, however, to that which they have taken to the Moſt Serene Duke. His ſaid Moſt Serene Highneſs ſhall moreover retain the nomination to all employments and offices that may become vacant, and the adminiſtration of juſtice ſhall, in like manner, be preſerved to him.

Art. III. This corps of troops ſhall be ready to paſs in review; and to put itſelf in march, on the firſt of next January, or ſooner if it can be done: nevertheleſs as it is to be feared that, conſidering the difficulty of furniſhing, in ſo ſhort a time, every thing neceſſary to the equipment of the ſaid corps, it is agreed to cauſe this corps to march in two diviſions, one of which ſhall begin its march on the firſt of January, or ſooner if it can be done, and the ſecond, the firſt of February, or ſooner if it can be done, without this influencing upon the payments, which are to take place for the whole corps from the firſt of January.

As to the expences of the march, the following regulation has been made: this corps of troops being deſtined to ſerve in the army of Brabant, it is agreed that his Britannic Majeſty, in order to anſwer the expenſes of this long march, ſhall cauſe to be paid, immediately after the ſignature of the treaty, to the agent of his Moſt Serene Highneſs at London, the amount of three months pay, on the footing of the Brabantine pay; and as to the period of the return of the ſaid troops into the country of Brunſwick, it is agreed that his Britannic Majeſty ſhall cauſe this return to be notified three months beforehand, and with regard to the expenſes of the route, two months of Brabantine pay is to be allowed.

Art. IV. His Britannic Majeſty will cauſe to be paid, under the head of levy money, for each foot ſoldier, foot chaſſeur, artillery man, &c. &c. thirty Banco crowns, the crown computed at fifty-three pence of Holland, or at four ſhillings and nine-pence three farthings Engliſh money; and for each horſeman, duly armed and mounted, eighty Banco

crowns of the ſame value, which makes the ſum of ſeventy-three thouſand three hundred and ninety Banco crowns. This ſum ſhall be paid immediately after the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

Art. V. As to what relates to the pay and allowances, both ordinary and extraordinary, of the ſaid troops, during the time that they ſhall be in the pay of Great Britain, it is agreed that this pay, and all the emoluments, ſhall commence from the firſt of January next, and ſhall continue until the day whereon the troops ſhall return into their reſpective garriſons. His Britannic Majeſty will moreover cauſe to be paid unto them the pay and emoluments for the remainder of the month in which theſe troops ſhall have returned into their garriſons.

It is moreover agreed, that if theſe troops ſhall happen to ſerve in the empire, they ſhall enjoy the ſame pay and the ſame advantages which his Majeſty grants to his German troops, according to the effective ſtate in which the ſaid corps ſhall be delivered, which ſhall be verified by a ſtatement, ſigned by the reſpective miniſters of the high contracting parties, which ſhall have the ſame force as if it were inſerted, word for word, in the preſent treaty. So long as theſe troops ſhall be employed in the Low Countries, they ſhall be treated, with reſpect to pay and emoluments, both ordinary and extraordinary, on the footing of the Brabantine pay, it being well underſtood that in the one and in the other caſe, that is to ſay, in that of the German, as well as in that of the Brabantine pay, the allowances ſhall not be below what has been granted in former wars to the Heſſian troops; and if the nature of the war ſhall require that theſe troops ſhould ſerve in other countries on the continent of Europe, than in countries abovementioned, they then ſhall be placed on the ſame footing in every reſpect as the moſt favoured of his Majeſty's auxiliary troops. If it ſhould happen that they ſhould be employed in Great Britain or Ireland, they ſhall be placed on the ſame footing in every reſpect as the Britiſh national troops. All theſe allowances for the ſaid troops ſhall be paid into the military cheſt of his Moſt Serene Highneſs, without any abatement whatever.

Art. VI. Every object relating to the equipment of the officers having conſiderably increaſed in price during this war, his Britannic Majeſty will cauſe to be paid three months of Brabantine pay to all the officers of the corps, to anſwer in part the expenſes of their equipment, which muſt be done with a diſpatch which will infinitely increaſe their expenſe.

Art. VII. With reſpect to the ſubſidy which his Britannic Majeſty ſhall pay to the Moſt Serene Duke of Brunſwick, during the three years that this treaty is to laſt, it is ſtipulated that it ſhall be an annual ſubſidy of ſixty-four thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven Banco crowns, the crown being reckoned at fifty-three pence of Holland, or at four ſhillings and nine-pence three farthings

Engliſh

Engliſh money. And if theſe troops ſhall be ſent back into the territories of Brunſwick before the expiration of three years, this ſubſidy of ſixty-four thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven Banco crowns ſhall be, neither more or leſs, paid during three years, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the treaty.

Art VIII. If it ſhould happen that one of the regiments, battalions or companies of this corps ſhould ſuffer an extraordinary loſs, whether in battle or at a ſiege, or by an uncommon contagious diſtemper, or by other accidents; or if the cannon or other military effects, with which it may be provided, ſhould be taken by the enemy, his Majeſty the King of Great Britain will pay the extraordinary expenſes of the neceſſary recruits and remounting, as well as the loſs of cannon, &c. &c. in order ſpeedily to reſtore the whole corps to a ſerviceable ſtate.

He will reimburſe, in the moſt equitable manner, the loſs of both officers and ſoldiers. With regard to this reimburſement, every thing that has been ſtipulated in the treaty concluded with the Moſt Serene Highneſs the Landgrave of Heſſe, at Caſſel, the 10th of April, 1793, ſhall be adopted.

Art. IX. It is agreed, that at the review which is to be made every ſpring, at the opening of the campaign, by the commiſſary of his Britannic Majeſty, the corps muſt be complete, or the pay of thoſe who are wanting ſhall be with-held. On the other hand, the pay of thoſe who may be wanting from one review to another, ſhall not be with-held, but ſhall he paid, without abatement, on the footing of the full complement. Inſtead of what was formerly paid, in ſimilar caſes, for the recruiting of one killed or three wounded, it is agreed, that each recruit furniſhed ſhall be paid for without diſtinction, at the rate of twelve Banco crowns a-head, under expreſs condition, however, that the payment which is here agreed upon ſhall only regard the recruiting which is referred to in this article.

Art. X. The ſick of the ſaid corps ſhall be attended by their phyſicians, ſurgeons, and other perſons appointed for that purpoſe, under the orders of the commander of this corps of troops; and every thing ſhall be granted to them which his Majeſty grants to his own troops.

Art. XI. All deſerters from this corps ſhall be faithfully given up, wherever they may be diſcovered in the countries dependent upon his Britannic Majeſty

Art. XII. All tranſports of men and military effects ſhall be done at the expenſe of his Britannic Majeſty, during the whole time of theſe troops being in the field.

Art. XIII. It is agreed, that the corps of Brunſwick troops ſhall enjoy every advantage granted to the Moſt Serene Landgrave of Heſſe, by the treaty of the 10th of April, 1793, and its ſecret articles. Moreover, every thing, which is not determined

by the preceding articles, in a preciſe manner, is to be hereafter regulated upon the principles of equity and good faith, which have conducted the preſent negociation.

Art. XIV. This treaty ſhall be ratified by the high contracting parties, and the ratifications thereof ſhall be exchanged as ſoon as poſſible.

Done at Brunſwick, this 8th day of November, 1794.

(L. S.) Wm. Eliot,
(L. S.) Jean Batiste de Feronce de Rotencreutz.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

IT is determined that this corps of troops ſhall enjoy Brabantine pay, being deſtined to ſerve in the army of the Low Countries; but the expedition with which it was neceſſary to complete the preſent treaty not permitting a ſtate of the Brabantine pay to be added thereto, the underſigned miniſter of his Britannic Majeſty engages himſelf to cauſe to be delivered to the miniſter of the Moſt Serene Duke, as ſoon as it can be done, a complete ſtatement of Brabantine pay, on the ſame footing as it is allowed to the Heſſian troops. In this ſtatement of pay ſhall alſo be ſpecified, the number of rations and portions allowed, as well as all the other emoluments enjoyed by the Heſſian troops actually in Brabant. This communication of the ſtatement of pay ſhall be made with the accuſtomed good faith, and without any reſerve.

Done at Brunſwick, this 8th of November, 1794.

(L. S.) Wm. Eliot,
(L. S.) Jean Batiste de Feronce de Rotencreutz.

Convention between his Britannic Majeſty and the States General of the United Provinces. Signed at the Hague, the 19th of April, 1794.

HIS Britannic Majeſty and the Lords the States General of the United Provinces, deſiring to put his Pruſſian Majeſty into a ſituation to proſecute with vigour the war, in which the greateſt part of the powers of Europe find themſelves engaged, through the unjuſt aggreſſion of thoſe who have exerciſed the powers of government in France, a negotiation has been opened for this purpoſe at Berlin, which having ſince been transferred to the Hague, has been there terminated by the treaty of ſubſidy, concluded this day, by which the maritime powers have engaged themſelves to furniſh to his Pruſſian Majeſty the ſums ſpecified in the abovementioned treaty, to the ends which are alſo announced in it. In conſequence of this treaty his Britannic Majeſty and their High Mightineſſes the Lords States General of the United Provinces, deſiring to come to a further underſtanding between themſelves upon the re-partition of the ſaid ſums to be furniſhed to his Pruſſian Majeſty, have reſolved to conclude for that purpoſe, between themſelves, the preſent convention,

vention, and have named in conſequence, that is to ſay, his Britannic Majeſty, the Lord Baron Malmſbury, peer of the kingdom of Great Britain, a privy counſellor, and knight of the order of the Bath; and their High Mightineſſes the States General, the Sieurs Laurent Pierre Van de Spiegel, counſellor penſionary of the province of Holland and of Weſt Frieſland, keeper of the ſeals, and deputy of the ſaid province at the aſſembly of the States General, and Henri Fagel, greffier of their High Mightineſſes: who, after having mutually communicated their reſpective full powers, and having found them in good and due form, have ſettled the following articles.

Article I. Their High Mightineſſes the States General ſhall furniſh for their quota-part of the entire ſum to be paid to his Pruſſian Majeſty, in order to enable him to fulfil the engagements which he has contracted by the treaty of ſubſidy, concluded and ſigned this day, the ſum of four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, after the ſame valuation which is ſtipulated for in the above-mentioned treaty; which ſum ſhall be divided in ſuch a manner that one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling may be appropriated to anſwer part of the expenſes expreſſed in the ſaid treaty under the name of charges of completing, of putting in motion, and of eſtabliſhment, whilſt the remaining three hundred thouſand pounds ſhall be divided into nine equal portions, to anſwer in part the expenſes of bread and forage, according to the valuation of the ſaid treaty, and in part of ſubſidy, which his Britannic Majeſty and their High Mightineſſes have engaged themſelves by Art. III. of the treaty to furniſh to his Pruſſian Majeſty.

Art. II. As the exiſting circumſtances do not permit their High Mightineſſes to enter into engagements of ſubſidy for an indefinite term, it is underſtood, that the preſent convention will not be extended beyond the term of the preſent year; but, if unhappily the war ſhould not then be finiſhed, his Britannic Majeſty and the States General would conſult together, in order to take, from time to time, all the adequate meaſures for renewing this convention, and for ſupporting with vigour the juſt cauſe, in which his Britannic Majeſty and their High Mightineſſes find themſelves engaged.

Art. III. The preſent convention ſhall be ratified on both ſides, and the exchange of the ratifications ſhall take place in the ſpace of one month or ſooner if it be poſſible.

In faith of which we, Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majeſty, and of the Lords States General of the United Provinces, in virtue of our reſpective powers, have ſigned the preſent convention, and affixed it to the ſeal of our arms.

Done at the Hague, the nineteenth of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-four.

(L. S.) L. P. VAN DE SPIEGEL.
(L. S.) H. FAGEL.
(L. S.) MALMSBURY.

Addreſs of the Stadtholder to the United States.

High and Mighty Lords,

WHEN, in the beginning of laſt year, this ſtate was unexpectedly attacked by the French, and the enemy had, in a ſhort ſpace of time, nearly approached the laſt frontier of the province of Holland, I thought it incumbent on me, in conſequence of the reſpective poſts truſted to my care, to lay my views before your High Mightineſſes, as alſo the grounds of my confidence in the ſalvation of our country.—This I propoſed in the aſſembly of your High Mightineſſes on the 28th February, 1793, and I had, in that moment of danger, the inexpreſſible happineſs of ſeeing the ſpirit of the nation rouſed, of ſeeing how the inhabitants joined heart and hand, and how effectually our allies co-operated: it has ſince pleaſed the Supreme Being to grant us a ſucceſsful iſſue, by driving the enemy from our territory, and by the conquering arms of the ſtates, with our friends and allies, removing the ſeat of war into the enemy's own country. We now ſee, however, High and Mighty Lords, a wonderful revolution in the ſtate of affairs, attended with the loſs of the greater part of our advantages, the enemy having penetrated and advanced near our frontiers; and inſtead of our carrying on the war offenſively, they have forced us to act in our own defence.

It is under ſuch circumſtances, that it behoves all thoſe who more or leſs bear a ſhare in conducting public affairs, to ſtep forward with their undiſguiſed ſentiments and cordially take the lead of the good inhabitants, and by ſuch means cement a mutual confidence, without which the country cannot be ſaved.

With this view I once more appear before you in this aſſembly, to declare to your High Mightineſſes, from the bottom of my heart, that I am ready and firmly determined, ſupported by the wiſe and vigorous meaſures of your High Mightineſſes, and the Lords of the reſpective provinces, to ſacrifice my life in defence of our country; and alſo to aſſure you, that I do by no means deſpair of ſaving the ſtate, if we, with additional courage and fortitude, under the goodneſs of Providence, employ the ready and effectual means in our power, and finally to declare to your High Mightineſſes, that I hold the leaſt neglect of ſuch neceſſary exertions, and every indication of deſpondency and fear, as inevitably tending towards the irretrievable loſs of our country.

I will, no more than laſt year, conceal the real danger: the true knowledge of this danger being requiſite to call in aid every poſſible means of reſiſtance. Still were we to conſult the hiſtory of our Republic, we ſhould find circumſtances of peril, compared to which, the preſent appears to vaniſh.

Our brave anceſtors fought and obtained their liberty and independance in the midſt of ſuch difficulties, as human foreſight could not reaſonably hope to ſurmount; notwithſtanding which, did they conſtantly ſpurn at all the inſidious overtures offered them; they thought themſelves more ſecure

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in manfully facing the dangers of war, than ſuffering themſelves to be deceived by a treacherous peace. While King Philip and his adherents continued to be conſidered as enemies, our forefathers had to defend themſelves only againſt open hoſtilities; but had the enemy in appearance become friends and brothers, the weapons of deceit, ſeduction, and corruption, would have proved far more alarming than a ſtate of open warfare. Are we to ſuppoſe the preſent ſituation worſe than that in 1672, when not only ſingle towns, but three provinces of the Union were in poſſeſſion of the enemy? Or that of 1747, when all Dutch Flanders and the ſtrong frontier of Bergen-op-Zoom were loſt? Or, laſtly, than that of 1793, the recent events of which are too well known? If neither our anceſtors nor ourſelves, during thoſe periods, ſhewed ſymptoms of deſpondency, how diſgraceful would it be in us, under our preſent circumſtances, did we enter on the defence of the ſtate without energy and determined courage! Were we to compare the means of defence actually in the power of the Republic, with thoſe in former wars, we are moſt aſſuredly no leſs in a ſtate prepared to repel the attacks of the enemy, than we were in the above-mentioned periods. The greater part of our frontiers is covered, and continue to be improved; we have an army on foot, who have ſignalized themſelves by their bravery during the two laſt campaigns, and who will act, if poſſible, more ſo, when fighting for their all. The cheerfulneſs, joined to the courage of our ſeamen, hath ſhewn itſelf in the year 1793. Neither is the Republic without allies, who, as far as their own ſituation may admit, will ſtrengthen her: but it is of infinitely more weight than to depend on human efforts, to conſider that the God of heaven and earth, having ſo often brought about our deliverance, when the proſpect ſeemed moſt dreary, we have at this time good grounds to hope, under him, for the achievement of honourable and glorious deeds.

If there are in the Republic ſuch unnatural and degenerate Dutchmen who wiſh for the approach of the enemy, becauſe they may imagine it will procure them the means of gratifying their private vindictive ſpirit; who with ſuch views endeavour, by intimidating their fellow-citizens againſt their taking up arms in the common cauſe, let us conſider them as internal foes, and watch their criminal intentions with no leſs vigilance than we do thoſe of our enemy.

The pacific ſyſtem which this Republic, as a commercial ſtate, hath ever adopted, I hold to be moſt to her advantage; but God forbid we ſhould wiſh for peace at the expenſe of our ſecurity and independence: if we muſt loſe theſe ineſtimable bleſſings through the ſuperior force of an enemy, it will be an event ſincerely to be lamented; but ſhould we make a voluntary ſurrender of the ſame, then ſhould we become an object of contempt to all nations.

That this ſtate hath given France no cauſe for war is notori-

rious to all the world. That people might among themſelves perſecute the Chriſtian worſhip, overthrow the ancient throne of their kings, arbitrarily diſpoſe of the freedom, the lives and property of their fellow countrymen. Our ſtate ſaw all this with inexpreſſible grief, it is true, but never had the moſt diſtant wiſh of declaring war againſt the opinions of this deluded people. In ſpite of our moderation, have we been ſuddenly and moſt unjuſtly attacked; this attack having been preceded by a decree of the National Convention, whereby it appears, that the reaſon of this deſtructive war is to put all countries and nations on a footing of equality with the miſeries of France, namely, to deſtroy the religious worſhip of our forefathers, the fundamental laws of the ſtate, and to work a total ſubverſion of our true freedom. Theſe, High and Mighty Lords, are the objects for which we ſhould enter into a treaty of capitulation, in caſe the war is to terminate agreeably to the enemy's views; however, theſe very objects muſt never be made the ſubject of treaties, but for their better ſecurity and preſervation. With regard to myſelf, I know no medium between a vigorous reſiſtance and puſillanimous ſubmiſſion; and I doubt not for a ſingle moment about the choice of your High Mightineſſes, that of the States of the Provinces, and of all the well-diſpoſed in the country. Let every individual, whatever be his religious or civil principles (provided he is no enemy to his country and to his own intereſt) rally round the ſtandard in favour of the common cauſe of his country: let every one within his circle contribute towards her protection to the utmoſt of his power: let the neceſſary ſupplies be furniſhed; and I have hopes, I might ſay, I truſt with confidence, that we ſhall be able to defend ourſelves, and under Providence, protect the honour, and promote the proſperity of the Netherlands.

Behold, High and Mighty Lords, what in duty I owe to the whole nation, to a people among whom I was born and educated, for whoſe independence a great number of my anceſtors ſacrificed their lives, for whoſe welfare I am ready to ſpill my laſt drop of blood, and for which both my ſons have given proofs of their not being unworthy the name they bear—I wiſh then for nothing more than the co-operation of my fellow citizens, and the reward of my houſe be their liberty, independence, and permanent happineſs.

(Signed) WILLIAM,
Prince of Orange.

Hague, July 14, 1794.

Extract from the Regiſter of the States General. Monday, July 14.—*Fiat Inſertio.*

THE deputies of the ſeveral provinces having deliberated upon the addreſs and propoſitions of his Highneſs the Prince Stadtholder, fully accord with him in the noble ſentiments therein manifeſted; declaring, at the ſame time, that they have no doubt of the co-operation of the different provinces

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at so critical a period as the present, and of their determination to use all their efforts in aid and support of his Highness, by the sacrifice of their lives and properties in the defence and support of their country.

Their High Mightinesses have further assured M. Van Schuylenberg, their president, that they will take the more essential points recommended by his Highness into immediate consideration, in order to rid the state of the difficulties it now labours under, flattering themselves, that the means of defence adopted will prevent the enemy from penetrating any further; and that, under the Divine blessing, their efforts will be crowned with a happy issue, and the honour and prosperity of the Netherlands be finally supported; all vain and premature apprehensions be suppressed, which can only tend to prejudice the country; and that such as wish for the arrival of the enemy, with their adherents, may be disarmed; the most observant attention, it being particularly necessary, should be paid to these internal enemies of their country, much more dangerous than those without, open and declared.

It is further thought proper to have it understood, that the propositions of his Highness should be printed with all speed, and copies sent to the respective provinces, as well as to Dort, and the states of Drenthe.

Proclamation by the States of Holland and West Friesland, issued in the Middle of July, 1794.

THE States of Holland and West Friesland, &c. make known, Whereas the circumstances of war, so unjustly declared by the French government against the Republic, have again taken such a turn, that the frontiers of the state are exposed a second time to the violence of the enemy's invasion, which can be no otherwise resisted than by employing the most vigorous means: to this effect, animated by the sentiments which his most Serene Highness the Prince Stadtholder expressed in his address to the States General, the 14th of last month, we have firmly resolved to sacrifice our properties and lives in the defence of the state, particularly of this province, and in protecting every thing that is dear to us in this country. We have judged it necessary and our duty to inform the good citizens of these our serious intentions and views, and at the same time to declare, that we are very far from despairing of the safety of the state, together with all its prerogatives, religious and civil, in case that the means which Divine Goodness has given and preserved to us are employed with that cordiality, concord, and true patriotism, which have at all times characterised the free-born Belgic nation. It is with this view that we exhort every citizen, who is not totally degenerated from the virtues of his ancestors, to renounce at this time, when the country is in danger, all party spirit, and to unite heart and hand for the preservation of their own interests, and to remember that every one in his own sphere

ſphere is obliged to co-operate, ſince there is not a ſingle perſon who would not loſe, in the fall of the ſtate, his own perſonal liberty, and his unreſtrained means of ſubſiſtence; but, above all, let every one think that this obligation becomes greater in proportion to his poſſeſſions, or other relations to this country, ſo favoured by Heaven.

That amongſt the means we judge may, and ought to be employed with vigour, we reckon the local ſituation and the natural force of the country, ſtrengthened by fortreſſes and by inundations, by means of which our enemies have been ſo often driven from our frontiers, as likewiſe the augmentation and the abundant ſtores with which the army of the ſtate is provided, encouraged as it is by the immortal glory it has acquired in the two laſt campaigns. But neither is it to be diſſembled, that in order to put every thing into the moſt reſpectable ſituation it is capable of, conſiderable ſums are wanted: for theſe wants we have endeavoured to provide in time, as well by reſolving upon different, as by impoſing a tax after the example of like circumſtances in the year 1747; three proportions of which we, with all other well-intentioned citizens, have already paid, being obliged, by our neceſſities, to anticipate the laſt proportion a month before the time. Nevertheleſs, all the means of ſupply hitherto furniſhed fall greatly ſhort of the neceſſities of this expenſive war, more eſpecially at the preſent moment, when the ſafety or the fall of the Republic depends upon the prompt furniſhing of coin.

In the meantime we with pleaſure learn, that many good citizens, who have the power of doing ſo, have declared themſelves ready to ſuccour the country efficaciouſly with all their power, at this conjuncture, if a general call be made to this effect, and if a loan be opened on ſuch conditions as agree beſt with the preſent value of the intereſt of money.

Declaratory Anſwer of the States of Overyſſel to the Exhortatory Addreſs of their High Mightineſſes of Holland, reſpecting the preſent alarming Criſis.

High and Mighty Lords,

WE have thankfully received the two addreſſes of your High Mightineſſes, written at the Hague, the 14th and 26th of laſt month; the firſt of which earneſtly recommended a propoſition made that day by his Highneſs the Stadtholder to the Aſſembly of your High Mightineſſes; and the other tended to communicate to us the reſolution of the Lords the States of Holland and Weſt Frieſland, taken upon the ſaid propoſition, and remitted to the Aſſembly of your High Mightineſſes.

We thank your High Mightineſſes for the communication alluded to; and we beg leave to teſtify to his Highneſs our warmeſt obligation and ſincere gratitude, that, far from deſpairing at this critical moment for the ſafety of our dear country, which is precious to all, there is no want, on the contrary, of that laudable emulation,

emulation, which not only ſerves to manifeſt cordially, proper and patriotic ſentiments, but alſo to arouſe effectually the courage and union of the High Allies, in order, as the danger is renewed and increaſed, our efforts and vigour may be redoubled, to reſiſt courageouſly the evil which threatens us, and, with the aid of Divine Providence, to defeat effectually this dangerous combination.

We rejoice that the Lords the States of Holland and Weſt Frieſland, alſo the Lords the States of Guelder, Utretch, and Drenthe, by whom the reſolutions have been communicated to us, have cheerfully conformed to theſe generous ſentiments.

We make no difficulty in ſincerely and frankly confeſſing, before your High Mightineſſes, and before the whole Republic, that in the extremity of danger in a country, we know no ſituation more alarming, than when the inhabitants loſe courage, or relax from their exertions; that foreſeeing the actual danger, we are, however, far from conſidering the difficulty as inſurmountable; and that, in conformity with the wiſhes of his Highneſs, we entertain no doubt but we will be able, with the aid of Divine Providence, to defeat the arduous efforts of an artful enemy.

The experience of former deliverances, the reſources which ſtill remain to us, the courage and the cordiality of the allies, the wiſdom of his Highneſs the Stadtholder, the bravery of his ſons, and of your troops, and, above all, the ſuccour of the God of the Low Countries, whoſe beneficence we have ſo often witneſſed, are ample foundations on which we are to build a certain hope of preſervation and ſecurity.

As to us, there ſhall not be wanting every exertion which can contribute to this ſalutary end, that we may defend our religious and political liberties againſt a dangerous, a powerful, and an artful enemy, repreſs the evil intentions of certain individuals of this country, and tranſmit our conſtitution unimpaired to poſterity.

We are,
High and Mighty Lords, &c.
(Signed) M. TYDEMAN.

De Zwolle, Aug. 8, 1794.

The Prince Stadtholder having aſſiſted at the Aſſembly of the States General, on the 4th and 5th of Auguſt, made the following Propoſition.

High and Mighty Lords,

ON the 14th of laſt month, I laid before the aſſembly of your High Mightineſſes my true ſentiments on the preſent ſituation of the affairs of this republic, relative to the approach of the enemy towards our frontiers. I proteſted, from the bottom of my heart, that I was ready to ſacrifice all for its defence. I conſidered ſaving the ſtate as very poſſible, if, redoubling courage and firmneſs, and relying on the Divine aſſiſtance, we employed the means in our hands. Finally, I conſidered the neglect of thoſe means, and all unſeaſonable fears, as what would moſt readily lead to the ruin of our

our country. Your High Mightineſſes, and the ſtates of ſome Provinces, have already made a public declaration that theſe ſentiments are your own, and proteſted the moſt zealous goodwill to aſſiſt in taking efficacious meaſures in ſupport of the common cauſe; I am well aſſured that the ſtates of all the provinces will manifeſt the ſame promptitude as ſoon as their convocation ſhall enable them to come to reſolutions on the ſubject.

In the meantime, your High Mightineſſes, and all the colleagues and departments that could contribute to the means of defence, have not been idle. There has been much activity in providing the fortreſſes, in filling the magazines, and in haſtening the equipment of veſſels for the protection of our rivers. But however neceſſary, however uſeful, all theſe meaſures may be in themſelves, it appears to me that there are two principal objects beſides, belonging to a complete defence, and for which proviſion cannot be made, but by grand meaſures employed in concert; viz. by money and by troops.

War, I own, is expenſive; the preſent is more ſo than any hitherto waged: but it differs alſo in its nature from all preceding wars, becauſe we have to deal with an enemy who have recourſe to means hitherto unknown, and who reckon as nothing the loſs of their colonies, of their commerce, their agriculture, and all national proſperity, provided that, by compelling all the reſources of their own country, they can reduce other nations to the ſame exhauſted ſtate. Such an enemy is not to be combated with parſimonious finances. The force that muſt be oppoſed to them requires great efforts, doubtleſs, but yet not too great, if we conſider what would be the conſequence of their ſucceeding in their deſigns. I cannot, therefore, enough recommend it to your High Mightineſſes, and to the reſpective provinces, to employ all the means poſſible, in order that the finances may be put into a ſtate to ſupply with promptitude the expenſes which the protection of the Republic neceſſarily requires.—The other object I mentioned is neither leſs neceſſary nor leſs urgent. To what end would be the ſtate of the fortifications, of the inundations, of the veſſels, if men were wanting to defend them?

It has appeared to me that this defence may be conſidered as of two kinds—the foreign defence, and the internal defence. The former relates to the army of the ſtate, which muſt act in the field, or in the ſtrong places, out of the provinces; the latter which muſt act in concert with the army, to cover the provinces themſelves, or afford an opportunity to employ the regular troops out of the provinces.

No perſon can doubt but that the army of the ſtate has ſuffered much loſs in the many bloody battles, by diſeaſe, by the ordinary courſe of nature, or other misfortunes; and experience has ſhewn that recruiting in the ordinary way has been extremely difficult, ſo that the army is far ſhort

of

of being complete. The deficiency, in my opinion, ought to be supplied as soon as possible; and for this purpose, I have found no means more prompt than a general recruiting out of the country, for all the corps of the army without distinction, so that the levies made in this way may be delivered to the captains of companies which are not complete, at the price they have cost the public, or at some price agreed upon. This measure, if your High Mightinesses should approve of it, will not cost the state much beyond the provisional advance of the money, which as well as the payment of the officers employed in this general recruiting out of the country, will be repaid.

The reason for which I propose this recruiting out of the country, is, that it may not clash with another measure, which I think of the highest necessity, viz. the levying a considerable body of the inhabitants of the country, for the protection of the several provinces. I should think that the manner in which this levy or enrolment might be made, ought to be regulated by the different situations of the provinces. But I cannot sufficiently express my satisfaction at what I have already often recollected, that there is a very great number of citizens, friends of their country, who have manifested the most ardent desire for such an enrolment, and who have given assurances at the same time, that they will willingly contribute by way of subscription to support the expense of the men who may be more directly employed in the protection of their persons and property.

However, although the mode of enrolment ought to be left to the several provinces, some preliminary points, I think, should be settled, to be observed as general rules in this operation, viz. that these levies must be united in corps, formed, with such changes as their composition may require, on the model of regular troops; that they must be exercised, as far as possible, by military officers and non-commissioned officers, and commanded by military officers in the service of the state; that they must take the same oath as the other troops of the Republic; that they must be assured of not being employed in the field, or out of the country, without their consent; that, as far as the circumstances of the defence of the country will permit, they shall be employed in the province in which they were enrolled; that their engagement shall last only for the remaining months of the present year; and that being, in several respects, on a different footing from military forces, they must have more ample pay.

I again submit these propositions to your High Mightinesses. It is unnecessary to press you farther on the subject. Your High Mightinesses know the urgency of the circumstances, and will take, in your wisdom, such resolutions as the interest of the state, and the safety of us all require.

Done at the Hague, August 4, 1794.

(Signed) W. PRINCE D'ORANGE.

Anſwer tranſmitted by Lord St. Helen's, to an Application made to Lord Grenville by the Engliſh Conſul at Amſterdam.

Hague, 10th October, 1794.

Sir,

LORD Grenville having received a letter from you, in which you ſtate, that in conſequence of the progreſs lately made by the enemy on the frontier of this Republic, a general conſternation had taken place at Amſterdam, which had produced a conſiderable emigration of the inhabitants of that city, and that it might, therefore, be expedient, that ſome aſſiſtance ſhould be furniſhed by Great Britain to ſuch other perſons as might might be diſpoſed to leave that place with their effects; I am directed by his Lordſhip to inform you, that his Majeſty, far from being diſpoſed to aſſiſt or facilitate any ſuch emigration, wiſhes to check and diſcourage it as much as poſſible, conſidering it as highly prejudicial to the intereſts of the Republic, as well as of the common cauſe.

I beg leave to recommend it to you to take every proper opportunity of making known thoſe ſentiments of his Majeſty, particularly to theſe perſons whoſe conduct they may be likely to influence.

I am, with great eſteem and regard, Sir,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant,

(Signed) ST. HELEN.

H. Pye Rich, Eſq. Amſterdam.

Proclamation of the Magiſtrates of Amſterdam.

THE magiſtrates of the city of Amſterdam having perceived that ſome evil-minded perſons thought proper to ſpread different falſe reports, and to trouble the minds of the ignorant timid inhabitants, from which it might eaſily reſult, that they would be perſuaded to ſign petitions or addreſſes to the regency of this city, with a view of preſenting them to the burgomaſters, and which requeſts would have no other tendency than to incommode the lawful regency in its free deliberations on the preſent circumſtances of affairs, and to make them loſe entirely the confidence of the good burghers of this city:

The ſaid magiſtrates therefore exhort before-hand, every one to be circumſpect and prudent, and not to ſuffer himſelf to be miſled by alarming ſpeeches, nor to be perſuaded into actions, of which they cannot ſufficiently foreſee the conſequences; and farther, to prevent troubles, they warn and command every body, by theſe preſents, not to join in making addreſſes calculated to interfere in the adminiſtration of public affairs, under pain that thoſe who ſhall be found to tranſgreſs in this particular, ſhall be dealt with according to the utmoſt rigour of the law.

Reſolved October 13, 1794.

Addreſs from the Prince of Orange, printed and diſtributed in the Provinces of Holland and Guelderland, in the Middle of October, 1794.

To the brave inhabitants of Guelderland and Holland.

MY illuſtrious father has empowered me to call upon every good citizen

citizen for their assistance in the defence of the confines, and to contend for the preservation of their religion and their country: I therefore call upon all the brave inhabitants of Guelderland and Holland, to unite and stand up for the defence of their houses and lands, their lives and properties. Here are arms, powder and ball —take them with a good heart, and use them with a strong hand. Not a man of you, unless he chuses, shall go out of his province; but let each of you, in your respective districts, prevent the enemy from advancing any farther. Brave and faithful countrymen! let us fight one and all for our dear country. Soldiers, citizens, and peasants! let us all unanimously assemble under the same banner: I will fight with you for the salvation of the country, and may God give us the victory!

Petition of the Citizens of Amsterdam, of the Anti-Stadtholderian Party, to the Magistrates of that City, for delivering which the Petitioners were imprisoned.

THE underſigned burghers and inhabitants of Amſterdam declare, with dutiful ſubmiſſion, that having hitherto had the greateſt confidence in the wiſdom and candour of their Great Mightineſſes, the noble burgomaſters and council of that city, that they ſhould take all neceſſary meaſures for the protection and welfare of the inhabitants of the town; and as hitherto the underſigned have not yet undertaken any active ſtep to ſhew any diſtruſt or diſcontent againſt the conduct of your Great Mightineſſes, they hope never to have any occaſion to aſſume ſuch a ſtep.

The underſigned, however, think themſelves well informed, that the liberty of your deliberations has lately been conſiderably encroached by the ſudden and unexpected appearance, in this town, of his Serene Highneſs the Hereditary Prince of Orange, and his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, the arrival of whom had no other object than to induce your Great Mightineſſes to give your conſent to reſolutions, the execution of which cannot fail being highly detrimental and injurious to the intereſt of the inhabitants of this town, and of thoſe of the whole province.

Without further venturing upon conjectures relative to the objects of the arrival of the above two high perſonages, we think it neceſſary to ſtate that we have been informed of your Great Mightineſſes, on their arrival, having taken into conſideration the propoſitions made; that on the approach of the French troops to the town, that the latter ſhould be put in the moſt complete footing of defence, and that your Great Mightineſſes had come to a reſolution to ſubmit the town to all the inconveniences of a ſiege; that you likewiſe have conſented to form the grand inundation all around the city, by opening all the ſurrounding ſluices, and by breaking different ſea dykes.

And that farther your Great Mightineſſes had alſo reſolved to admit a great number of Engliſh troops into the heart of this city.

Under-

Undersigned think it their duty to declare that they shall in no manner consent to the above-mentioned measures; and that in case the above great personages, by their presence, should force your Great Mightinesses to such resolutions, we must assert that all the inhabitants of this town are averse to such measures, as being injurious to the general interest of this town and the whole country.

Undersigned expect a categorical answer from your Great Mightinesses upon the following questions:

1. What was the object of the arrival of the above high personage in this town?

2. Whether your Mightinesses have consented to expose the town to a formal siege, to garrison it with foreign troops, and to transform its interior civil government into a military government?

Undersigned further declare publicly, that they are disconcented with such resolutions, and they are determined to resist and oppose themselves against all military defence of whatever name, and under whatever form it might be adopted.

That the undersigned, particularly, are determined to resist and oppose themselves against the quartering, in the town, of the English troops, whose bad conduct has not been improved by repeated orders and severities from their chief commander. The undersigned will look upon the approach of those troops as a signal given by your Great Mightinesses for a civil insurrection; the fatal consequences of which your Great Mightinesses will have alone to answer for.

In order to prevent such dreadful consequences, the undersigned, think it their duty, in the present critical urgency, once more submissively to apply to your Great Mightinesses to entreat you never to consent to the adoption of such measures, to expose this town to a military defence, or to suffer such undisciplined and pillaging troops to be quartered within its walls.

The wisest measures your Great Mightinesses can adopt, are only to have confidence in the patriotism and good will of the inhabitants, to direct their steps according to the course of the natural exigencies of the circumstances, and not by an audacious attempt of forming a military defence of the town, to precipitate its inhabitants into unavoidable misery and ruin, and you yourselves only will be answerable.

(Signed, &c. &c. &c.)

Amsterdam, Oct. 14, 1794.

Proclamation by the States of the Island of Jersey, March, 8, 1794.

THE commander in chief having caused the states to be assembled, to communicate to them the intelligence which he has just received, that the enemy have actually collected in force on the adjacent coasts, that it is their avowed plan to make a descent in this island, and that they announce they are invited to it by the inhabitants of Jersey, with a view, doubtless, of spiriting up their soldiers,

diers, by making them believe that they will meet with no reſiſtance, and perhaps alſo with a view of making bad impreſſions upon our auguſt ſovereign reſpecting the loyalty of this country: the ſtates, after having teſtified their gratitude to the commander in chief for his attentive conduct in this critical moment, cannot forbear expreſſing the horror which they feel at ſuch a calumny, as falſe as it is malicious, againſt the acknowledged fidelity of the inhabitants of this iſland. The ſtates take this opportunity to aſſure the commander in chief of their zeal and their inviolable attachment to the beſt of kings, and to the Britiſh government, under which this iſland has enjoyed, for ſeveral centuries, ineſtimable privileges and advantages. They declare to him, that he will always find them ready to ſecond his efforts for the ſafety of the country; and knowing, from happy experience, the ſentiments of the people whom they repreſent, the ſtates dare aſſure the commander in chief of the devotion of this loyal people, and of their eagerneſs to defend their country, and to repulſe the attacks of a cruel and barbarous enemy, who trample under foot all laws human and divine, and who have no other aim but the plunder and the deſtruction of their fellow creatures. Wiſhing, at the ſame time, that the advice communicated by the commander in chief to the ſtates, relative to the meditated invaſion, and the atrocious calumny thrown out againſt the moſt faithful people, and which cannot fail to excite the moſt lively indignation in the hearts of the inhabitants, be publicly made known, the ſtates have ordered that this preſent act, unanimouſly voted, be printed, publiſhed, and put up in all the pariſhes of this iſland: and the miniſters are requeſted to have the goodneſs to read the ſame next Sunday from the pulpit.

PHILIP DE CARTERET, Clerk.

General Orders for the Security of Great Britain.

Whitehall, 14th March, 1794.

IT is natural to be ſuppoſed that gentlemen of weight or property in different parts of the kingdom will ſeparately ſtand forward, in order to carry into execution the ſeveral parts of the plan for the ſecurity of the country; but it ſeems alſo deſirable, a general ſubſcription ſhould be opened, to be applied, under the direction of a committee, for the purpoſe of aſſiſting in carrying into execution all, or any, of the meaſures therein ſuggeſted, as circumſtances ſhall appear to require.

Whitehall, March 14, 1794.

In order to provide more completely for the ſecurity of the country againſt any attempts which may be made on the part of the enemy, it may be expedient to adopt ſome, or all, of the following meaſures:

I. To augment the militia by volunteer companies, as was practiſed in the laſt war; or by an additional number of volunteers, to be added as privates to each company.

II. To form volunteer companies in particular towns, eſpecially in thoſe ſituated on, or near the ſea-coaſt, for the purpoſe of the local defence of the particular places where they may be raiſed, according to the accompanying plan, or ſuch other as may, on application for that purpoſe, be approved of, as beſt adapted to the circumſtances of any particular town.

III. To raiſe volunteer troops of fencible cavalry, conſiſting of no leſs than fifty, nor more than eighty per troop; who will be to ſerve only during the war, and within the kingdom. The officers will have temporary rank only, and will not be entitled to half-pay: the arms, accoutrements, and cloathing will be furniſhed by government; but the levy money for the men to be furniſhed by the perſons who undertake to raiſe ſuch troops; and the horſes to be found by them, but to be paid for, at a reaſonable price, by government.

A perſon raiſing two troops to have the temporary rank of major; four troops, that of lieutenant-colonel; and ſix troops, that of colonel.

IV. To form other bodies of cavalry within particular counties or diſtricts, to conſiſt of the gentlemen and yeomanry, or ſuch perſons as they ſhall bring forward, according to the plans to be approved of by the king, or by the lords-lieutenants under authority from his Majeſty: and the officers to receive temporary commiſſions from his Majeſty; and the muſter-rolls alſo to be approved by his Majeſty, or by the lords-lieutenants, at periods to be fixed. No levy money to be given, and the horſes to be furniſhed by the gentry or yeomanry who compoſe the corps; but the arms and accoutrements to be ſupplied at the expenſe of the public. Such corps to be exerciſed only at ſuch times as ſhall be fixed by warrant from his Majeſty, or by the approbation of the lords-lieutenants: to be liable to be embodied or called out of their counties by ſpecial directions from his Majeſty, in caſe of actual appearance of invaſion, and to be liable to be called upon, by order from his Majeſty, or by the lord-lieutenant or ſheriff of the county, to act within the county, or in the adjacent counties, for the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults. In either caſe, while actually in ſervice, they ſhall receive pay as cavalry, and be liable to the proviſions of the mutiny bill.

V. To enrol and appoint places of rendezvous for a ſufficient number of perſons in different pariſhes and diſtricts, particularly in places near the ſea-coaſt, to ſerve as pioneers, or to aſſiſt the regular force in any manner that may be neceſſary, on the ſhorteſt notice, in caſes of emergency.

Companies of infantry for manning batteries on the coaſt, each to conſiſt of

1 captain.
2 lieutenants.
3 ſerjeants.
3 corporals.
2 drummers.
60 private men at leaſt; one-third to be armed with firelocks, the others to have pikes eight feet long.

The officers to be recommended by the lords-lieutenants of counties,

ties, but to have commiſſions from the king.

To aſſemble two days in each week, to practiſe. The officers to be allowed pay, and the non-commiſſioned officers and private men, each one ſhilling per day, for the days they are at exercife. To have cloathing given by government, that they may be all uniform. Not to be removed more than five miles from home, unleſs ordered by his Majeſty on the appearance of an invaſion, when they are to be called out, and paid like other militia, but not to be removed out of their county.

Officers on half-pay will be accepted, if recommended.

To be under military law when embodied, and under the command of a general officer.

On the 27th of February, 1794, the French Convention paſſed the following Decree concerning the Creditors of the Engliſh, of the Spaniards, and of Perſons condemned or baniſhed.

THE National Convention, after having heard the report of their committees of Legiſlation, of Domains, and of Alienation, decree as follows:

I. The liſts of names, which, according to the law of 26th Frimaire (the 16th of December) was to be made of all perſons whoſe property has been, or ſhall be confiſcated to the profit of the Republic, ſhall be ſent and proclaimed in the ſame manner as the general liſt of emigrants, and ſhall, beſides, be paſted up in the chief towns of each diſtrict only. In conſequence, there ſhall only be ten thouſand impreſſions of each liſt.

II. In the decade following the publication of the preſent law, there ſhall be made out particular liſts of the Engliſh, the Spaniſh, and all the ſubjects of the other foreign powers at war with France, who have any property in France, whether conſiſting of moveables or immoveables, or of credit. Theſe liſts ſhall be made out by the reſpective municipalities, within whoſe precincts they poſſeſs any property or credit.

III. Theſe liſts ſhall, within the following decade, be ſent by the national agents of the Communes to the adminiſtration of the diſtrict, who ſhall verify them, and ſhall add, if there be occaſion, a general ſtate, which the national agent ſhall addreſs, within the third decade, to the adminiſtration of departments, and to the adminiſtration of domains.

IV. Moreover the national agents of the diſtricts ſhall be bound to ſend every month to the adminiſtration of their departments, and to the adminiſtrator of the national domains, and the national adminiſtration of regiſters, all new information they may have procured concerning the property and the credit of each of the individuals compriſed in the 2d article.

V. The adminiſtrator of the national domains ſhall compriſe theſe liſts and theſe informations in the tables mentioned in the firſt article of the preſent law, and in the ſtates whoſe formation is ordered by the tenth article of the law of the 26th Frimaire (December 16.)

VI. The creditors of the emigrants ſhall from henceforward

have only one declaration and one depoſit of titles to make. They ſhall make them at the Secretaries Office of the diſtrict where their debtors laſt reſided, indicated by the general liſt, made in conformity to the ſecond article of the law of the 27th of Brumaire (November 17.)

VII. The creditors of baniſhed perſons, of impriſoned prieſts, of Engliſhmen, of Spaniards, and of the ſubjects of other powers at war with the Republic, or of perſons outlawed, and whoſe property is confiſcated, are ſubject to the ſame declarations and depoſit of titles, as the creditors of emigrants.

VIII. Theſe declarations and depoſits ſhall be made by the creditors of emigrants and others, deſcribed in the preceding article, within four months, reckoning from the day of the publication, made in the chief town of the diſtrict. Where this term is paſt, their debts will be forfeited.

IX. The depoſitaries, public and private, the debtors, the farmers or the holders of property belonging to emigrants and others, compriſed in the liſts or general tables mentioned in the preſent law, ſhall, within the ſame period, make the declarations preſcribed by the laws of the 25th of November 1792, 25th of July 1793, and 26th Frimaire (December 16); and this under the penalties there pronounced.

X. The diſpoſitions of the laws of the 2d of September, the 25th of November 1792, the 13th of January 1793, the 26th Frimaire (December 16) and others, which may be contrary to thoſe of the preſent law, are annulled.

In the National Convention of France on the 11th Ventoſe, March 1, 1794, the following Decree was preſented by Merlin of Douay, in the Name of the Committees of Legiſlation, Domains, and Alienation; and ſeveral Articles were propoſed concerning the Confiſcation of the Property of Nations at War with the Republic.

ART. I. Tables of the names of all perſons whoſe goods and eſtates are liable to confiſcation, ſhall be given in to the perſons appointed at Paris to receive theſe denunciations, and they ſhall be afterwards proclaimed in the ſame manner as has been done in regard to the emigrants.

2. In the decade following the publication of the preſent law, there ſhall be made out particular liſts of the Engliſh, the Spaniſh, and all the ſubjects of the other foreign powers at war with France, who have any property in France, whether conſiſting of moveables or immoveables, or of credit. Theſe liſts ſhall be made out by the reſpective municipalities, within whoſe precincts they have poſſeſt any property or credit.

3. Theſe liſts ſhall, within the following decade, be ſent by the national agents of the Communes to the adminiſtration of diſtrict, who ſhall verify them, and ſhall add, if there be occaſion, a general ſtate, which the national agent ſhall addreſs, within the third decade, and to the adminiſtration of domains.

4. Moreover the national agents of the diſtricts ſhall be bound to ſend every month to the adminiſtration of their departments, and to the adminiſtration

tion of the national domains, and the national adminiſtration of regiſters, all new information they may have procured concerning the property and the credit of each of the individuals compriſed in the ſecond article.

5. The adminiſtrator of the national domains ſhall compriſe theſe liſts and theſe informations in the tables mentioned in the firſt article of the preſent law, and in the ſtates, whoſe information is ordered by the tenth article of the law of the 26th Frimaire.

6. The creditors of the emigrants ſhall from henceforward have only one declaration, and one depoſit of titles to make. They ſhall make them at the ſecretary's office of the diſtrict where their debtors laſt reſided, indicated by the general liſt, made in conformity to the ſecond article of the law of the 27th of Brumaire.

7. The creditors of baniſhed perſons, of impriſoned prieſts, of Engliſhmen, of Spaniards, and the ſubjects of other powers at war with the Republic, or of perſons outlawed, and whoſe property is confiſcated, are ſubject to the ſame declarations and depoſit of titles as the creditors of emigrants.

8. Theſe declarations and depoſits ſhall be made by the creditors of emigrants, and others deſcribed in the preceding article, within four months, reckoning from the day of the publication made in the chief town of the diſtrict. Where this term is paſt, their debts will be forfeited.

9. The depoſitaries, public and private, the debtors, the farmers, or the holders of property belonging to emigrants and others, compriſed in the liſts of general tables mentioned in the preſent law, ſhall, within the ſame period, make the declarations preſcribed by the laws of the 25th November 1792, 25th July 1793, and 26th Frimaire; and this under the penalties there pronounced.

10. The diſpoſitions of the laws of the 2d September, the 25th November 1792, the 13th January 1793, the 26th Frimaire, and others which may be contrary to thoſe of the preſent law, are annulled.

Decrees of the King of Spain. Extracted from the Madrid Gazette, dated Sept. 2, 1794.

FIRST. The various events of war, having ſince the commencement of this ſecond campaign, occaſioned great expences and loſſes which could not be foreſeen when the calculation of the neceſſary funds to conduct it were made in the outſet, and it having become indiſpenſable to ſeek new means to ſecure the intereſt, and the conſiderable capital which will be wanted to provide with the ſame exactneſs as heretofore for the ſubſiſtence and maintenance of the armies and the fleet, my paternal feelings do not permit me to burthen afreſh the poorer part of my ſubjects, who, on account of their greater number, contribute in a larger proportion to the exigencies of the ſtate, and at the ſame time, with immenſe hazards and fatigues, expoſe their perſons for the defence of all. I have thought juſtice and equity required, that the more eaſy claſſes—the moſt opulent, and thoſe who receive more immediate benefits from the

government—ſhould contribute with their property towards its expenſe. Upon this principle, and by the unanimous opinion of my council of ſtate, among other things, I have reſolved, that, from the firſt of the enſuing month of September, a deduction ſhall be made in the reſpective pay-offices, from all ſalaries, penſions, grants, or other aſſignments, enjoyed by the perſons employed in my royal ſervice, be it in what department ſoever, (the military alone excepted,) either in Spain or in the Indies, of four-per-cent. on their groſs amount, provided it exceeds 800 ducados, (about 160l.) per ann. and that the ſame be alſo deducted from the military enjoying the rank of Mareſchal de Camp incluſively, who are not in actual ſervice, obſerving that the exemption I grant to the other officers of my army and navy, not ſerving the campaign, extends merely to their pay according to rank, and not to the penſions, ſalaries, or other grants they may have in any other, even ſhould it be of a military nature; and the amount of all ſuch deductions to continue not longer than two years after the termination of this war, ſhall be paid from the reſpective offices into my chief treaſury; and moreover, my counſellors of ſtate having repreſented to me, with the moſt ardent and patriotic zeal, that the deduction in their ſalaries might be 25-per-cent. ſince, convinced of the juſtice and neceſſity of the war, they were ready to make, not only ſuch a ſacrifice, but to extend it even to their lives and fortunes.—I have thought expedient to accept this loyal and generous offer; and in conſequence, the deduction of 25-per-cent. ſhall be made from the ſalary of every individual counſellor of ſtate, upon the ſame terms, and under the ſame reſtrictions and duration as the deduction of four-per-cent. aforementioned from the ſalaries of all other placemen and penſioners.

Second. With the advice of his council, &c. his moſt Catholic Majeſty decrees—"That no miniſter, perſon or perſons of any claſs or condition whatſoever, ſhall receive more than one ſalary or ſtipend, although they may poſſeſs various employments under the government; their ſalary, during the exiſtence of the firſt decree, is left to their option."

The decrees are ſix in number, dated in Auguſt laſt, all tending towards providing an adequate fund without the aid of new taxes on the poor, for the continuance of the war; the clergy (with leave of his holineſs the Pope) are aſſeſſed ſeven millions of rials annually; a creation of paper money to the amount of 18,000,000 of dollars was to take place on the 15th of September, and the appropriation of a redeeming fund of two millions of dollars annually was to be applied in diſcharge of intereſt and principal of both the preſent and receding iſſues of *Billets reales*.

Addreſs to the Spaniards, publiſhed early in October, 1794.

Brave Spaniards,

AT a time when I only wiſh to declare to you certain truths, which may ſerve to quiet your minds, and when I only require of you to hear me, my unremitting attention

attention to the concerns of the public entitles me to your attention, and your own intereſt in the public tranquillity aſſures me I ſhall obtain it.

I am well aware that venal and infected writers will employ themſelves in deſcribing the events of this war, in terms of deſperation, and that ſlanderers and audacious people will repreſent the force of the enemy as irreſiſtible. I know alſo that traitors to God, the King, and to the Public, will neglect no means of ſpreading their deteſtable principles, and repreſent them to you as practicable ones. I know alſo that there will not want many corrupt ſpies, who will repreſent, (as things eaſy to be obtained) difficulties which are inſuperable; but at the ſame time I am fully convinced of your loyalty, and the King is convinced of it too, and he relies on it as a defence againſt the impetuous torrent of their madneſs.

Do you know the real ſtate of our forces? They are ſufficient not only to repel, but to annihilate entirely the enemy as ſoon as all the reinforcements for the army are concentrated, which are now marching with the greateſt diſpatch, and are inſpired with more ardour to meet the enemy than to remain inactive.

Spaniards, there are only 20,000 men, weak and undiſciplined troops, who can maintain the war againſt us on the deteſtable frontiers of the French at Navarre and Biſcay; nor can there poſſibly be more, owing to the preſent condition of their country. The allied armies occupy particularly their attention, and in proportion as the French armies appear to increaſe, their effective force really decreaſes. The tyrants who govern France only obtain a forced obedience from the army; the ravages of death and the guillotine are the means by which they obtain it, but at the ſame time there are reſources to ſpread amongſt them terror and deſperation. The French already are convinced that there exiſt no longer amongſt them the ſacred rights of property, and that juſtice has diſappeared, and that under the pretext of the good of mankind, they perceive they are only enſlaving them. Unfortunately, ſeveral of our unhappy countrymen are already in that ſituation. The enemy have not left one ſingle inhabitant in poſſeſſion of his freedom in all the places where they have penetrated; nor is that to be wondered at: ſuch a licentiouſneſs is the certain conſequence of their ſhameleſs veracity; but underſtand this, and you will be convinced of the inſufficiency of their arms.

Can you poſſibly imagine that 20,000 men can overturn our country, if we reſolve to extirpate the enemy? Read our hiſtories, and in them you will find an anſwer to that queſtion in the innumerable deeds of valour performed by our glorious anceſtors, who defended in all ages their country, in ſeveral ſituations more critical than the preſent. Their preſent invaſion is not ſurpriſing, conſidering the openneſs of the country; but they can no longer promiſe themſelves any farther progreſs, as the mountainous country now before them will neceſſarily ſtop them; beſides, you may rely on the activity of our general, who will not ſuffer them to re-

main in poſſeſſion of that tract of our country which they have uſurped, any longer than he finds it convenient; but, as ſoon as he ſhall reſolve to deſtroy them, he will accompliſh their deſtruction. Diſſipate, therefore, all theſe fears which may even have affected you, but at the ſame time make one great effort to preſerve your property. The cauſe of God and his holy law commands you to do it. Neither ought you to expect that your fields will produce any thing till you make theſe efforts in defence of God and his holy law. God will aſſiſt and he will fight for you. Implore ſincerely his aſſiſtance, to obtain which I have already ordered public prayers to be made.

But notwithſtanding all this, do not deſpair, nor believe we are in the laſt extremity; we do not want means to oppoſe the public enemy. The King will cruſh their pride at the head of his Catholic army. The Almighty will ſtretch forth his ſword of vengeance againſt the violators of his holy name! Your Sovereign relies on the loyalty of Spaniards, which he endeavours to compenſate by diminiſhing, as far as it is conſiſtent with his royal ſplendour, the expenſes of his court and houſehold, to prevent the neceſſity of laying on more taxes.

This conduct of their Majeſties, their paternal aſſiduity, and the King's unremitting attention to the diſpatch of all public buſineſs, and particularly in the ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, merit a very extraordinary recompenſe on your part. Let us imitate his indefatigable vigilance, let us follow his illuſtrious example in endeavouring to promote the public welfare, and let every one perform his reſpective duties, by which means we ſhall reſtore and re-eſtabliſh the public happineſs.

Let the upright intentions of their Majeſties be propitious to your tranquillity, and there will not be a ſingle ſubject who will not reap the greateſt benefits.

I beg from you, my dear countrymen, to conſider well what I have juſt ſaid, and I hope you find my expreſſions equally ſincere, intelligible, and true. My only object is to preſerve your tranquillity, and to excite your indignation againſt a troop of banditti that attempt to diſturb you; if I ſucceed in that, you will ſee in a few days the fruit of my diſpoſitions. Co-operate with me, and you will very ſoon procure the recompenſe of your fatigues.

Our religion will contribute to our glorious triumph, God will protect his holy law, and I will not ceaſe to invoke his aſſiſtance.

Done at Madrid.

ALCUDIA.

Whitehall, July 29. Diſpatch to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, from the Right Hon. Sir Sir Gilbert Elliot. Bart. dated Corté, the 21ſt of June, 1794.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that the union of Corſica to the crown of Great Britain is finally and formally concluded; and it is with the moſt ſincere ſatisfaction that I find myſelf enabled to aſſure you that no national act was ever ſanctioned by a more unanimous proceeding on the part of thoſe who were authoriſed to

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do it, or by a more univerſal approbation, amounting, I may ſay, to enthuſiaſm on the part of the people.

I have already had the honour of tranſmitting to you a copy of the letter addreſſed by his Excellency my Lord Hood and myſelf, to his Excellency General Paoli, dated the 21ſt of April. I have the honour to encloſe to-day a copy of the circular letter, addreſſed by General Paoli to his countrymen, referring to that which he had received from us, an Italian tranſlation of which was annexed.

Letters of convocation were ſoon after iſſued for the aſſembly of the General Conſult to be held at Corté, on Sunday the 8th of June, and were ſo framed as to procure the moſt general repreſentation known in this iſland, every community, which is the ſmalleſt territorial diviſion, having ſent its repreſentative, and the ſtate of property being ſuch, that although none but landholders were electors, every man, almoſt without exception, has voted.

The letters of convocation ſet forth the occaſion of their being called together; and the minutes of election in every community expreſſed the general nature of the meaſure to which the deputies were authoriſed to conſent, ſpecifying diſtinctly the union of Corſica with Great Britain, and the tender of the crown to his Majeſty.

I have the honour to encloſe copies of theſe proceedings.

The deputies met at Corté in ſufficient numbers to conſtitute the aſſembly, on Tueſday the 10th of June. Some days were employed in verifying their powers, and determining controverted elections; after which they choſe General Paoli as their preſident, and Mr. Pozzo de Borgo and Mr. Muſelli their ſecretaries.

On Saturday the 14th inſtant, General Paoli opened the aſſembly by an excellent and eloquent ſpeech, ſtating concifely the principal events which had occurred, and the principal meaſures adopted by himſelf ſince the ſeparation of the laſt General Conſult in May, 1793, the occaſion of the preſent convocation, and the leading points on which their deliberations ſhould turn.

The aſſembly voted unanimouſly their thanks to General Paoli, and a full and entire approbation of all he had done, by virtue of the powers formerly veſted in him by the General Conſult of 1793.

They then, firſt, declare unanimouſly, the ſeparation of Corſica from France:

And ſecondly, with the ſame unanimity, and with the ſtrongeſt demonſtrations of univerſal ſatisfaction and joy, voted the union of Corſica to the crown of Great Britain.

A committee was then appointed to prepare the articles of union, and to conſider the proper mode of tendering the crown to his Majeſty.

It was declared that all who came ſhould have voices; and, in fact, ſeveral perſons of character and talents, who were not even members of the aſſembly, were admitted to the deliberations, and took a ſhare in the diſcuſſions of the committee.

The articles underwent in the committee a very full, free, and intelligent

intelligent diſcuſſion; ſuch as would have done honour to any aſſembly of public men in any country, and ſuch as ſtampt the reſult with the ſanction of a deliberate and informed, as well as a free and independent aſſent.

The report was voted with unanimity in the committee.

It was preſented to the aſſembly on Thurſday the 17th, and on that and the following day was opened, and moſt ably as well as fully expounded to them by Mr. Pozzo de Borgo. It was adopted with unanimity, and with univerſal applauſe; and two copies of the act of union were ſigned by every member of the Conſult.

On Thurſday the 19th of June I received a deputation from the aſſembly, preſenting to me a copy of the act of union, and inviting me to return with them, that the crown might be tendered to his Majeſty by the aſſembly itſelf, in the moſt ſolemn and authentic form.

I accompanied the deputation, and in preſence of the aſſembly, received from the preſident, his Excellency General Paoli, in the name of the people, the tender of the crown and ſovereignty of Corſica to his Majeſty.

His Excellency's addreſs to me is contained in the minutes.

After addreſſing the aſſembly in a manner which appeared to me ſuitable to the occaſion, I pronounced in his Majeſty's name the acceptation of the crown, according to the articles contained in the act of union.

I then took, in his Majeſty's name, the oath preſcribed, "to maintain the liberties of Corſica, according to the conſtitution and the laws."

The preſident then took and adminiſtered to the aſſembly the oath of allegiance and fidelity; after which I ſigned and ſealed the acceptation annexed to both copies of the act of union, one of which I have now the honour to tranſmit.

The day following (yeſterday) Te Deum was ſung in the cathedral, accompanied by the diſcharge of artillery; and prayers were offered up for his Majeſty, by the name of George the Third, King of Great Britain and Corſica. In the evening the town was illuminated, and the people demonſtrated their loyalty and joy by every means in their power.

The aſſembly has voted this day, an addreſs to his Majeſty, expreſſive of their gratitude, loyalty, and attachment; and have deputed four reſpectable gentlemen to preſent it to his Majeſty in London.

I cannot conclude this diſpatch without offering my very humble congratulations on the fortunate termination of this important and intereſting affair, at once advantageous, as I truſt, to the contracting parties, honourable to his Majeſty, and gratifying, in every view, to his royal feelings, as well as to thoſe of his Britiſh ſubjects.

The true foundation and baſis of this tranſaction has reſted on the confidence inſpired by his Majeſty's princely virtues, and the exalted reputation enjoyed throughout the world by the Britiſh nation for every honourable and generous quality. The people of

of Corſica have, on one hand, done homage to thoſe virtues, by confiding and tendering, even ſolicitouſly, the ſovereignty of their country to his Majeſty; they have, on the other hand, heightened the value of that confidence, by evincing that it comes from men who have rejected with horror, the poiſonous and counterfeit liberty of France, without being ignorant or careleſs of a well-ordered and conſtitutional freedom.

His Majeſty has acquired a crown; thoſe who beſtow it have acquired liberty. The Britiſh nation has extended its political and commercial ſphere by the acceſſion of Corſica: Corſica has added new ſecurities to her ancient poſſeſſions, and has opened freſh fields of proſperity and wealth, by her liberal incorporation with a vaſt and powerful empire.

This diſpatch will be delivered to you by Mr. Petriconi, a young gentleman of this country, who has ſerved with diſtinction throughout the war, under the orders of General Paoli, and particularly in the ſieges of Baſtia and St. Fiorenzo.

I beg leave to refer to him for any particulars which I may have omitted, and to recommend him to the honour of your attention during his reſidence in England.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GILBERT ELLIOT.

General Paoli to his Countrymen.

Furiani, May 1, 1794.

Moſt dearly beloved Countrymen,

THE unabated confidence with which you have honoured me, and the ſolicitude I have ever had to promote your intereſts and to enſure your liberty, preſcribe to me the obligation of ſtating to you the preſent ſituation of public affairs.

You remember how many cruel and treacherous arrangements were made by the three commiſſioners of the French Convention who were ſent over to our iſland; and in what manner they attempted to concentrate the powers of government in a ſmall number of their ſatellites, deſtined to be the inſtruments of thoſe violences and cruelties, which were to be exerciſed againſt all well-meaning perſons, and againſt the nation at large.

The unjuſt decree which ordered my arreſt, and my transfer to the bar of the aſſembly, was the firſt attempt directed by them againſt your liberty. You unanimouſly declared yourſelves, and humbly remonſtrated againſt an act deſigned to facilitate the execution of the enemy's plots; finally, you, in a general aſſembly, declared your indignation at this act of injuſtice; and you adopted at that moment, ſuch reſolutions as were conſiſtent with your own dignity, and with the public welfare.

I accepted, as a diſtinguiſhing proof of your confidence, the commiſſion you were pleaſed to confer upon me, for providing in thoſe critical circumſtances, for the maintenance of your ſafety and liberty: anxious that you ſhould not be expoſed to any danger, unleſs indignation and neceſſity commanded you to reſiſt, I tried every means which prudence and moderation ſuggeſted to me at that time; but neither your juſt reclamations,

reclamations, nor my innocence, were ſufficient to recal to ſentiments of rectitude and humanity a violent and ſanguinary faction, irritated by the noble reſiſtance you had made, and reſolved to accompliſh your deſtruction: for which purpoſe the ſubverſion of the government was ordered, and the members of it proſcribed, conjointly with many other zealous patriots: the nation was declared in a ſtate of rebellion; orders were given to reduce it by force of arms, and to treat it with the bloody rigour of revolutionary laws.

Rouſed by theſe cauſes, by the endleſs ſucceſſion of deſtruction and ruin, which characteriſes the conduct of thoſe perſons who exerciſe the powers of government in France, and by the deſtruction of all religion, and of every form of worſhip, enforced and proclaimed among the people with unexampled impiety, every Corſican felt the neceſſity of ſeparating from the French, and of guarding againſt the poiſonous influence of their errors.

The acts of hoſtility committed by the French, and thoſe Corſican traitors who had taken refuge in the garriſons of Calvi, St. Fiorenzo, and Baſtia, compelled us to repel them by force of arms. I have ſeen with infinite ſatisfaction, during the courſe of a whole year, that your ancient bravery and attachment to your country were not in the leaſt diminiſhed. In various encounters the enemy have been defeated, although numerous, and ſupported by artillery; you have treated the priſoners, taken in the heat of battle, with generoſity; whilſt the enemy have, in cold blood, maſſacred our priſoners, who were ſo unfortunate as to fall into their hands: in all theſe agitations we have kept ourſelves united, and exempt from the horrors of licentiouſneſs and anarchy; a happy preſage of your future fate, and an irreſragable proof that you are deſerving of true liberty, and that you will know how to preſerve it unſullied by licentiouſneſs and diſſenſions.

In ſuch a ſtate of things, a becoming diffidence made me, nevertheleſs, apprehend that the enemy would increaſe in force, and attempt to carry into execution the deſtructive plans they had formed againſt you: under theſe circumſtances I felt the neceſſity of foreign aſſiſtance; and, in conformity to your general wiſhes, and to the public opinion and univerſal expectation, I had recourſe to the King, and to the generous and powerful nation, which had, on other occaſions, protected the remains of our liberty; a meaſure dictated by the public ſafety, and which I took only when every conciliatory offer had been obſtinately rejected, and every hope of obtaining moderation or juſtice from the French Convention was extinct.

His Britannic Majeſty's arms have made their appearance in your ſupport; his ſhips and troops are employed with you to drive from our country the common enemy, and the blood of Britons and Corſicans is conjointly ſhed for the liberty of this iſland. Our enterprize has already been crowned with happy events, and draws near to a fortunate completion.

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This pleaſing aſpect of affairs has determined me to turn my thoughts to the moſt efficacious means of eſtabliſhing a permanent freedom, and of ſecuring our iſland from the various events which, till this moment, have kept us in agitation.

The protection of the King of Great Britain, and a political union with the Britiſh nation, of which the proſperity and power, uninterrupted for ages, are to the univerſe proofs of the excellency of its government, have appeared to me to accord with the happineſs and ſafety of Corſica. The univerſal opinion on this head, evinced, by the unreſerved inclination you have ſhewn, and ſtrengthened by your gratitude for benefits received, appears fortunately to concur with mine. I have therefore made the proper overtures to his Majeſty the King of Great Britain, with a view to eſtabliſh this deſirable union.

With a ſatisfaction never to be eraſed from my mind, I now behold our wiſhes anticipated, and our hopes realized: the memorial which has been tranſmitted to me by their Excellencies, the Admiral commanding the fleet, and the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Majeſty, affords us the opportunity of eſtabliſhing this union in the manner beſt adapted to the benefit of both nations, and to the honour of his Majeſty. I cannot better make known to you their Excellencies ſentiments, than by a faithful tranſlation of their memorial.

The nature of the preſent addreſs does not permit me to enlarge upon the benefits of this union, which tends to conciliate the moſt extenſive political and civil liberty with perſonal ſecurity. You are convinced of theſe truths, and will regulate your conduct accordingly: I nevertheleſs avail myſelf of this opportunity to declare to you, that, in taking the Engliſh conſtitution for your model, you will proceed upon the moſt ſolid principles that philoſophy, policy, and experience, have ever been known to combine for the happineſs of a great people, reſerving to yourſelves the power of adapting them to your own peculiar ſituation, cuſtoms, and religion, without being expoſed, hereafter, to the venality of a traitor, or to the ambition of a powerful uſurper.

A matter of ſuch importance ought nevertheleſs to be diſcuſſed, and agreed to by you in a general aſſembly, at which I entreat you to aſſiſt by your deputies, on Sunday the 8th of the enſuing month of June, in the city of Corté. The proviſional government will then ſuggeſt to you the form and mode of the elections.

I beſeech you to impreſs yourſelves with the great importance of the affairs on which you have to determine; and, on that account, let it be your care to ſelect perſons of zeal and acknowledged probity, and, as much as may be in your power, reputable heads of families, intereſted in good government and the proſperity of the country. Let moderation and propriety of conduct prevail in your aſſemblies, that no perſon among you may have the mortification to remark any diſorder in the moſt happy moment which has occurred in the courſe of our revolutions, and in paſſing the

moſt important act of civil ſociety. In the meantime, let every man ſuggeſt whatever he may conceive moſt uſeful to the country, in order to communicate his opinion to the nation, legally repreſented and aſſembled.

Corſica is now juſtly regarded by foreign powers as a free nation; her reſolutions will, I hope, be ſuitable to her ſituation, and dictated by a wiſdom and by a love for the public good.

With reſpect to myſelf, my dearly beloved countrymen, after having devoted every moment of my life to your happineſs, I ſhall eſteem myſelf the happieſt of mankind, if through the means I have derived from your confidence, I can obtain, for our country, the opportunity of forming a free and laſting government, and of preſerving to Corſica, its name, its unity, and its independence, whilſt the names of the heroes who have ſpilt their blood in its ſupport and defence, will be, for future generations, objects of noble emulation and grateful remembrance.

(Signed) PASQUALE DE PAOLI.

Letter from their Excellencies Lord Hood and Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. to Gen. Paoli.

Victory, Baſtia Roads,
Sir, April 21, 1794.

YOUR Excellency having been pleaſed to repreſent to us, on behalf of the Corſican nation, that the intolerable and perfidious tyranny of the French Convention having driven that brave people to take up arms in their own defence, they were determined to ſhake off altogether the unjuſt dominion of France, and to aſſert the rights of a free and independent nation; but being ſenſible that their own efforts might be inſufficient to contend with France, or other powerful nations, who might undertake hoſtile attempts againſt them, and confiding implicitly in the magnanimity and princely virtues of his Britannic Majeſty, and in the bravery and generoſity of his people, they were deſirous of forming a perpetual union with the Britiſh nation, under the mild and equitable government of his Majeſty and his ſucceſſors, for the better protection, and for the perpetual ſecurity and preſervation of their independence and liberties: and your Excellency having on theſe conſiderations, ſolicited, in the name of the people of Corſica, his Majeſty's preſent aſſiſtance, and his royal protection in time to come, we took the ſame into our moſt ſerious conſideration; and knowing his Majeſty's gracious and affectionate diſpoſition towards the Corſican nation, and his readineſs to contribute in every way, which is conſiſtent with juſtice and the intereſts of his ſubjects, to the happineſs of that brave people; and being inveſted with ſufficient powers for that purpoſe, we determined to comply with your requeſt, and have accordingly furniſhed the aid of his Majeſty's naval and military forces in the Mediterranean, towards expelling the common enemy from the iſland of Corſica.

We have ſince been honoured with more ſpecial powers and authority concert with your Excellency and the people of Corſica,

and finally to conclude, on his Majeſty's behalf, the particular form and mode of relation which ſhall take place between the two nations.

It is with the moſt lively ſatisfaction we acquaint your Excellency, that we have it in command from his Majeſty to aſſent, on his part, to ſuch a ſyſtem as will cement the union of our two nations under a common Sovereign, and, at the ſame time, ſecure for ever the independence of Corſica, and the preſervation of her ancient conſtitution, laws, and religion.

With whatever ſatisfaction his Majeſty has graciouſly aſſented to propoſitions, which promiſe, perhaps for the firſt time, not only to afford to this iſland the preſent bleſſings of tranquillity and peace, and a ſudden increaſe of proſperity and wealth, but alſo to eſtabliſh its national independence and happineſs on a ſecure and laſting foundation; his Majeſty is, however, determined to conclude nothing without the general and free conſent of the people of Corſica.

We therefore requeſt your Excellency to take the proper ſteps for ſubmitting theſe important matters to their judgment; and as the ſmall number of the enemy, at preſent inveſted by the Britiſh and Corſican troops, and which muſt ſoon either be deſtroyed or yield to ſuperior force, can no longer give any uneaſineſs to this country, but the freedom and deliverance of Corſica is in effect accompliſhed, we beg leave to ſubmit to your Excellency, whether it may not be deſirable to take the earlieſt meaſures for terminating theſe intereſting concerns, and for adding a formal ſanction to that union, which is already eſtabliſhed in the hearts of all our countrymen.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HOOD.
GILBERT ELLIOT.

His Excellency General Paoli, &c. &c.

The General Council charged with the Proviſional Government of Corſica, to the Municipal Officers, Curates of Pariſhes, and their Fellow Countrymen.

Beloved Countrymen,

THE God of armies, protector of the moſt juſt cauſe, has favoured your efforts.

The audacious army, whoſe fury and violence was excited by the impious faction which propoſed to itſelf to aboliſh all order, cuſtoms, and religion in Europe, will ſhortly be removed from our territories.

To ſecure a more ſpeedy ſucceſs, Providence has given you the ſupport of a powerful nation, accuſtomed to reſpect laws, and a legitimate power, which has generouſly aſſiſted you, to extricate yourſelves from the tyrannical anarchy of the preſent republic of France.

That nation and its king offer you the advantages of a laſting union and conſtant protection.

The happy influence of our glorious countryman, General de Paoli, added to the reſources of his genius, and excited by the dangers of his own country, have accelerated this happy event; in ſhort,

ſhort, brave Corſicans, *We are free.*

By our conſtancy, firmneſs, and courage, we have acquired the enjoyment of the advantages we inherit from our anceſtors, *Liberty and Religion.*

However, it would be but little to have regained this noble ſucceſſion, if our efforts and prudence were unable to ſecure it for ever.

To inſure the ſucceſs of thoſe efforts, and to direct our prudence, a perfect union is neceſſary; our general reſolutions muſt be formed with a view to our preſent ſituation and our future expectations.

The Corſicans muſt therefore preſcribe the form of adminiſtration and government they chuſe to adopt, enunciate, or approve of, and the principles on which it is to be eſtabliſhed, or on which their legiſlation is to be fixed.

Finally, beloved countrymen, the moſt important object is, a ſpeedy union of the people, and the laſt act of the proviſional adminiſtration you adopted, ordains us to ſupport the paternal and patriotic intentions of General de Paoli.

In this invitation we can give you but a faint idea of the important functions you will confide to your repreſentatives in the next aſſembly; however, you no doubt know the indiſpenſable neceſſity of adopting meaſures for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and of a form of government adapted to our cuſtoms, powers, and ſituation, and finally to the various relations that will hereafter be eſtabliſhed between Corſicans; the Engliſh nation and their King feel, even more than others, the neceſſity that ſuch deputies ſhould be appointed among our countrymen as ſhall have given evident proofs of their patriotiſm, and of their deſire to act with a zeal adequate to the nature and importance of their miſſion, for eſtabliſhing and ſecuring by the new order of things, not only for the preſent, but in future, public felicity. This laſt conſideration, in caſe you are ſenſible of it, will we are in hopes, determine you to prefer one of the moſt reſpectable heads of family in each of your reſpective communities, as a repreſentative on ſuch ſolemn and important occaſions in council.

In this union, which will form the moſt memorable criſis of our annals, the objects muſt be treated with that form and order due to the dignity of the repreſentatives of a free people.

The ancient aſſemblies of our nation, at the time of the glorious government of its deſerving general, were only compoſed of one deputy from each community. Finding it neceſſary to avoid the inconvenience of repeated elections, we have thought it expedient in this circumſtance to invite you to adopt this ancient cuſtom, chiefly on reflecting, that as harveſt is approaching, the abſence of chiefs from their families, added to the expenſes of the journey, and time ſpent in the election, would be of prejudice to their affairs and domeſtic intereſts;

tereſts; the people will therefore eſtabliſh conſtitutionally the number of its repreſentatives for the ſucceſſive re-unions.

The zealous and good citizens will, however, be enabled to lay before the council their knowledge of all important ſubjects, which will be taken into conſideration and diſcuſſed accordingly, but they will have no part in its deliberations.

The general council therefore invites all communities of Corſica to aſſemble on Sunday the firſt of June, each to appoint, according to the form of election hereunto annexed, its repreſentative at the general council, and the general aſſembly of the clergy to take place on the Sunday following, the 8th of June.

The municipal officers and pariſhes of the reſpective communities are charged with the publication and diſtribution of both General Paoli's circular letter and this.

Corté, May 9, 1794.

For the general council of the government.

(Signed)

[*A great Number of Names.*]

FORM OF ELECTION.

In the year 1794, on the 1ſt of June, in the pariſh church of the community of uſual place for the general meeting of the clergy:

We *N. N. N.** the inhabitants of the ſaid community exceeding the age of twenty-five, being legally united by virtue of the circular letter wrote on the 1ſt of May by his Excellency General de Paoli, and the one wrote by the proviſional government on the 9th of the ſame month, duly publiſhed, to appoint a deputy, who is to be a repreſentative at the general council of Corſica, to be held on the 8th current, we have choſen as our preſident Mr. N. the moſt proper perſon among thoſe aſſembled, who know how to write, and who has appointed as his ſecretary Mr. N.

In ſucceſſion of the ſaid appointment, the majority of votes is given in favour of M. N. father of a family, who has been duly elected by the preſent aſſembly, and proclaimed deputy, and unto him we give the power of concerting and treating with the other repreſentatives of the nation, on the tranſactions that will in future take place between Corſica and his Majeſty the King of Great Britain and the Engliſh nation; as likewiſe on ſubjects of public utility contained in the aforeſaid circular letter.

And the preſent verbal proceſs has been regiſtered, and depoſited in the chancery of this community, and a copy given to ſerve him the ſaid Mr. N. deputy. as a full power and certificate.

N. Preſident.

N. Secretary.

Firm of the general council,

COTTENNI, Vice-preſident.

MUSELL, Secretary.

Conſtitution of Corſica.

We, the repreſentatives of the Corſican nation, free and indepen-

* Here all names of ſuch perſons as ſhall be preſent at the meeting will be affixed.

dent, lawfully assembled in a general meeting, possessed of a special authority to form the present constitutional act, have unanimously decreed, under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following articles:—

CHAPTER I.

Of the Nature of the Constitution, and of the Constituted Powers.

Article 1. The Constitution of Corsica is monarchical, according to the following fundamental laws.

Art. 2. The legislative power is vested in the King, and in the representatives of the people, lawfully elected and convened.

Art. 3. The legislature, composed of the King and of the representatives of the people, is denominated the Parliamant; the assembly of the representatives of the people is named the House of Parliament; and the representatives are styled Members of the Parliament.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Mode of Elections, the Number of Members, and the Functions of Parliament.

Article 1. The territory shall be divided into pieves (districts), each of which shall send two members to Parliament. The towns on the coast, of which the population shall amount to 3000 souls and upwards, have the right of sending two members each to Parliament; the bishops who discharge the duties of their see in Corsica, and are recognized as such by the Corsican nation, shall be members of Parliament.

Art. 2. The members of Parliament shall be elected by all the Corsican citizens, of twenty-five years of age, who shall have been resident at least one year in the pieve, or in the town, and who are possessors of land.

Art. 3. No person shall be elected a member of Parliament, unless he possesses at least 6000 livres in land in the pieve which he is to represent, and pays taxes in proportion to this possession, and unless born of a Corsican father, and *bona fide* an inhabitant, having kept house for five years in the said pieve, and until he has arrived at the age of twenty-five.

Art. 4. Lodgers, except those who are inmates for life, persons employed in collecting the revenue, the receivers and collectors of taxes, those who have pensions, or who are in the service of a foreign power, and priests, cannot be members of the house of Parliament.

Art. 5. The form of election shall be determined by the laws.

Art. 6. If a member of Parliament dies, or becomes incapable, according to law, of being a member of Parliament, another member shall be elected by his pieve, within fifteen days, by the King's authority.

Art. 7. The house of Parliament has the right of enacting all the acts which are intended to have force of law.

Art. 8. The decrees of the house of Parliament shall not have force of law, unless they receive the King's sanction.

Art. 9. Any decree that has not passed the house of parliament, and received the King's sanction, shall not be looked upon as law, nor carried into execution as such.

Art.

Art. 10. No impoſition, tax, or public contribution, ſhall be laid without the conſent of Parliament, or without being ſpecially granted by it.

Art. 11. Parliament has the right of impeachment, in the name of the nation, of every agent of government guilty of prevarication before the extraordinary tribunal.

Art. 12. The caſes of prevarication ſhall be determined by the laws.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Duration and Convocation of Parliament.

Article 1. The duration of one Parliament ſhall be two years.

Art. 2. The King may diſſolve the Parliament.

Art. 3. In caſe of a diſſolution of Parliament, the King ſhall convene another within forty days.

Art. 4. Thoſe perſons who were members of the diſſolved Parliament, may be elected members of the ſucceeding one.

Art. 5. If the Parliament expires without being diſſolved, another ſhall be called, by the King's authority, within forty days.

Art. 6. The King may prorogue the Parliament.

Art. 7. The Parliament cannot be convoked or aſſembled, but by the King's command.

Art. 8. The interval between the convening of the houſe, and its prorogation, or, if it be not prorogued until its diſſolution, or if it be not diſſolved, until its expiration, is to be called the ſeſſion of Parliament.

Art. 9. The vice-roy, or, in caſe of illneſs, the commiſſioners nominated by him for that purpoſe, ſhall open the ſeſſions in perſon, and declare the reaſons for convoking the Parliament.

Art. 10. The Parliament may adjourn itſelf, and re-aſſemble during the ſame ſeſſion.

Art. 11. The Houſe ſhall decide upon the conteſted elections of its members.

Art. 12. The members of Parliament ſhall not be ſubject to arreſt or impriſonment for debt during the continuance of their repreſentation.

CHAPTER IV.

On the Mode of Deliberation, Freedom of Debate, and internal Regulations of Parliament.

Article 1. After the opening of Parliament by the vice-roy, or by his commiſſioners, as is herein before-mentioned, the oldeſt member ſhall take the chair; and the members preſent having elected a proviſional ſecretary amongſt themſelves, ſhall proceed to the choice of a preſident, and of one or more ſecretaries. The ſecretaries ſhall not be choſen from among the members; and may be diſmiſſed by a vote of Parliament.

Art. 2. The Parliament aſſembled, in all the caſes beforementioned has the power of debate, and of paſſing bills, whenever above one-half of its members are preſent.

Art. 3. Every member elected and not appearing, ſhall have notice from the preſident of the Houſe, to repair to his poſt within fifteen days.

Art. 4. In caſe of non-appearance, or of not ſending a lawful excuſe ſatisfactory to the Houſe,

such member shall be condemned to a fine of 200 livres.

Art. 5. Parliament may grant leave of absence, or permit the absence of such members who solicit it, provided more than one half of its members remain present.

Art. 6. Every proposition made in Parliament shall be decided by the majority of the members present; the president, in case of an equal division, shall give the casting vote.

Art. 7. The forms and procedures of enacting laws, and of determining other matters in the House, which may not be fixed by the present constitution, shall be regulated by the House itself.

Art. 8. The King's sanction, or the refusal of it, shall be announced in person by the King's representative in the house of Parliament, or by a special commission in case of sickness.

Art. 9. The form of the sanction shall be *The King approves;* that of refusal, *The King will examine:* the bills sanctioned by the King are named Acts of Parliament.

Art. 10. No member of Parliament shall be called to account, or punished by the King's servants, for the opinions manifested, or the doctrines professed in the House, or by any other authority whatever, except by that of the House itself.

Art. 11. The president of the Parliament has the right of calling to order any of its members, when he may think proper. The House may censure, arrest, and imprison any of its own members, during the session.

CHAPTER V.

Upon the Exercise of the Executive Power.

Article 1. The King shall have his immediate representative in Corsica, with the title of vice-roy.

Art. 2. The vice-roy shall have the power of giving his sanction or refusal to the decrees of Parliament.

Art. 3. He shall moreover have the power to perform, in the King's name, all the acts of government which are within the limits of the royal authority:—There shall be a board of council and a secretary of state, nominated by the King, and mention shall be made in the vice-roy's orders, that he has taken the opinion of the said board of council; and these orders shall be countersigned by the secretary.

Art. 4. The nation has the right of petitioning, as well as the vice-roy as the house of Parliament: the constituted and acknowledged corps of the law may petition in a body, the other corps in their individual capacity only; and a petition shall never be presented by more than twenty persons, however numerous may be the signatures to it.

Art. 5. The house of Parliament may address the King to recal his vice-roy; in such case the House shall address his Majesty in his privy-council assembled: the vice-roy shall be obliged to transmit the address to the King, upon the requisition of the House, within the term of fifteen days after such requisition, and the House may itself transmit it to the King, even through the channel of a deputation;

tion; but in any caſe the Houſe is bound to preſent to the viceroy, fifteen days previous to the departure of the addreſs, a copy of the ſame, and of the papers which are to accompany it.

Art. 6. The King has the excluſive direction of all military arrangements, and is to provide for the internal and external ſecurity of the country.

Art. 7. The King declares war and makes peace: he ſhall not be authoriſed, however, in any event, nor on any account whatſoever, to give up, alienate, or in any manner prejudice, the unity and indiviſibility of Corſica and its dependencies.

Art. 8. The King ſhall appoint to all the offices of government.

Art. 9. The ordinary employments of juſtice, and of the adminiſtration of the public money, ſhall be conferred upon natives of Corſica, or perſons naturalized Corſicans, in virtue of the laws.

CHAPTER VI.

Of Judicial Proceedings, and of the Diviſion of the Tribunals.

Art. 1. Juſtice ſhall be executed in the King's name, and the orders carried into execution by officers appointed by him, in conformity to the laws.

Art. 2. There ſhall be a ſupreme tribunal, compoſed of five judges, and the King's advocate, and this ſhall be ſtationary in Corté.

Art. 3. There ſhall be a preſident and a King's advocate attached to every other new juriſdiction.

Art. 4. The functions of the ſaid reſpective tribunals, their adminiſtration, and the emoluments, ſhall be determined by law.

Art. 5. There ſhall be in every pieve a podeſta (magiſtrate.)

Art. 6. In every community there ſhall be a municipality, named by the people, and its functions ſhall be regulated by the laws.

Art. 7. Crimes which deſerve corporal or ignominious puniſhments, ſhall be tried by the judges and a jury.

Art. 8. The King has the power of granting pardon, in conformity to the ſame regulations under which he exerciſes this prerogative in England.

Art. 9. All civil, criminal, commercial cauſes, and thoſe of every other kind whatſoever, ſhall be terminated in Corſica, in the firſt and laſt inſtance.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Extraordinary Tribunal.

Article 1. There ſhall be an extraordinary tribunal, compoſed of five judges, appointed by the King, and commiſſioned to judge upon any impeachment from the Houſe of Parliament, or upon all charges made, on the part of the King, or prevarication, or other treaſonable tranſactions.

Art. 2. The nature of the ſaid crimes, and the form of trial, ſhall be determined upon by a ſpecial law; but a jury ſhall be allowed in every caſe of this ſort.

Art. 3. The members of the tribunal ſhall not aſſemble, but in caſes of impeachment by the Houſe of Parliament, or by the King; and, immediately after judgment given, they ſhall be obliged to ſeparate.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of Perſonal Liberty, and of the Liberty of the Preſs.

Art. 1. No perſon ſhall be deprived of his liberty and property but by ſentence of the tribunals acknowledged by the laws, and in the caſes and according to the forms preſcribed.

Art. 2. Whoever ſhall be arreſted or placed in confinement, ſhall be conducted, within the term of twent-four hours, before the competent tribunal, in order that the cauſe of his detention may be adjudged according to law.

Art. 3. In caſe of the arreſt being declared vexatious, the perſon arreſted will have a right of claiming damages and intereſt before the competent tribunals.

Art. 4. The liberty of the preſs is decreed, but the abuſe of it is to be amenable to the laws.

Art. 5. Every Corſican ſhall have the power freely to depart from his country, and to return to it with his property, conforming himſelf to the regulations and ordonnances of general police, obſerved in ſuch caſes.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Corſican Flag and Navigation.

Art. 1. The ſtandard ſhall bear a Moor's head, quartered with the King's arms, according to the form which ſhall be preſcribed by his Majeſty.

Art. 2. The King ſhall afford the ſame protection to the trade and navigation of the Corſicans, as to the trade and navigation of his other ſubjects.

Art. 3. The Corſican nation, deeply penetrated with ſentiments of gratitude towards the King of Great Britain and the Engliſh nation, for the munificence and protection which it has always enjoyed, and which is now, in a more ſpecial manner, ſecured to it by the preſent conſtitutional act,

Declares, That it will conſider every attempt which in war or in peace ſhall be made to promote the glory of his Majeſty, and the intereſts of the empire of Great Britain in general, as its own; and the Parliament of Corſica will always manifeſt its readineſs and deference to adopt all regulations, conſiſtent with its preſent conſtitution, which ſhall be enacted by his Majeſty in his Parliament of Great Britain for the extenſion and advantage of the external commerce of the empire, and of its dependencies.

CHAPTER X.

Of Religion.

Art. 1. The Catholic, Apoſtolic, Roman religion, in all its evangelical purity, ſhall be the only national religion in Corſica.

Art. 2. The Houſe of Parliament is authoriſed to determine on the number of pariſhes, to ſettle the ſalaries of the prieſts, and to take meaſures for enſuring the diſcharge of the epiſcopal functions, in concert with the holy ſee.

Art. 3. All other modes of worſhip are tolerated.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Crown and its Succeſſion.

The ſovereign King of Corſica is his Majeſty George the Third, King of Great Britain, and his ſucceſſors, according to the order of

of ſucceſſion to the throne of Great Britain.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Acceptance of the Crown and of the Conſtitution of Corſica.

Art. 1. The preſent act ſhall be preſented to his Majeſty, the King of Great Britain, through his Excellency Sir Gilbert Elliot, his commiſſary plenipotentiary, and ſpecially authoriſed for this purpoſe.

Art. 2. In the act of acceptance his Majeſty, and his plenipotentiary in his name, ſhall ſwear to maintain the liberty of the Corſican nation, according to the conſtitution and the laws; and the ſame oath ſhall be adminiſtered to his ſucceſſors, upon every ſucceſſion to the throne.

Art. 3. The members of the aſſembly ſhall immediately take the following oath, which ſhall be adminiſtered by his Excellency Sir Gilbert Elliot: "I ſwear for myſelf and in the name of the Corſican nation, which I repreſent, that I acknowledge for my Sovereign and King his Majeſty George the Third, the King of Great Britain; to yield him faithful obedience, according to the conſtitution and laws of Corſica, and to defend the ſaid conſtitution and laws."

Art. 4. Every Corſican ſhall, in his reſpective community, take the preceding oath.

Done, and unanimouſly decreed, and after three readings, on three ſucceeding days, in the general aſſembly of the Corſican nation, in Corté, this day, 19th June, 1794, and individually ſigned in the aſſembly of all the members of which it is compoſed.

Signed by above four hundred names.

Continuation of the Seſſions of the 19th of June, 1794.

ALL the members of the aſſembly having individually ſigned the conſtitutional act, it was propoſed to preſent to his Excellency Sir Gilbert Elliot, his Britannic Majeſty's commiſſary plenipotentiary, in order that it might be accepted by him in his ſaid Majeſty's name. The aſſembly having adopted this propoſition, decreed, That the ſaid propoſition ſhall be made by a deputation of twelve members who were choſen and commiſſioned for this purpoſe.

After which the deputation, having executed the commiſſion aſſigned to them, re-entered the hall, and with them the ſaid Sir Gilbert Elliot: the members of the aſſembly ſtood up, during which he approached the preſident, and pronounced the following acceptation.

I, the underſigned baronet, member of the Parliament of Great Britain, member of the privy council, and commiſſary plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty, having full power, and being ſpecially authorized for this purpoſe, do accept, in the name of his Majeſty George the Third, King of Great Britain, the crown and ſovereignty of Corſica, according to the conſtitution and the fundamental laws contained in the act of a general aſſembly held at Corté, and definitively ſettled this ſame day, the 19th of June, and as ſuch

offered to his Majesty; and, in his Majesty's name, I swear to maintain the liberty of the Corsican nation, according to the constitution and to the laws.

The present acceptation and oath is by us signed and sealed.

(L.S.) GILBERT ELLIOT.

The said acceptation and oath being read, the said Sir Gilbert Elliot proposed to the president and to the assembly the constitutional oath; and this was taken by them in the following words:

"I swear for myself, and in the "name of the Corsican nation, "which I represent, to acknow-"ledge for my Sovereign and "King, his Majesty George the "Third, the King of Great Bri-"tain, to yield him faithful obe-"dience according to the consti-"tution and the laws of Corsica, "and to maintain the said consti-"tution and laws."

The constitutional act being intirely completed and finished, the president adjourned the session, and signed the above, as did also the secretaries, the year, month, and day above-mentioned.

(Signed)

PASQUALE DE PAOLI, President.
CARLO ANDREA POZZO DE BORGO, Secretary.
GIO. ANDREA MUSELLI, Secretary.

Speech made in the General Assembly of Corsica, on the Acceptation of the Crown and Constitution of the Island, by his Excellency Sir Gilbert Elliot.

Gentlemen,

IN availing myself, for the first time, in the midst of the Corsican nation, of the privilege of calling you brothers and fellow citizens, a reflection which will naturally occur to every one, excites in me the most heart-felt satisfaction; independent of the reciprocal political advantages which we may derive from so close a connexion, I see, on the present occasion, every thing that can render it more precious and more estimable by the sentiments of confidence and of affection, the first and pure principles of our union, which they will for ever continue to cement and consolidate.

This remarkable truth, which it is impossible to overlook, cannot be mentioned without a strong emotion of sensibility and joy. Our two nations have, for a long period, been distinguished by a reciprocal and remarkable esteem. Without anticipating the happy end to which this instinctive partiality, this sympathetic attraction, may some day lead us, we have given to each other instances of confidence on every occasion, yet no relations have hitherto subsisted between us, except those of reciprocal and voluntary good offices. Our minds have been prepared by Providence for the fate which awaited us, and the Divine Goodness, intending our union, has ordained that it should be anticipated and brought about (if I may so express myself,) by a similarity of character, and by a conformity of views and principles, and, above all, by a pleasing exchange of friendly services.

This sacred compact, which I received from your hands, is not a cold and interested agreement between two parties who met by accident, and form a contract founded on the impulse of the moment,

ment, or on a selfish and temporary policy.—No; the event of this happy day is only the completion of wishes we had previously formed: to-day our hands are joined, but our hearts have long been united, and our motto should be *Amici & non di ventura.*

However seducing this prospect of our happiness may appear, I trust (and it is important for us to know it, as we assuredly do) that it does not depend on sentiment alone; but it rests on the solid basis of the true interests and permanent felicity of the two nations.

I will not mention to you the interests of Great Britain upon this occasion; not that they are of little consequence, but being of a nature purely political, the subject would be too cold, too dry, for this important day. Besides, it is not necessary on this occasion to appreciate them in detail. I shall confine myself to this remark, that every possible advantage which Great Britain could have in view from her union with Corsica, is essentially attached to your political and absolute independence of every European power, and that these advantages are not only compatible with your interests, but cannot for the most part exist, and still less flourish, but in proportion to your prosperity.

On your part, what is necessary to render you a happy people? I will tell you in two words—liberty at home, and security abroad.

Your liberty will not be exposed to any encroachments from a monarch, who, by his own experience and the example of his ancestors for several generations, is persuaded that the liberty and the prosperity of his people is the only foundation of the power, the glory, and the splendour of the throne. A king who has ever governed according to the laws, and whose sceptre is at once strengthened by the privileges, and embellished by the happiness of his subjects. Here I might expatiate on the august virtues of that monarch whom you have chosen for your own; but they are known to all his subjects: you will therefore become acquainted with them by a happy and certain experience, and this testimony will be far more faithful than my weak voice.

It would not, however, be right that your liberty should depend solely on the personal virtues of the monarch. You have therefore been careful to ensure it by the wise constitution and fundamental laws of our union, which, in my opinion, constitute so essential a part of the act you present to me this day, that I could not (without violating the confidence reposed in me by my sovereign,) agree to a system which might have degenerated into tyranny; a condition equally unfavourable to the happiness of him who exercises it, and of those who endure it.

If his Majesty, therefore, accepts the crown which you have agreed to offer him, it is because he is determined to protect, and never to enslave those from whom he receives it; and, above all, because it is given, and not seized upon by violence.

For external security, you wanted nothing but the constant and active alliance of a maritime power:

power: this act insures it to you: and whilst you enjoy at home peace and tranquillity, which the enemy will no longer be able to interrupt, you will share with us the treasures of trade, and the sovereignty of the seas.

From this day therefore you are quiet and free. To preserve these blessings, you have only to preserve your ancient virtues, courage, and the sacred love of your country; these are the native virtues of your soil; they will be enriched by those which accompany our union, and, which you will derive from our industry, from our long experience, (that true source of political wisdom) and from our love of liberty, at once enthusiastic and enlightened. I speak of that liberty which has for its object to maintain your civil rights, and the happiness of the people; not to serve ambition and vice: that liberty which is inseparable from religion, order, respect for the laws, and a sacred regard for property; the first principle of every human society; that liberty which abhors every kind of despotism, and especially that most terrible of all despotism, which arises from the unrestrained violence of the human passions. Such are the virtues which belong both to you and to us. On their happy mixture and influence on each other depends the prosperity of Corsica, immediate liberty, and a progressive and increasing prosperity. Such is the text; to which I hope and venture to predict, that our behaviour to each other, and our common destinies, will always prove a faithful and a satisfactory illustration.

Convention for the common Defence of the Liberty and Safety of the Danish and Swedish Commerce and Navigation, between his Majesty the King of Denmark and Norway, &c. and his Majesty the King of Sweden, &c. concluded at Copenhagen, March 27, 1794.

HIS Majesty the King of Denmark and Norway, and his Majesty the King of Sweden, having considered how much it imports the subjects of their realms to enjoy, in safety and tranquillity, the advantages attached to a perfect neutrality, and founded on acknowledged treaties, impressed with a deep sense of their duties to their subjects, and unable to dissemble the inevitable embarrassments of their situation in a war which rages in the greater part of Europe, have agreed and do agree to unite their measures and their interests in this respect, and to give to their nations, after the example of their predecessors, all the protection which they have a right to expect from their paternal care; desiring, moreover, to draw closer the bonds of the amity which so happily subsists between them, have nominated to that effect—his Danish Majesty, his minister of state and foreign affairs, the Sieur André Pierre Count de Bernstorf, knight of the order of the Elephant, &c.—and his Majesty the King of Sweden, the Sieur Eric Magnus, Baron Stael de Holstein, chamberlain to her Majesty the Queen Dowager of Sweden, and knight of the order of the Sword, who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

I. Their

I. Their Majeſties declare ſolemnly, they will maintain the moſt perfect neutrality in the courſe of the preſent war; avoid as much as on them depends, whatever may embroil them with the powers their friends and allies; and continue to mark, as they have conſtantly done, in circumſtances ſometimes difficult, all the attention, and even all the amicable deference, conſiſtent with their own dignity.

II. They declare, moreover, that they claim no advantage which is not clearly and unexceptionably founded on their reſpective treaties with the powers at war.

III. They engage alſo reciprocally, and before all Europe, that they will not claim, in caſes not ſpecified in their treaties, any advantage which is not founded on the univerſal law of nations, hitherto acknowledged and reſpected by all the powers, and by all the ſovereigns of Europe, and from which they can as little ſuppoſe that any of them will depart, as they are incapable of departing from it themſelves.

IV. Founding on a baſis ſo juſt the claim and the maintenance of their indiſputable rights, they will give to the innocent navigation of their ſubjects, which is entirely within the rule of, and conformable to the ſubſiſting treaties, without extending it to ſuch as may depart from the rule, all the protection which it deſerves againſt all thoſe who, contrary to their expectation and their hopes, would diſturb the legal exerciſe of ſanctioned rights, the enjoyments of which cannot be denied to neutral and independent nations.

V. For attaining the propoſed object, their Majeſties engage reciprocally to equip, as ſoon as the ſeaſon will permit, each a ſquadron of eight ſhips of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates, and to provide them with all neceſſaries.

VI. Theſe ſquadrons ſhall unite or ſeparate, as ſhall be judged beſt for the common intereſt, which ſhall be interpreted on both ſides, with the amity that ſo happily ſubſiſts between the powers.

VII. No diſtinction whatſoever ſhall be made between the intereſts and the flags of the two nations, except ſuch as different ſubſiſting treaties with other nations may require. Moreover, in all caſes of defence, convoy or others, without any exception, the Daniſh ſhips ſhall defend the Swediſh ſhips and flag, as if they were their own nation, and the ſame on the other part.

VIII. For the order of command, in all caſes it is agreed to adopt the tenor of the Articles VI. and VII. in the Convention of the 12th of July, 1756.

IX. The German States, both of Denmark and Sweden, are reciprocally and entirely excepted from this Convention.

X. The Baltic being always to be conſidered as a ſea ſhut and inacceſſible to the armed ſhips of diſtant powers at war, is declared ſo a-new by the contracting parties, who are reſolved to maintain in it the moſt perfect tranquillity.

XI. Their

XI. Their Majeſties engage to make a joint communication of this Convention to all the powers at war, adding the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of their ſincere deſire to preſerve with them the moſt perfect harmony, and to cement, rather than wound it, by this meaſure, which tends only to ſecure rights maintained and aſſerted by thoſe powers themſelves, in all caſes where they were neutral and at peace, without Denmark and Sweden having ever dreamt of interrupting them.

XII. But if the unfortunate caſe ſhould occur, that any power, in contempt of treaties and the univerſal law of nations, will not reſpect the baſis of ſociety and the general happineſs, and ſhall moleſt the innocent navigation of the ſubjects of their Daniſh and Swediſh Majeſties, then will they, after having exhauſted all poſſible means of conciliation, and made the moſt preſſing joint remonſtrances, to obtain the ſatisfaction and indemnity due to them, make uſe of reprizals, at the lateſt, four months after the refuſal of their claim, wherever that ſhall be thought fitting, the Baltic always excepted; and will anſwer entirely the one for the other, and ſupport one another equally, if either nation ſhall be attacked or injured on account of this convention.

XIII. This convention ſhall ſubſiſt in its whole tenor during the preſent war, unleſs it ſhould be agreed upon, for the common intereſt, to make any uſeful or neceſſary change or addition to it.

XVI. The ratification ſhall take place fifteen days after this convention ſhall have been ſigned and exchanged. In teſtimony of which we, the underſigned, by virtue of our full powers, have ſigned the preſent convention, and affixed to it the ſeal of our arms.

Done at Copenhagen, this 27th of March, 1794.

(Signed)

A. P. V. BERNSTORF,
ERIC MAGNUS STAEL,
DE HOLSTEIN.

Edict for the Trade of Denmark and Norway during the War.

WE, Chriſtian the Seventh, by the grace of God, King of Denmark and Norway, &c. &c. make known by theſe preſents, That as we, for the ſafety and ſecurity of our ſubjects, have made known and publiſhed by our former orders and proclamations of the 22d and 25th of February, 1793, as ſoon as the war broke out between the belligerent naval powers, that all the veſſels or ſhips of our ſubjects, ſailing from any harbour in our dominions, and bound to the north or weſtern ſeas, ſhould be provided with ſuch ſea-paſſes and ſhip's documents as by the treaties had been ſtipulated between us and the belligerent powers; having alſo in our ſaid orders and public proclamations ſtated in what manner perſons ſhould be qualified to obtain ſuch papers and documents, we do further order and demand, on purpoſe to prevent all deviation which might or could in time happen contrary to

to our pleafure, as not being mentioned in the ſtipulated treaties between belligerent powers and us, as follows, viz.

1. We order and command all our comptrollers and officers in our ſeveral cuſtom-houſes at our ſea-ports, that they ſhall not permit or allow any veſſel or ſhip, belonging to any of our ſubjects, to clear out for any foreign ſea-port, without being duly provided with the aforeſaid paſſes and documents, that our orders and commands concerning this matter may be more ſtrictly obſerved and followed.

2, Should any veſſel, bound to a neutral harbour, take in ſuch goods or merchandize as, if they were conſigned to any harbour of the belligerent power would be contraband, and as ſuch ſtipulated in the treaties between thoſe powers and us; alſo, mentioned in our former orders and proclamations of 22d and 25th February, 1793, we do further order and demand, that, beſides the oath which the maſter and freighter of the ſhips were ordered to make on ſuch occaſion before the appointed magiſtrates as before-mentioned, the perſon who ſhips ſuch goods, with the maſter of each of ſuch veſſels, ſhall be bound to make a ſpecial declaration conformable to the invoice and bills of lading (beſides his actual entry and clearance at the cuſtom-houſe), which ſhall contain the different ſpecifications of the goods, together with their quantity and value; and this declaration is to be ſigned by the perſon who ſhips the cargo, by the captain, and affirmed by the comptroller of the cuſtoms where the veſſel enters and clears out, who is directly to forward the ſame to our commiſſioner of the cuſtoms, that the conſignment of ſuch goods may be authentically proved, if not loſt by ſea, or ſeized on her arrival at her deſtined port.

This alteration muſt be made in the following manner:—A perſon who ſhips ſuch goods ſhall be bound to get a certificate from the conſul or vice-conſul, or in caſe of there not being any there, from a magiſtrate, or any other authorized perſon at ſuch place, that the veſſel arrived there and delivered her cargo agreeable to his former declaration; and ſuch certificate is either to be ſent from thence directly to the commiſſioner of the cuſtoms, or as ſoon as the veſſel arrived at her home port.

In caſe ſuch a certificate ſhould not be delivered, within a proportionable time to the length of the voyage, our college of commerce has orders to demand an explanation from the perſon who ſhipped the goods, who is to make a declaration on oath, whether he has received any intelligence concerning ſaid cargo.

Should ſuch perſon or perſons not be able to prove by certificate that the goods were landed in a neutral port, and ſuch a veſſel not being loſt or captured, he ſhall forfeit twenty ſix dollars for each commercial laſt of the ſhip, to our royal college of commerce, and the captain liable to proſecuted by law.

Given

Given at our royal reſidence, Copenhagen, the 28th of March, 1794.

(Signed) CHRISTAN, R.
(Counterſigned)
SCHIMMELMAN SEHESTEDT, and DERNATH.

The Diet of the States of Switzerland commenced their Aſſemblies on the 5th of July, 1794, at Frauenfeld, and the Committee of Public Safety at Paris ſent Ambaſſadors, who, in the Name of the French Republic, made the following Propoſals to the States of Switzerland.

1ſt, THAT the French emigrants ſhould not be tolerated to reſide in any part of the territories of the Swiſs cantons.

2dly, The French nation ſhould have the liberty of purchaſing horned cattle, horſes, &c. throughout all the cantons of Switzerland.

3dly, That the States ſhould immediately recall all the Swiſs troops in foreign ſervice.

4thly, If the States think it agreeable to the intereſt of the cantons, the French Republic will take the ſame troops or regiments into her own ſervice.

5thly, That arms and ammunitions ſhall be permitted to be purchaſed in Switzerland, by the agents of the committee of Public Safety, for the uſe of the armies of the French Republic.

The Committee of Public Safety to the Citizen Barthelemy, Ambaſſador of the French Republic in Switzerland, 25th of December, 1794.

WE are informed, Citizen, that the emigrants and exiled prieſts ſpread a report, that they are on the eve of returning into France, and that they have even ſucceeded in gaining ſome confidence in this ſtrange aſſertion.

We can attribute only to theſe falſe rumours the facility with which the catholic cantons appear to tolerate them on their territority. The reſult is, that theſe men deem themſelves within the reach of intriguing in the departments on the borders, there to prepare new diſorders and new fortunes.

We engage you to declare to all the cantons, that the emigrants, loaded as they are with the execration and contempt of Europe, can never be conſidered by the French nation but as traitors, whom, whenever it can reach them, its juſt vengeance will never ceaſe to purſue.

We cannot doubt but this declaration will ſuffice to determine a government which has given us ſo many proofs of its friendſhip and good faith, to diſincumber themſelves of a vile horde, breathing nothing but guilt and diſorder;—who only avail themſelves of the hoſpitality of generous people, to ſow the ſeeds of diviſion, and thus to revenge the attachment which the Swiſs nation has invariably ſhewn to the people of France.

Signed by the Members of the Committee of Public Safety.

Geneva.—On Friday the 18th of July, 1794, M. Soulavie, and Merle, a Commiſſioner from the French Convention reſident here, gave a grand Dinner to the principal Members of a Society, entitled the Club of the Mountain, conſiſting of the moſt violent Patriots of this City. On breaking up, which did not happen till an early hour in the Morning, the Members of the Club had recourſe to Arms, and arming the Populace at the ſame Time, took Poſſeſſion of the Gates and Arſenals. They now proceeded to ſelect a Revolutionary Committee, compoſed of ſeven Members, by whom every Perſon inimical to their Intereſts was inſtantly apprehended.

On Sunday the 20th, the Revolutionary Committee publiſhed the following Proclamation.

Equality, Liberty, Independence!

Revolutionary citizens!

THE revolution of the 28th of December, 1792, was more ſerviceable to the ariſtocrats than to the revolutioniſts. The former always incorrigible, and invariably the enemies of liberty, have ſuffered no abatement of their criminal hopes and liberticidal pretenſions. The moment is now arrived, when the revolutioniſts, wearied with living among men who have not ceaſed for a moment to be inimical both to them and the French Republic, have been forced to riſe for the completion of the work which had nearly been entered on, and to enſure the everlaſting triumph of the principles of equality in our country.

Revolutionary citizens, your moderation has hitherto merely ſerved to enſnare you, to embolden the ariſtocrats, and give conſiſtency to their culpable views. It is time that the people ſhould have juſtice done; and with this intention the revolutionary committee lays before you the following plan.

I. A revolutionary tribunal, conſiſting of twenty-one members, ſhall be formed.

II. The revolutioniſts aſſembled in a body at the National Lyceum, ſhall elect this tribunal by a ſingle proceſs, and according to the relative majorities.

III. The electors ſhall not return more than twenty-one citizens, and not leſs than eleven.

IV. No one ſhall refuſe his vote on penalty of being conſidered as a ſuſpected perſon, and treated as ſuch.

V. Each revolutionary citizen, without any exception, ſhall be enjoined to repair armed to-morrow, on the 21ſt of July, at eight in the morning, to the National Lyceum, and there to vote, on pain of being conſidered as a ſuſpected perſon, and treated as ſuch.

VI. The revolutionary tribunal ſhall try thoſe who are impriſoned, as well as thoſe who have eſcaped for the preſent, and have fled ſince the revolution.

VII. It may pronounce ſentence of death, pecuniary fines, baniſhment, &c.

VIII. Every ſentence of death ſhall be ſubject to the approval of the

the whole body of the revolutionary citizens.

IX. The revolutionary tribunal shall complete its functions within the space of six days, reckoning from the moment of its election.

X. A military committee shall be created, to consist of seven members, who are to watch over the public safety, and to execute the sentences of the revolutionary tribunal. It shall succeed the revolutionary committee, at the expiration of its powers.

The members of each circle are enjoined to give their suffrages in the most public manner, as all true revolutionists ought to do.

Before eight in the evening the result of the deliberation will be published, mentioning the number of the suffrages.

(Signed) ALEXANDER BOUSQUET,
President of the revolutionary committee.

Preamble of the Decree by which the Revolutionary Committee was established.

Liberty, Equality, Independence!

REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL.

Revolutionary citizens,

FOR nearly a century, liberty has painfully contended against aristocracy: the people of Geneva now struggle for the restoration of their rights. For nearly a century the country has been harassed by the pretensions, constantly renewed, of certain citizens, who persuaded themselves that the people were made for them, and that the Republic was their inheritance.

The revolution of 1792 had, apparently the effect of terminating for ever the reign of the aristocracy you have too long endured.

But, revolutionary citizens, those among you who fancied that the above revolution had done every thing to establish in this Republic the reign of equality, were strangely abused! Those who conceived that the constitution, latterly accepted, would secure to the people all the advantages of liberty, were much mistaken! You invited all the Genevese to the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship; but the enemies of equality continued the same, with all their pretensions and all their prejudices. In accepting the constitution you extinguished the aristocracy of the laws; but the aristocracy of names, of riches, and of manners, lost no part of its energy and activity.

The entire mass of the aristocrats and their adherents remained in the posture of an enemy whom a check has just humbled, but who waits the first favourable opportunity to wreak his revenge, and recover his superiority.

With an utter detestation of the principles of the constitution, they had accepted it, because it covered them as well as the citizens in general, with its shield; and because, under shelter of the severe measures it had adopted against the abuses of authority,

rity, and of the ſcrupulous formalities to which it ſubjected the courſe of juſtice, they might manœuvre ſecretly with ſure impunity.

Their hoſtile diſpoſitions were, however, not equivocal.—Have you in reality ſeen them renounce their pretenſions, and abjure their old errors? Have you obſerved the diſſolution of that ſcandalous coalition which was formed to combat equality? Have you ſeen them embrace the excellent opportunities afforded them by our civic feſtivals, to fraternize with us? In ſhort, have you ſeen one of them even abandon the faſtidious pomp of ariſtocracy, to unite ſincerely with us around the ſimple ſtandard of liberty? No; but you have ſeen the criminal obſtinacy with which ſome of them refuſed to take the civic oath, and with what repugnance others conſented to pronounce it. You have heard their counter-revolutionary predictions and prophecies; and no longer ago than the laſt year, when the Piedmonteſe penetrated into Mont Blanc, you ſaw them come out from their retreats, fly to the walls, and there collect in groups, with the manifeſt intention to profit by the circumſtances, and recover their loſt aſcendancy. You have heard them ſigh for a counter-revolution in France, which could not fail to bring about one in this Republic; and expreſs their wiſhes for the ſucceſs of the confederate powers, the royaliſts of La Vendee, and the rebels of Lyons. You muſt recollect their deriſions, bravadoes, and demonſtrations of joy, at the news of the miſ-

carriages occaſionally ſuſtained by the French republican armies. You have heard them boaſt of rendering our revolution abortive by the derangement of the finances; and you have ſeen them concur towards this aim, by rejecting the firſt plan of an edict on public contributions, manifeſting at the ſame time ſimilar views relative to that which was to have been preſented to the ſovereign council on the 19th of the ſame month.

You may, perhaps, have been ignorant that their emiſſaries in Switzerland have made the ſtrongeſt efforts to deter our allies from acknowledging our conſtitutional regimen; and that ſome of them, whoſe names are not as yet known, took meaſures a few weeks ago to co-operate in a counter-revolutionary plan with the French emigrants, having no leſs a tendency than to light up a new Vendee in the departments which border on our territory; to provoke hoſtilities between the French Republic and the Helvetic body; and to make our city the center of union for the ariſtocrats, and a point of ſupport for their liberticidal meaſures.

Their incorrigible attachment to ariſtocracy, their counter-revolutionary wiſhes, their plans and their arrangements, were not unknown to the French; and this is what ſerved to prejudice the latter ſo ſtrongly againſt our Republic. They could not conceive but that with us the revolution in favour of liberty would terminate in giving to the ariſtocracy an entire freedom to intrigue with impunity; and they conceived that they

ought to miſtruſt a people who boaſted of having beſtowed a triumph on the principles of liberty and equality, and who had at the ſame time allowed a tranquil reſidence among them to a multitude of ariſtocrats, who did not even take the precaution to diſſemble their averſion for liberty and equality, and their joy at the triumphs of the enemies of the French Republic.

Remark alſo that their number and their union gave them a powerful influence in the aſſemblies of the ſovereign council. Their ſuffrages, united to thoſe of ſo many pretended patriots, of ſo many whoſe lukewarm and indifferent diſpoſitions made them unworthy of that title, might with facility have enabled them to ſubvert the laws moſt favourable to the people, and the inſtitutions moſt eſſential to their happineſs.

Revolutionary citizens, it is time that this contention ſhould terminate. It is time that the people ſhould, without obſtacle or impediment, ſet about the organization of their happineſs. They are wearied with having to watch unceaſingly the enemies by whom they are ſurrounded, and with waſting their time in diſconcerting their plots. The compaſs of our walls is too narrow to contain two claſſes of people ſo oppoſite in their principles and manners. There will be no peace among us until there ſhall be but one party in the Republic—that of equality, liberty, independence, and fraternity; until the enemies of the people ſhall be for ever prevented from revolting againſt them.

The experience of what has paſſed ought to inſtruct you. How has it been contrived that at various times the momentary ſucceſſes of the friends of liberty were ſoon followed by great miſcarriages?—that the tranſitory checks of ariſtocracy were the forerunners of the moſt ſignal ſucceſſes on their ſide? It is becauſe the friends of liberty were ſo ſimple as to think that the enacting of laws was ſufficient for their ſecurity. What is it that has propped the criminal audacity with which ariſtocracy has unceaſingly renewed its pretenſions and its enterprizes?—Impunity, and the clemency of the people, which has encouraged their enemies to defy, to combat, and to make a ſport of them. You muſt have perceived, revolutionary citizens, that ariſtocracy needed a leſſon which it ſhould never ceaſe to remember; that it ſhould be for ever ſickened from a repetition of its criminal projects. It is for the accompliſhment of this aim that you have eſtabliſhed a revolutionary tribunal, charged to make an example as well of the chief ariſtocrats who wiſh to found their ſupremacy on the degradation of their fellow citizens, as of the ſubaltern ariſtocrats who have degraded their qualities of man and citizen, by becoming the ſervile tools of the upper ariſtocracy.

By this terrible meaſure we muſt begin; but it will not be ſufficient to complete the revolution. There are ſtill greater additional plans to be adopted to conſolidate its ſucceſs, to purify the air of our country of every ariſtocratic infection, and to obtain for the country

country a satisfaction for all the damages and wrongs it has sustained from its perverse children. It is to be our task to accomplish a revolution of principles and manners, to regenerate the public mind, and to found, without any delay, institutions calculated to ensure the prosperity of the people, to form true citizens, and to bestow happiness on all. The revolutionary tribunal, engaged in the trial of prisoners, cannot efficaciously attend to these objects, It is, notwithstanding, urgent to provide for them; and this tribunal ought therefore to be so organized as to facilitate its labours, and to procure the means of reaching its high destination with celerity and regularity. We, in consequence, offer for your consideration and discussion, the following plan:

I. There shall be added to the 21 members of the revolutionary tribunal, 11 other members to be named by the revolutionary clubs.

II. These 32 citizens, in conjunction, shall instantly chuse 11 of their own body to form a revolutionary committee.

III. The remaining 21 members shall compose the revolutionary tribunal properly so called, to be altogether engaged in the trials.

IV. The revolutionary committee shall be charged--

1. To regulate the mode and maximum of the confiscations and indemnities towards the Republic.

2. To adopt all the measures calculated to ensure the success of the revolution, as well as those which concern the public safety.

3. To form the plans of such public establishments as will concur towards the happiness of the people.

4. To superintend all the objects of an administration, purely revolutionary. And,

5. To lay before the revolutionary societies such extraordinary measures as circumstances may require.

V. The powers of the committee shall continue for one month after the functions of the revolutionary tribunal shall have ceased.

VI. With respect to whatever does not belong to revolutionary measures, the constituted authorities shall continue to exercise their functions, each of them conforming in this respect to the customary regulations.

(Signed) BOUSQUET, President.
VOULAIRE, Secretary.

Proclamation published in August.

Equality! Liberty! Independence!
REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL.

Revolutionary Citizens;

THE tribunal you established, to do justice to the people on their enemies, has at length terminated its labours: it has now to discharge an essential duty, that of submitting to you an account of its operations.

Engaged in so arduous a task, the members of the tribunal have had for a basis no rule whatever, no particular law, no organization: and notwithstanding, when they entered on their functions,

they found on the books of the gaoler more than 400 prisoners; they accordingly began by establishing the offences which were to be submitted to their judgment, and these they divided into the seven following classes:

1. The resolution for the guarantee, and of consequence, for the entry of foreign troops.

2. The armaments against the patriots, both in the city and territory.

3. The machinations against the establishment of equality and liberty.

4. The machinations against the independence of the Republic.

5. The manœuvres known under the title of stock-jobbing, by which the public credit has been injured, several families ruined, and the state embroiled with the French Republic.

6. The manœuvres practised on our neighbours and allies, the Swiss, to engage them to break the alliance. And,

7. The manœuvres set on foot to corrupt the public morals.

The accused have all of them been examined by the revolutionary tribunal, as well by public and private interrogations, as by precepts taken. The following is the total amount of the sentences pronounced, the detailed list of which, with the names, will be printed and published at the end of this report:

Thirty-seven sentenced to death, twenty-six of whom are in a state of outlawry.

Ninety-four sentenced to perpetual banishment, twenty-eight of whom have not appeared before the tribunal.

Four sentenced to exile of a longer or shorter duration.

Two hundred and sixty-four sentenced to domestic confinement for a longer or shorter period.

Ten sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in the *Maison de Force.*

Seven sentenced to imprisonment in the same house of detention for different terms.

Three bailiffs, or common serjeants, have been deprived of their posts.

Eighty-nine have been dismissed. This makes a total of 508 individuals.

Thus are the people at length avenged; and thus is the struggle, which lasted for a century between the oppressors and the oppressed, terminated. Independence has suffered no outrage; liberty and equality triumph; and national justice has for ever taken up her abode in the Republic.

In the midst of the immense labours with which it has been charged, the tribunal has not been able to pay an attention to all those who, having conducted themselves in a way contrary to liberty and equality, were perhaps deserving of punishment. For this purpose, it would have been necessary to protract the existence of the tribunal a third time: but every citizen must be satisfied, that the lesson which has been given, as terrible as it is just, ought to be sufficient. If, however, such should be the result of the immediate events, that the aristocracy, now so completely subjugated, should again dare to raise

raiſe its head; that thoſe who have not been tried ſhould preſume to avail themſelves of that clemency, by employing any manœuvres whatever, recollect, revolutionary citizens, that in ſuch a caſe there remains an authority capable of repreſſing theſe attempts. The revolutionary committee has the intermediate power of puniſhing them, as will appear by two clauſes of the reſolution by which it is conſtituted. They are as follow:

Art. 4. Section 2.—To take all meaſures calculated to ſecure the ſucceſs of the revolution, as well as all thoſe relative to public ſecrecy.

Section 5.—To propoſe to the revolutionary ſocieties every meaſure which circumſtances may call for.

Let thoſe tremble, then, who may form the culpable project of impeding the progreſs of the revolution in any manner whatever, and of thus preventing the attainment of the aim which every good citizen ought to have in view, that of making the Geneveſe at length a nation of brethren.

It becomes the tribunal to remind the revolutioniſts, that having been eſtabliſhed by them, it has never for a ſingle inſtant loſt ſight of the direct and immediate power of its conſtituents That conformably to this principle it has conſidered it as a duty to attend to all the requiſitions made to it in the name of the revolutionary maſs; and that thus all the operations and ſentences of the tribunal, againſt which no proteſt has been made, are confirmed by the tacit approbation of the revolutioniſts. The tribunal has not neglected to provide for the means of executing the ſentences it has paſſed: and to the end that no doubt ſhould remain on that head, declares that it has charged the revolutionary committee to carry theſe ſentences into execution without abatement or reſervation, to be watchful in obſerving all the infractions which thoſe againſt whom they have been pronounced may attempt, and to apply the penalty annexed to all ſuch attempts. It has at the ſame time enjoined the revolutionary committee to inveſt with the ſame powers the ordinary tribunals, whenever the revolutioniſts ſhall think proper to break up the ſaid committee.

Revolutionary citizens, now that the criſis of the revolution is paſſed; now that the vengeance of the people has been exerciſed, the ideas of the citizens ought to be directed to the means of ſecuring the proſperity of the nation. To attain this end each citizen ought to uſe his beſt endeavours to convert the revolution itſelf to the advantage of the people. For this purpoſe you have a revolutionary authority to which this charge is intruſted: its principal duty being to determine on the reſtitutions to be made by the enemies of the people, and of courſe on the contributions which the country has a right to exact from every citizen proprietor. It is to make a juſt application of the ſums which may reſult from this meaſure, by appropriating them to public eſtabliſhments, agricultural rewards, manufactories, &c.

This plan demands the concurrence of all the citizens, who are well informed on any of theſe heads: and the country accordingly puts them in a ſtate of requiſition. Be confident, revolutionary citizens, in the iſſue of the revolution. Confine yourſelves at this time to the cuſtomary vigilance it behoves every citizen to obſerve; reſume your civil duties; return to your manufactories and avocations; and ſay to yourſelves, that next to the love of the country, the love of induſtry is your chief duty. Recollect that tyrants employ two principal means to enſlave nations—idleneſs and corruption. Men who aim at being independent always become ſo; and there can be no Republic where debauched and corrupted men are to be found. The country requires that in this revolution all the virtues ſhould be diſplayed, and morality, both public and private, prevail in all the actions of the citizens. It demands a complete regeneration; and be confident of it, revolutionary citizens, you will in vain have brought about a revolution to cruſh ariſtocracy and all its vices; you will in vain have repreſſed the abuſes of riches, if you neglect to proclaim juſtice, probity, and virtue, not by words, but by deeds and good examples; you will otherwiſe, ſooner or later, witneſs the return of corrupters and corrupted. The members of the tribunal return into the claſs of ſimple citizens: in that quality they haſten back with earneſtneſs to their fire-ſides, and unite themſelves in every particular to the revolutionary citizens to defend the equality, the liberty and the independence of the Republic.

Proclamation of the Canton of Berne in Auguſt, 1794.

WE the Avoyer, the Little and Great Council of the city and republic of Berne, &c. make known by theſe preſents—

Public fame has ſufficiently informed us of the deplorable ſcenes which have overwhelmed the city of Geneva. That republic, in whoſe proſperity we have conſtantly taken an intereſt, reſulting from long and intimate relations as allies, and the habitual connections of neighbourhood, is delivered up to unheard-of calamities, of which it is not poſſible to foreſee the extent, the duration, or the conſequences. At the moment that we had reaſon to hope for the return of peace and tranquillity, by the eſtabliſhment of the new order of things, which the government had ſolemnly announced to us, the ſame as had the Canton of Zurich, a band of tumultuous men attacked and overthrew by main force, public liberty and perſonal ſafety; they violated private houſes, arreſted individuals, and dragged them to priſon. Theſe violences were committed even againſt the miniſters of religion, in a manner ſuch as ſeemed to announce the intended proſcription of religion, in a city hitherto remarked as its great ſupporter. Citizens were ſacrificed even againſt the will of the majority of voters. New victims were pointed out; new attempts were made againſt perſons

and

and property, even in deſpite of oaths, of forms eſtabliſhed, and the laws of the ſtate; and Geneva awaits in conſternation the fate which the ſanguinary men who have uſurped the right of diſpoſing of the lives and fortunes of all the citizens are preparing for her.

We ſee with extreme grief the ſad deſtiny of a city whoſe happineſs has been at all times the object of our cares, and which, by its proximity, ſo nearly intereſts our own ſtate and that of all Switzerland. But the knowledge we have gained of the criminal participation of many individuals of our own country aggravates ſtill more our grief and indignation. Our paternal ſolicitude for the ſafety and honour of our country, not permitting us to tolerate on our territory theſe men ſullied with crimes, we, by the preſent publication, interdict their entrance into our territories; and will, that all thoſe of our ſubjects who ſhall be known to have had any part in theſe atrocious ſcenes, be inſtantly denounced and ſeized; reſerving to ourſelves to pronounce the chaſtiſement which their culpable conduct, in a city ſo long our ally, merits. We doubt not, dear and faithful citizens, that participating in the ſame ſentiments that animate us, you will redouble your activity and zeal in the execution of this preſent ordinance.

Manifeſto and Supplement publiſhed at Martinique.

G. R.

THE Aſſembly, calling itſelf the National Convention of France, having exerciſed in that kingdom and its dependencies the moſt unlimited and barbarous deſpotiſm, deſtroyed religion, with the government and the laws, and violated all kinds of property, have added to ſo many crimes, a declaration of their deſign to involve other nations in the ſame calamities, to overthrow their reſpective conſtitutions, and the fundamental principles of every civilized ſtate; and to that end, not content with making uſe of ſecret and incendiary emiſſaries, they have gone the length of open hoſtility, by a declaration of war, wholly unprovoked, againſt his Britannic Majeſty and his Allies; and his ſaid Majeſty ſeeing himſelf compelled to have recourſe to arms, and to proſecute a war as juſt as neceſſary, for the protection of his ſubjects, the ſecurity of his throne, the preſervation of the Britiſh conſtitution, and the defence of his Allies.

His Majeſty moreover taking into conſideration how notorious it is, that the aforeſaid convention and its adherents, among other atrocious machinations, have conceived the project of entirely deſtroying all the French colonies in the Weſt Indies—a plan they have executed in ſome parts by circumſtances of the moſt horrid nature, and by means the moſt criminal and deteſtable; and that they have, at the ſame time, manifeſted ſimilar intentions againſt the poſſeſſions of his Majeſty in the ſame quarter of the world; to put a ſtop, in the moſt prompt and effectual manner, to the execution of ſuch projects, and to preſerve

his own colonies from the misfortune with which they are thus menaced, his Majesty, relying on the protection of Providence, on the valour of his subjects and the justice of his cause, has thought it expedient and necessary to undertake, by the force of arms, the reduction of the adherents of the said National Convention, and to deliver the island of Martinique from the misfortunes and oppression by which it is overwhelmed.

In consequence whereof, we the undersigned, commanders, in chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces by sea and land in the West Indies, by virtue of the powers and authorities entrusted to us by his Majesty for that purpose, invite all the friends of peace, government, religion, and order in the island of Martinique, to throw off tyrannical oppression, and to set itself free from the horrors of anarchy, by having recourse to the protection and government of a just and beneficent Sovereign.

And by these presents, we solemnly promise, grant, and guarantee, to all those who avail themselves of this invitation, and will submit themselves peaceably and quietly to the authority of his Majesty, personal security, and full and immediate enjoyment of their lawful possessions, conformable to their ancient laws and customs, and upon the most advantageous terms; excepting only those persons whose absence from the island seems to be requisite for its peace and security; and even to those persons we promise (whatsoever may have been their conduct) to furnish them the means of transport to France, or to any other place they may desire, that may not be prejudicial to his Majesty's service.

We promise also, that on the establishment of peace, Martinique shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of trade possessed by the British West India colonies.

And furthermore, we promise to all persons (except as before excepted) who, submitting themselves peaceably and in the manner before-mentioned, will and do conduct themselves as good and faithful subjects to his Majesty, a full amnesty for all acts committed under the colour or pretext of any authority whatsoever, and which they may have done before the publication of these presents, guaranteeing them hereby from all persecution and molestation for acts emanating from actual existing authorities.

All persons who, in despite of the instructions graciously and beneficially manifested by his Majesty, shall dare to oppose themselves to this proclamation, will be treated as enemies, and exposed to all the evils that the calamities of war necessarily produce both on persons and effects.

Given on board his Majesty's ship Boyne, the 1st of January, 1794.

CHARLES GREY, General.
JOHN JERVIS, Vice-Admiral.

By their Excellencies Command,
G. FISHER, } Secretaries.
G. PURVIS, }

SUPPLE-

SUPPLEMENT.

His Britannic Majesty's generals, willing by all means possible to prevent the effusion of blood, and to remove from the inhabitants of the French islands in America, all doubt of their intentions, think they ought to publish what follows, as a supplement to the manifesto:

Art. I. As they cannot be ignorant that there exists a great animosity between the emigrants from the French islands in America, and those inhabitants who remain there, an animosity that would lead them to pursue each other with rage, and retard the re-establishment of peace, his Britannic Majesty's generals have judged it necessary to forbid all emigrants to re-enter any of the said islands before such shall be entirely conquered; exacting thereafter a perfect tranquillity, and engaging to protect none but peaceable inhabitants.

Art. II. His Britannic Majesty's generals promise all succour and protection to the colonists who shall continue peaceably on their plantation; but they are determined to treat as prisoners of war all those who, in contempt of this declaration, shall be taken with arms in their hands, announcing to them moreover that they will incur pains of death, if after such transportation they shall ever again appear in either of the Windward islands.

Art. III. General Rochambeau having promised freedom to those slaves who take up arms for the defence of Martinico, and his Britannic Majesty's generals, sensible of the impossibility of distinguishing those *Brigands* from people of colour born free, or legally released from slavery, think it proper to apprize all people of colour, without distinction, that those among them who shall be found armed, or who having fought, shall have escaped the bayonets of the British troops, shall be treated as slaves, and transported immediately to the coast of Africa, where they will be abandoned to their fate; promising on the other hand a full amnesty to those who will surrender themselves, and to those who retire to their respective habitations peaceably to renew their occupations.

Given on board his Majesty's ship the Boyne, 1st January, 1794.

CHARLES GREY, General.
JOHN JERVIS, Vice-Admiral.

By their Excellencies Command,
G. FISHER, } Secretaries.
G. PURVIS, }

By Order of the Right Hon. Thomas Dundas, Major General in his Britannic Majesty's Army, commanding the conquered Part of the North in Martinico.

ALL merchants, captains of vessels, factors, and others, either French or foreigners, having in their possession within the circumference of this town of St. Pierre, colonial productions and provisions, of whatever kind and quality, are hereby ordered, tomorrow morning, between eleven and twelve o'clock, to deliver without

without fail, an exact, true, and verified ſpecification thereof to Mr. Baillie, at the head quarters, at the intendant's hotel, under pain of impriſonment againſt the tranſgreſſors, and confiſcation of the goods not declared; and the perſons above-mentioned muſt take care, in the ſaid ſpecification, to ſet down the names of the proprietors of the above merchandize, the warehouſes where they are laid up, and the ſtreet where the ſaid warehouſes are ſituated.

At St. Pierre, Martinico, the 19th February, 1794.

THOMAS DUNDAS, Maj. Gen.

Proclamation by his Excellency Robert Preſcott, Eſq. Lieutenant-general of his Britannic Majeſty's Forces, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Iſland of Martinico and its Dependencies.

THE inhabitants of the different quarters of the iſland of Martinico are deſired to meet in their reſpective pariſhes, for the purpoſe of chooſing by ballot, for their repreſentative, an intelligent perſon of known integrity; and thoſe deputies, after they are choſen, are requeſted to aſſemble next Sunday, the 18th inſtant, in the town of Fort Royal, to meet the commiſſaries appointed by their Excellencies Sir Charles Grey, K. B. and Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. for the purpoſe of fixing, in an equitable and efficacious manner, a general contribution (the amount of which ſhall be made known to the repreſentative of each pariſh), to be paid by all thoſe who poſſeſs property in the colony; the commanders in chief having decided, that ſuch an arrangement would be much more convenient than a general confiſcation; other matters concerning the welfare of the colony will alſo be propoſed to them.

Given at the governor's houſe at St. Pierre, on the 10th of May, 1794, in the 34th year of his Majeſty's reign.

(Signed) ROBERT PRESCOTT.

By order of the General,

(Signed) B. CLIFTON, Secretary.

Proclamation at Martinico.

SIR Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, commanders in chief of his Britannic Majeſty's land and ſea forces in the Windward Iſlands, having reſolved, that all the proviſions and other articles heretofore declared to the agents of ſeizures in the town of St. Pierre, ſhall be publicly ſold for the profit of thoſe who have ſeized them: all perſons having made ſuch declarations, are herewith ordered, as ſoon as the aforeſaid agents ſhall deſire it, to deliver up the proviſions and other articles thus declared.—All perſons that have hitherto neglected to make ſimilar declarations, are alſo ordered, at their riſk and peril, to make them without any further delay.

Given, ſigned with my own hand, and ſealed with my arms, Head-quarters, on the 10th of April, 1794.

ROBERT PRESCOTT.

By Order of the General.

B. CLIFTON, Sec.

Pro-

Proclamation concerning the Seized Goods in Martinico.

THE agents of seizures having represented to me, that at the sale of commodities seized at the town of St. Pierre, a considerable deficiency has been found in the quantities delivered, which, in their opinion, originates from the long space of time elapsed since the delivery of the specifications thereof; the inhabitants of the said town of St. Pierre are herewith ordered, next Monday morning, the 28th instant, to deliver to the above agents, an exact specification of the productions of the colony, at this time actually existing in their houses and warehouses, for which they are to remain answerable at their own peril and hazard. A general sale shall hereafter take place; and if it should then appear, that any goods have been concealed, those that are guilty thereof shall be severely punished.

All such persons as have sold commodities, or non-manufactured tobacco, are also ordered to deliver, without any delay, to the agents of seizures, an account of the sums received.

St. Pierre, Martinico, April 26th, 1794.

(Signed) ROBERT PRESCOTT, Lieutenant General.

By the Governor's order,

(Signed) B. CLIFTON, Secretary.

Proclamation by Order of their Excellencies, General Sir Charles Grey, and Admiral Sir John Jervis, Commanders in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Fleets and Armies in the West-Indies.

NO attention having been paid to the proclamation of the 10th instant issued by his Excellency General Prescott, desiring all the good people of this colony to assemble in their respective parishes and quarters, for the purpose of choosing persons of known intelligence, and approved integrity, to represent them in an assembly, which, according to the said proclamation, was to be held at Fort Royal, Sunday the 18th instant, to meet the commissioners appointed and duly authorised by the commanders in chief, and to confer with them on the most equitable and most expeditious way and means to raise a sum of money adequate to the value of the conquest, destined to reward the valour, to compensate the excessive fatigues, and their consequences, sickness and mortality, and to make good the heavy expense incurred by the British officers, soldiers, and sailors, who, with unshaken firmness, and matchless perseverance, have achieved the conquest of this island, subjected it to the British government, rescued from a wretched exile the greatest number of its inhabitants, and restored them to the quiet possession of their property, the confiscation of which had already been decreed:

And the procrastination of this general arrangement being the cause which prevents many well-disposed inhabitants from carrying their commodities to market, and procuring themselves what is necessary

neceſſary for their habitations, to the obvious prejudice of the whole colony:

The commanders in chief, in order to remove an evil of ſuch importance, and which is daily increaſing, enact and ordain as follows:

I. The civil commiſſaries, each in his reſpective pariſh, are to draw up and deliver, as ſoon as poſſible, exact liſts of the habitations ſituated in the ſaid pariſhes, containing the number of ſlaves, cattle, acres of land, buildings, and plantations, an eſtimate of each of thoſe objects, and a ſpecification of all ſorts of productions made and gathered on each eſtate, wherein ought to be diſtinguiſhed thoſe that, *bona fide*, had been made and collected before the 23d of laſt March.

II. The civil commiſſaries in the pariſhes of the different towns and boroughs are likewiſe to draw up and deliver a liſt of the houſes, ſlaves, and ſervants, to be found in the ſaid towns and boroughs, ſtating the proprietors thereof, the yearly rent of each houſe, and enumerating all ſorts of property, compriſed under the denomination of goods, commodities, or merchandiſe, in the ſaid towns and boroughs.

III. The civil commiſſaries are alſo ordered, in their reſpective quarters, to demand the ledgers, and all account books, notes, and deeds, belonging to captains or agents of the French trade, as well as an exact account of all ſorts of property, falling under the deſcription of vacant ſucceſſion in each quarter of the colony, with a correct inventory of all the goods, effects, and chattels, belonging to ſuch perſons as have been taken, arms in hand, or killed during the ſiege, or baniſhed the iſland; and further, a ſpecification of all property belonging to perſons of any deſcription whatever, reſiding in France.

IV. The civil commiſſaries are to name in their reports all perſons, without exception, that ſhould delay giving in the different ſpecifications required, or be ſuſpected of making a falſe declaration, or fail to give the uſual aſſiſtance, neceſſary for the exactneſs and impartiality of reports of that kind; it being the intention and wiſh, that the intended levy be made in the moſt equitable manner, and in exact proportion with the means of each individual.

V. The ſaid reports are to be made with all poſſible expedition, ſo that on Saturday, the 31ſt inſtant, or ſooner, they may be delivered by the civil commiſſaries to the commiſſioners appointed to receive them, and who, for this purpoſe, will repair either to the intendant's hotel at St. Pierre, or to the governor's houſe at Fort Royal: the commanders in chief having, on their part, manifeſted their ardent wiſh to adopt the mildeſt meaſures, declare herewith, that it is their firm reſolution to have this preſent meaſure fully executed; or, on the failure of it, to avail themſelves of the power with which they are inveſted to order and enforce a general confiſcation.

Given

Given under our ſignature, on board the Boyne, Fort Royal bay, on the 21ſt of May, the year of our Saviour, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-four, and the thirty-fourth-year of his Majeſty's reign.

(Signed) CHARLES GREY,
JOHN JERVIS.

By order of their Excellencies,
(Signed) G. FISHER,
G. PURVIS.

Proclamation of his Excellency Brigadier General Whyte, commanding his Britannic Majeſty's Forces in St. Domingo.

THE commiſſioners and their agents, in order to carry into execution thoſe perfidious deſigns which have proved ſo fatal to the lives, the liberty, and the happineſs of this once flouriſhing colony, have every where calumniated the Britiſh government.

General Whyte, who has the honour to repreſent his Britannic Majeſty, aſſures the inhabitants of Port au Prince, and its vicinity, that the object of his Majeſty and of his government is to reſtore peace among every claſs of inhabitants.

Thoſe parts of the colony, which have already placed themſelves under his Majeſty's protection, can bear a faithful teſtimony that there is nothing oppreſſive in the behaviour and laws of the Engliſh.

A conſiderable part of the people of St. Domingo has been ſeduced from its duty; theſe perſons are hereby invited to return to their occupations, to lay down their arms, and to forget every cauſe of reſentment.

The Engliſh government demands, and will obtain, by force if neceſſary, that peaceful obedience which is due to its mild and juſt laws.

The mulattoes will find in the General and the government every diſpoſition to favour their intereſts; they are conſidered by the Engliſh, who are and will continue to be their friends.

The negroes, who have been ſo long the dupes of the vile artifices of the commiſſioners, will ſoon be convinced that the Engliſh diſdain falſehood and deceit.

Let them, relying with confidence on the generoſity of the Britiſh people, return to their maſters, lay down their arms, and enjoy the advantages of a life devoted to induſtry; their preſent ſufferings will ſoon be relieved, and the laws will protect them againſt cruelty and oppreſſion.

The forces, which are now in this colony to ſupport the happineſs of the inhabitants, and the glory of the Engliſh nation, are but a part, even a ſmall part of the army deſtined for its ſervice; it being his Majeſty's reſolution to puniſh in a manner as certain as ſevere, thoſe who will not accept the offers of this and of the preceding proclamations.

All perſons who ſhall repair to Port au Prince, and to the Engliſh General, within the delay of eight days from the date of this proclamation, except thoſe who have been guilty of murder, or of taking a part in the inſurrection, will be received and pardoned; but

but all thoſe who are taken in arms after the above-mentioned period, will be put to death as traitors.

Done at Port au Prince, the 8th of June, 1794.

(Signed) JOHN WHYTE, Brigadier-General Commandant.

Department of Guadaloupe.

Liberty! Equality!

Addreſs to the Republicans of the Sea and Land Forces of the Republic, now at Guadaloupe, from the Commiſſioner deputed by the National Convention to the Windward Iſles.

Citizens,

THE Romans, reduced to their capitol, emerged to liberty more terrible than before. Freemen find reſources in the moſt preſsing extremities. See, brave *ſans culottes* and intrepid marines, what has been your ſituation! few in number, and without generals, you have vanquiſhed armies; you were reſerved to exhibit to the univerſe a ſpectacle the moſt aſtoniſhing.—Enjoy your triumph with exultation, even your enemies admire your virtue and your courage.

George, Pitt, and their ſlaves, had ſent, at a vaſt expence, land and ſea forces to effect the conqueſt of the French poſſeſſions, an enterprize of no difficulty, becauſe they then contained none but maſters and their ſlaves. One republican battalion, two frigates, three tranſports, (a contraſt how ſtriking!) have defeated the ſavage Jervis, with ſix ſhips, twelve frigates, and eight ſmall ſloops of war; and the hypocrite Grey, with his twelve battalions and his horde of ariſtocrats: you have made them bite the duſt; great numbers have fallen into our power, while, during a combat of forty days, not a ſingle republican has been made a priſoner.

Your reſolution in remaining at your poſt, notwithſtanding the fire of the enemy, in ſpite of the bombs and red-hot balls which they inceſſantly diſcharged upon us for thirty days; your exemplary conduct has even excited their admiration; not a complaint has been raiſed againſt you; you have reſpected property, though you were in a country conquered and taken by aſſault, and though immenſe wealth has been expoſed to your view. You have thrown no perſon into mourning; you have cauſed no tears to flow; no mother has demanded of you her ſlaughtered ſon; no wife her butchered huſband; no children their murdered father. But can our barbarous enemies ſay thus much? You have heard the cries of the wretched, from whom they have, by cruel maſſacre, torn fathers, huſbands, and children.

You have treated your vanquiſhed foes with generoſity, even while the ferocious Engliſh generals have cauſed your wounded brethren to be aſſaſſinated on the field of battle, you have covered yourſelves with glory. Humanity ſhall gratefully acknowledge, and tranſmit your names and your actions to poſterity; your enemies have overwhelmed themſelves in infamy, and ſhall remain an object of horror to future generations; ſuch is the enthuſiaſm of liberty, which counts not her

enemies, and which triumphs over numbers. Yes, citizens, fortune ſmiles propitious on the daring, and victory rewards courage.

Republicans, let the grandeur of theſe ideas inflame your valour; "they who have fought "for liberty, have ever been ſucceſsful." Call to your recollection the Swiſs and the Americans.

Citizen coloniſts, who, ever firm in your principles, have been able to reſiſt the perfidious inſinuations of our enemies; and you, citizens of colour, who enjoying the advantages of the French nation, have ſhared our ſucceſſes, in combating for your liberty, imitate your brethren the *ſans culottes*; they will always ſhew you the road to victory, and conſolidate with you your liberty, and that of your children.

Republicans, the commiſſioner ſeizes this opportunity to declare, in the name of the National Convention, that you have deſerved well of your country; and invites you to perſevere in the ſentiments which have animated you to the preſent moment. For himſelf, he will continue to merit your eſteem, by exhibiting to you an example of civiſm and courage.

At Port de la Liberté, Iſland of Guadaloupe, heretofore Point Petre, the 1ſt day of Thermidor, (July 19, 1794) ſecond year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

(Signed, &c.) VICTOR HUGHES.

Sealed with the ſeal of the commiſſion, and ſigned by the commiſſioner and by his ſecretary.

VIEL,
Secretary to the Commiſſioner.

The Free Men of La Petite Riviere in St. Domingo, and its Dependencies, encamped at Marchand, (between Gonaives and Artibonite) under the Orders of General Lavaux, Commander for the Republicans, to Mr. Briſban, Commander of the Forces of his Britannic Majeſty, at St. Marc, Aug. 18, 1794.

Mr. Commander,

ABJURING the errors into which the agents of the Republic have plunged us; jealous of profiting by the advantages offered us, in your juſt and beneficent proclamation, dated the 7th inſtant, we ſubmit ourſelves to the arms of his Britannic Majeſty. We ſwear fidelity to you, and beſeech you to preſcribe what meaſures you think proper, to procure peace, and tend to the preſervation of the reſt of the unhappy colony of St. Domingo. —The frankneſs of loyalty, which characterizes your nation—your generous proceedings towards thoſe who have put themſelves under your protection, are very powerful motives to excite our confidence. Be aſſured, that our entire ſubmiſſion to your orders, our zeal to co-operate in obtaining the return of order, ſhall make amends for our paſt conduct, and never will Great Britain have more faithful ſubjects. When we receive your anſwer, we will ſend you the articles of our

our capitulation. We are going to communicate our diſpoſitions to the neighbouring pariſhes, that are ſtill under the Republican dominion, and we have every reaſon to think that they will yield to reaſon, and that, animated by the ſentiments which actuate us, they will accept the protection you offer them. We are convinced that you will make the happineſs of the colony your peculiar care, and thereby acquire powerful claims to the public gratitude.

We have the honour, &c.
(Signed)
B. CASENEUVE,
CHRISTOPHER MORNET,
CHESNAU, Secretary.

Reply of his Excellency Lord Dorcheſter to the Indians of the ſeven Villages of Lower Canada, as Deputies from all the Nations who were at the General Council held at the Miami, in the Year 1793, except the Chawanous, Miamis, and Loups.

Children—I have well conſidered your words, and am now prepared to reply.

Children—You have informed me that you are deputed by the ſeven villages of the Lower Canada, and by all the nations of the upper country, which ſent deputies to the general council, held at the Miamis, except the Chawanous, Miamis, and Loups.

Children—You remind me of what paſſed at the council of five held at Quebec, juſt before my laſt departure for England, when I promiſed to repreſent their ſituation and wiſhes to the King, their father, and expreſſed my hope that all the grievances they complained of, on the part of the United States, would ſoon be done away by a juſt and laſting peace.

Children—I remember all very well; I remember that they pointed out to me the line of ſeparation which they wiſhed for between them and the United States, and with which they would be ſatisfied and make peace.

Children—I was in expectation of hearing from the people of the United States what was required by them; I hoped I ſhould have been able to bring you together, and make you friends.

Children—I have waited long, and liſtened with great attention, but I have not heard one word from them.

Children—I flattered myſelf with the hope that the line propoſed in the year eighty-three, to ſeparate us from the United States, which was immediately broken by themſelves as ſoon as the peace was ſigned, would have been minded, or a new one drawn in an amicable manner; here alſo I have been diſappointed.

Children—Since my return I find no appearance of a line remains; and from the manner which the people of the States puſh on, and act, and talk on this ſide, and from what I learn of their conduct towards the ſea, I ſhall not be ſurpriſed if we are at war with them in the courſe of the preſent year; and if we are, a line muſt be drawn by the warriors.

Children—

Children—You ask for a paſſport to go to New York; a paſſport is uſeleſs in peace; it appears, therefore, that you expect we ſhall be at war with the States before you return. You ſhall have a paſſport, that whether peace or war, you ſhall be well received by the King's warriors.

Children—They have deſtroyed their right of pre-emption, therefore all their approaches towards us ſince that time, and all the purchaſes made by them, I conſider as an infringement on the King's rights, and when a line is drawn between us, be it peace or war, they muſt loſe all their improvement of houſes on our ſide of it. The people muſt all be gone who do not obtain leave to become the king's ſubjects. What belongs to the Indians will of courſe be confirmed and ſecured to them.

Children—What further can I ſay to you? You are our witneſs that on our part we have acted in the moſt peaceable manner, and borne the language of the United States with patience, and I believe our patience is almoſt exhauſted.

Given under my hand, at the caſtle of St. Lewis, in the city of Quebec, on the 10th day of February, in the year of our Lord, 1794.

(Signed) DORCHESTER.

By his Excellency's command,

(Signed) HEMAN WISSIUS RYLAND, Secretary.

A Talk from the White Lieutenant of Oakfuſkee, Mad Dog of Tuckabatchies, and Alexander Cornell, who are authoriſed by the Creek Nation to ſend the ſame to William Panton, Merchant, in Penſacola.

Mr. William Panton,

WE are going to give you a talk, which we do by deſire of our chiefs and people of our land, and as it is a talk which concerns peace and happineſs, as a nation we muſt deſire that you open your ears and attend thereto.

Our land hath for ſeveral years been in great confuſion and diſtreſs, occaſioned by bad talks ſent into it, and bad people who have crept into it and impoſed upon us: this nation now plainly ſee that ruin awaits them if matters continue in their preſent ſtate, and therefore are fully determined to eſtabliſh a firm and laſting peace with all nations and people. In order that we do not meet with any interruption in accompliſhing ſo deſirable an object, this talk is ſent to you, to deſire that you do not on any account interfere in our national concerns, as heretofore you have done, to the great detriment and injury of ourſelves and friends.

We are well acquainted with the talks you ſend into our land, and the miſchief they have made among our fooliſh young people, and are reſolved to have no more ſuch doings; our whole nation alſo ſees that you take by the hand the men of our land who have brought trouble and diſgrace upon us, and your talks have prevented juſtice being done, and ſatisfaction given by our nation to our neighbours, for the murders and robberies committed upon them, this, Mr. Panton, you had no buſineſs with. To

repeat all the bad advice our people have had from you ſince the time the Engliſh left this country, will take up too much time at preſent; but we muſt ſay that had our nation taken the advice given by Governor O'Neal of Penſacola, Mr. Panton, and others whom we can mention when it is neceſſary, our country would now be engaged in a bloody and ruinous war, not only with all the Americans, but with our neighbouring nations of red people. Some of our people were mad enough to take theſe bad talks, and blood was ſpilt in conſequence; but the wiſe ones among us put a ſtop thereto. But yet we cannot forget ſuch wicked bad advice, calculated for our deſtruction.

Now, Mr. Panton, our advice to you is to mind your trade, and not meddle with our public concerns.

We have been too long blinded by impoſition; our eyes are now open, and we plainly diſcover your views are not for our good. Once more we tell you that our nation is determined not to be longer ſlaves to your talks, and they are the beſt judges of their own buſineſs, and will conduct it as they think beſt for their own good.

After this warning, would you or any other perſon or perſons meddle in our national affairs, ſo as to prevent our eſtabliſhing peace, we ſhall conſider all ſuch as enemies to our land, and look to them for all the bad conſequences that may follow.

There are public agents in our nation from Spain and the United States, to them alone we will liſten, and muſt not be interrupted by any other talks; this is the opinion and voice of our nation, as well as your friends,

The WHITE LIEUT. of Oakſuſkee,
The MAD DOG, of Tuckabatchie,
ALEXANDER CORNELL, of ditto.

April, 1794.

Allegheny County, ſs.

Perſonally appeared before me, John Gibſon, one of the aſſociate judges for the above county, Daniel Ranſon, who duly ſworn, depoſeth and ſaith, that he, this deponent, has traded for ſome time paſt at Venango, with the Senecas and other Indians, that a chief of the Senecas called Tiawaneas, or the Broken Twig, came there and informed him it was likely the times would ſoon be bad, and adviſed him to move off his family and effects in three or four days; on this he aſked the Indian how he knew the times would be bad; he then informed him a belt of wampum had been ſent by the Britiſh and the Indians, inviting him to a council at Buffaloe Creek, that he had declined going; that the meſſengers then informed him of the intended plan of the Indians; he ſaid the corn-planter had been bought by Britiſh gold, and had joined them; that he intended coming to Venango, on pretence of holding a council reſpecting the murder of the Indian at Venango by Robinſon; that then they expected the Britiſh and Indians would land on Preſqu'iſle, and form a junction on French Creek, and then clear it, by killing all the people and taking the poſts: that he ſeemed

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so much affected that he shed tears, and said, what shall I do, I have been at war against the Western Indians in company with Captain Jeffers, and killed and scalped one of them; if I now go back, after discovering this, the Indians will kill me; that the Indian informed him that a number of canoes were collected at Junishadego, and paid for by the British, for the purpose of conveying the Indians down the river; that on his return from Cussewago to Fort Franklin, he found a chief of the Onondago of the name of Standing Stone, who was a friend of his, who informed him that the corn-planter had taken money from the British, and had joined them; he thought the times would soon be bad, and pressed him very much to leave Venango, and assisted him in packing up his things at that place; that from his knowledge of the customs and manners of the Indians, as well as what he had heard from other Indians, he has also reason to believe the above account to be true; he also says, that seven men who came down the Allegheny river, saw the above canoes at Junishadego: that on their landing at the town, the Indians had not planted any corn at that place.

D. RANSON.

Sworn and subscribed this 10th day of June, 1794, at Pittsburgh, before me,
JOHN GIBSON.

Message from General Washington to Congress.

May 21, 1794.

Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives,

I LAY before you certain information, whereby it would appear that some encroachment was about to be made on our territory, by an officer and party of British troops. Proceeding upon a supposition of the authenticity of this information, although of a private nature, I have caused the representation to be made to the British minister, a copy of which accompanies this message.

It cannot be necessary to comment upon the very serious nature of such an encroachment, nor to urge that this new state of things suggests the propriety of placing the United States in a posture of effectual preparation for an event, which, notwithstanding the endeavours making to avert it, may, by circumstances beyond our controul, be forced upon us.

G. WASHINGTON.

Memorial from Mr. Jay, the American Minister Plenipotentiary at the British Court, to Lord Grenville.

THE undersigned Envoy of the United States of America has the honour of representing to the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, his Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for the department of foreign affairs:

That a very considerable number of American vessels have been irregularly captured, and as improperly condemned, by certain of his Majesty's officers and judges.

That, in various inſtances, theſe captures and condemnations were ſo conducted, and the captured placed under ſuch unfavourable circumſtances, as that, for want of the ſecurities required, and other obſtacles, no appeals were made in ſome caſes, nor any claims in others.

The underſigned preſumes that theſe facts will appear from the documents which he has had the honour of ſubmitting to his Lordſhip's conſideration; and that it will not be deemed neceſſary at preſent to particularize theſe caſes, and their merits, or detail the circumſtances, which diſcriminate ſome from others.

That great and extenſive injuries having thus, under colour of his Majeſty's authority and commiſſions, been done to a numerous claſs of American merchants, the United States can for reparation have recourſe only to the juſtice, authority, and interpoſition of his Majeſty. That the veſſels and property taken and condemned have been chiefly ſold, and the proceeds divided among a number of perſons, of whom ſome are dead, ſome unable to make retribution, and others, from frequent removals, and their particular circumſtances, not eaſily reached by civil proceſs.

That as for theſe loſſes and injuries, adequate compenſation, by means of judicial proceedings, has become impracticable; and conſidering the cauſes which combined to produce them, the United States confide in his Majeſty's juſtice and magnanimity, to cauſe ſuch compenſation to be made to theſe innocent ſufferers, as may be conſiſtent with equity: and the underſigned flatters himſelf, that ſuch principles may without difficulty be adopted, as will ſerve as rules whereby to aſcertain the caſes and the amount of compenſation.

So grievous are the expenſes and delays attending litigated ſuits, to perſons whoſe fortunes have been ſo materially affected; and ſo great is the diſtance of Great Britain from America, that the underſigned thinks he ought to expreſs his anxiety, that a mode of proceeding as ſummary and little expenſive may be deviſed, as circumſtances and the peculiar hardſhip of theſe caſes may appear to permit and require.

And as (at leaſt in ſome of theſe caſes) it may be expedient and neceſſary, as well as juſt, that the ſentences of the courts of vice-admiralty ſhould be reviſed and corrected by the court of appeals here, the underſigned hopes it will appear reaſonable to his Majeſty, to order that the captured in queſtion, (who have not already ſo done) be re-admitted to enter both their appeals and their claims.

The underſigned alſo finds it to be his duty to repreſent, that the irregularities before-mentioned extended not only to the capture and condemnation of American veſſels and property, and to unuſual and perſonal ſeverities, but even to the impreſſment of American citizens, to ſerve on board of armed veſſels. He forbears to dwell on the injuries done to theſe unfortunate individuals, or on the emotions which they

they muſt naturally excite, either in the breaſts of the nation to whom they belong, or to the juſt and humane of every country. His reliance on the juſtice and benevolence of his Majeſty, leads him to indulge a pleaſing expectation, that orders will be given, that Americans, ſo circumſtanced, be immediately liberated, and that perſons honoured with his Majeſty's commiſſions, do in future abſtain from ſimilar violences.

It is with cordial ſatisfaction that the underſigned reflects on the impreſſions which ſuch equitable and conciliatory meaſures would make on the minds of the United States, and how naturally they would inſpire and cheriſh theſe ſentiments and diſpoſitions, which never fail to preſerve, as well as to produce, reſpect, eſteem and friendſhip.

(Signed) JOHN JAY.

London, July 30, 1794.

ANSWER.

THE underſigned ſecretary of ſtate has had the honour to lay before the King the miniſterial note which he has received from Mr. Jay, envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary from the United States of America, reſpecting the alledged irregularity of the capture and condemnation of ſeveral American veſſels, and alſo reſpecting the circumſtances of perſonal ſeverity, by which thoſe proceedings are ſtated to have been accompanied in ſome particular inſtances.

The underſigned is authoriſed to aſſure Mr. Jay, that it is his Majeſty's wiſh, that the moſt complete and impartial juſtice ſhould be done to all the citizens of America, who may in fact have been injured by any of the proceedings above mentioned. All experience ſhews, that a naval war, extending over the four quarters of the globe, muſt unavoidably be productive of ſome inconveniencies to the commerce of neutral nations; and that no care can prevent ſome irregularities in the courſe of thoſe proceedings, which are univerſally recognized as reſulting from the juſt rights incident to all belligerent powers. But the King will always be deſirous that theſe inconveniencies and irregularities ſhould be as much limited as the nature of the caſe will admit, and that the fulleſt opportunity ſhould be given to all to prefer their complaints, and to obtain redreſs and compenſation where they are due.

In Mr. Jay's note, mention is made of ſeveral caſes where the parties have hitherto omitted to prefer their claims, and of others, where no appeals have been made from the ſentences of condemnation pronounced in the firſt inſtance.

As to the caſes of the firſt deſcription, Lord Grenville apprehends that the regular courſe of law is ſtill open to the claimants; and that by preferring appeals to the commiſſioners of prize cauſes here, againſt the ſentence of the courts below, the whole merits of thoſe caſes may be brought forward, and the moſt complete juſtice obtained.

In the caſes of ſecond deſcription, the proceedings might be difficult from the lapſe of the time uſually allotted for preferring

ring appeals. But his Majesty being anxious that no temporary or local circumstances, such as those to which Mr. Jay refers in his note, should impede the course of substantial justice, has been pleased to refer it to the proper officers to consider of a mode of enlarging the time for receiving the appeals, in those cases, in order to admit the claimants to bring their complaints before the regular court appointed for that purpose.

The undersigned has no doubt that in this manner a very considerable part of the injuries alledged to have been suffered by the Americans, may, if the complaints are well founded, be redressed in the usual course of judicial proceeding, at a very small expense to the parties, and without any other interposition of his Majesty's government than is above stated—until the result and effect of these proceedings shall be known, no definitive judgment can be formed respecting the nature and extent of those cases (if any such shall ultimately be found to exist,) where it shall not have been practicable to obtain substantial redress in this mode. But he does not hesitate to say beforehand, that if cases shall then be found to exist, to such an extent as properly to call for the interposition of government, where, without the fault of the parties complaining, they shall be unable, from whatever circumstances, to procure such redress in the ordinary course of law, as the justice of their cases may entitle them to expect, his Majesty will be anxious that justice should at all events be done, and will readily enter into the discussion of the measures to be adopted, and the principles to be established for that purpose.

With respect to all acts of personal severity and violence, as the King must entirely disapprove every such transaction, so his Majesty's Courts are always open for the punishment of offences of this nature; and for giving redress to the sufferers in every case where the fact can be established by satisfactory proof; nor does it appear that any case of that nature can exist, where there would be the smallest difficulty of obtaining, in that mode, substantial and exemplary justice.

On the subject of the impress, Lord Grenville has only to assure Mr. Jay, that if, in any instance, American seamen have been impressed into the King's service, it has been contrary to the King's desire; though such cases may have occasionally arisen from the difficulty of discriminating between British and American seamen, especially, where there so often exists an interest and intention to deceive:—whenever any representation has been made to Lord Grenville on the subject, he has never failed to receive his Majesty's commands for putting it in a proper course, in order that the facts might be inquired into, and ascertained; and to the intent that the persons in question might be released, if the facts appeared to be satisfactorily established.

With respect to the desire expressed by Mr. Jay, that new orders might be given with a view to prevent, as far as it is possible,

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the giving any juſt ground of complaint on this head, Lord Grenville has no reaſon to doubt that his Majeſty's intentions reſpecting this point are already ſufficiently underſtood by his Majeſty's officers employed on that ſervice: but he has, nevertheleſs, obtained his Majeſty's permiſſion to aſſure Mr. Jay, that, inſtructions to the effect deſired, will be renewed in conſequence of his application.

The underſigned avails himſelf with pleaſure of this opportunity to renew to Mr. Jay his aſſurances of his ſincere eſteem and conſideration.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Downing-ſtreet,
Auguſt 1, 1794.

Order of Council inſerted in the London Gazette, 9th Auguſt, 1794.

Preſent, the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

WHEREAS, in many of his Majeſty's vice-admiralty courts in the Weſt Indies, ſentences of condemnation have paſſed againſt ſhips and goods belonging to the ſubjects of the United States of America: and whereas, from ignorance of the rules reſpecting the times of appealing, or from inability to find the ſecurity required, or from other juſt and reaſonable impediments, the claimants have been prevented from duly entering and proſecuting their appeals from the ſaid ſentences: and whereas it hath been repreſented to his Majeſty, on their behalf, that they are deſirous of entering and proſecuting the ſame; his Majeſty is thereupon pleaſed, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that the ſaid parties ſhall be admitted to their reſpective appeals, notwithſtanding the ordinary times for entering and proſecuting the ſame may have elapſed, provided the ſame are entered and proſecuted within a reaſonable time, to be approved by the lords commiſſioners of appeals in prize cauſes.

STEPH. COTTRELL.

Inſtructions to the Commanders of all Ships of War and Privateers, that have, or may have, Letters of Marque againſt France. Given at our Court, at St. James's, the 18th day of Auguſt, 1794, in the 34th Year of our Reign.

George R. (L. S.)

WHEREAS by an article of our inſtructions to the commanders of our ſhips of war and privateers, having letters of marque againſt France, given at our court at St. James's, the 8th day of June, 1793, we thought fit to declare, that it ſhould be lawful to ſtop and detain all ſhips laden wholly, or in part, with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any port in France, or any port occupied by the armies of France, and to ſend them to ſuch ports as ſhould be moſt convenient, in order that ſuch corn, meal, or flour, might be purchaſed on behalf of our government, and the ſhips be releaſed after ſuch purchaſe, and after a due allowance for freight, or that the maſters of ſuch ſhips, on giving due ſecurity, to be approved by our court of admiralty, ſhould be

permitted to dispose of their cargoes of corn, meal, or flour, in the ports of any power in amity with us. We not judging it expedient to continue for the present the purchase of the said cargoes on behalf of our government, are pleased to revoke the said article, until our further order therein; and to declare that the same shall no longer remain in force. But we strictly enjoin all our commanders of our ships of war and privateers to observe the remaining articles of the said instructions; and likewise all other instructions which we have issued, and which still continue in force.

From the London Gazette, Oct. 18, 1794.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-governor Simcoe, to Mr. Secretary Dundas, dated Navyhall, August 30, 1794.

I TAKE an opportunity of sending this dispatch by means of Mr. Hammond, to whom I lose no time in giving information of the important event, that Mr. Wayne, with the army of the United States, penetrated to the fort at the Miami, which he summoned to surrender, and upon Major Campbell's refusal, at present appears to have retreated.

It is impossible to express the sense I entertain of Major Campbell's most wise, firm, and temperate conduct, in his very peculiar and difficult situation: such notice as the military part of it highly deserves, I presume will be offered to you by Lord Dorchester, who must be fully competent to judge of its merit; but I should do injustice to myself, did I not state to you, Sir, my humble and earnest hope that the conduct of this gentleman, which in substance may have prevented the greatest miseries to the province under my government, and who in his manner and language, has, in a very trying situation, most nobly supported the national character, will recommend him to your attention, and be found worthy of his Majesty's approbation.

Proclamation at Trenton, Nov. 10, 1794.

WHEREAS it has been officially communicated to me, that Mr. Fauchet, minister of the French Republic, apprehends, from circumstances which have been experienced, that unless prompt and decisive measures are adopted in the several ports of the United States, with regard to vessels hostile to the French nation and bringing in French prizes, the 17th article of the treaty of commerce between that nation and the United States will become null, which article is expressed in the following words: "it shall be lawful for the ships of war of either party, and privateers, freely to carry whithersoever they please, the ships and goods taken from their enemies, without being obliged to pay any duty to the officers of the admiralty, or any other judges, nor shall such prizes be arrested or seized when they enter the ports of either party, nor shall the searchers or other officers of those places search the same, or make examination concerning the lawfulness of such prizes,

prizes; but they may hoiſt ſail at any time, and depart, and carry their prizes to the places expreſſed in their commiſſions, which the commanders of ſuch ſhips of war ſhall be obliged to ſhew; on the contrary, no ſhelter or refuge ſhall be given in their ports, to ſuch as ſhall have made prizes of the ſubjects, people, or property of either parties; but if ſuch ſhall come in, being forced by ſtreſs of weather, or the danger of the ſea, all proper means ſhall be vigorouſly uſed that they go out and retire from thence as ſoon as poſſible."

And whereas it is the duty and intereſt of this ſtate, as a conſtituent member of the union, with ſincerity and good faith to obſerve ſolemn ſtipulations, I have thought proper, by and with the advice of the honourable the privy council of the ſtate, to iſſue this proclamation, hereby requiring the citizens of this ſtate carefully to avoid all acts and proceedings whatſoever, which may in any manner tend to contravene the ſaid article, enjoining all officers civil and military, according to the duties of their reſpective ſtations, to be vigilant and active in preventing any infraction thereof. And I do by theſe preſents further require the officers of the different ports within the ſtate, to report to the executive of the ſtate, from time to time, the conduct of any perſon or perſons who may be guilty of any violation of the injunction aforeſaid, ſhould any ſuch there be.

In teſtimony whereof I have hereunto ſet my hand and ſeal, at arms, at Trenton, the eighth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-four, and of the independence of the ſaid ſtate, the nineteenth.

THOMAS HENDERSON.

By the Vice-Preſident,
Tho. Adams, Sec.

From the London Gazette, Nov. 22, 1794.

Downing-ſtreet, Nov. 19.

THIS day a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his Majeſty and the United States of America, was ſigned by the Right Honourable Lord Grenville, his Majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, being duly authoriſed for that purpoſe on his Majeſty's part, and the Honourable John Jay, envoy extraordinary from the United States of America, having like authority on the part of the ſaid States.

Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between his Britannic Majeſty and the United States of America.

By their Preſident, with the Advice and Conſent of their Senate.

HIS Britannic Majeſty and the United States of America being deſirous, by a Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, to terminate their differences in ſuch a manner as, without reference to the merits of their reſpective complaints and pretenſions, may be the beſt calculated to produce mutual

mutual ſatisfaction and good underſtanding; and alſo to regulate the commerce and navigation between their reſpective countries, territories, and people, in ſuch a manner as to render the ſame reciprocal, beneficial, and ſatisfactory; they have reſpectively named their plenipotentiaries, and given them full power to treat of, and conclude the ſaid treaty; that is to ſay, his Britannic Majeſty has named for his plenipotentiary the Right Hon. Wm. Windham, Baron Grenville of Wotton, one of his Majeſty's Privy Council, and his Majeſty's principal Secretary of State for foreign affairs: and the Preſident of the ſaid United States, by and with the advice and conſent of the Senate thereof, hath appointed for their plenipotentiary the Hon. John Jay, Chief Juſtice of the ſaid United States, and their Envoy Extraordinary to his Majeſty, who have agreed on, and concluded the following

ARTICLES:

Art. I. There ſhall be a firm, inviolable, and univerſal peace, and a true and ſincere friendſhip between his Britannic Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and the United States of America; and between their reſpective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people of every degree, without exception of perſons or places.

II. His Majeſty will withdraw all his troops and garriſons from all poſts and places within the boundary lines aſſigned by the treaty of peace to the United States. This evacuation ſhall take place on or before the firſt day of June, 1796, and all the proper meaſures ſhall, in the interval, be taken by concert between the government of the United States and his Majeſty's Governor-general in America, for ſettling the previous arrangements which may be neceſſary reſpecting the delivery of the ſaid poſts: the United States, in the meantime, at their diſcretion, extending their ſettlements to any part within the ſaid boundary line, except within the precincts or juriſdiction of any of the ſaid poſts. All ſettlers and traders within the precincts or juriſdiction of the ſaid poſts ſhall continue to enjoy, unmoleſted, all their property of every kind, and ſhall be protected therein. They ſhall be at full liberty to remain there, or to remove with all or any part of their effects; and it ſhall alſo be free to them to ſell their lands, houſes, or effects, or to retain the property thereof, at their diſcretion: ſuch of them as ſhall continue to reſide within the ſaid boundary lines ſhall not be compelled to become citizens of the United States, or to take any oath of allegiance to the government thereof; but they ſhall be at full liberty ſo to do if they think proper, and they ſhall make and declare their election within one year after the evacuation aforeſaid. And all perſons who ſhall continue there after the expiration of the ſaid year without having declared their intention of remaining ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, ſhall be conſidered as having

having elected to become citizens of the United States.

III. It is agreed, that it shall at all times be free to his Majesty's subjects, and to the citizens of the United States, and also to the Indians dwelling on either side of the said boundary line, freely to pass and repass, by land or inland navigation, into the respective territories and countries of the two parties on the continent of America (the country within the limits of the Hudson's Bay Company only excepted), and to navigate all the lakes, rivers, and waters thereof, and freely to carry on trade or commerce with each other. But it is understood that this article does not extend to the admission of vessels of the United States into the sea ports, harbours, bays, or creeks, of his Majesty's said territories; nor into such parts of the rivers in his Majesty's said territories as are between the mouth thereof and the highest port entry from the sea, except in small vessels trading *bona fide* between Montreal and Quebec, under such regulations as shall be established to prevent the possibility of any frauds in this respect; nor to the admission of British vessels from the sea into the rivers of the United States, beyond the highest ports of entry for foreign vessels from the sea. The river Mississippi shall, however, according to the treaty of peace, be entirely open to both parties; and it is further agreed, that all the ports and places on its eastern side, to whichsoever of the parties belonging, may freely be resorted to, and used by both parties, in as ample a manner as any of the Atlantic ports or places of the United States, or any of the ports or places of his Majesty in Great Britain.

All goods and merchandise, whose importation into his Majesty's said territories in America shall not be entirely prohibited, may freely, for the purpose of commerce, be carried into the same, in manner aforesaid, by the citizens of the United States, and such goods and merchandise shall be subject to no higher or other duties than would be payable by his Majesty's subjects on the importation of the same from Europe into the said territories. And in like manner all goods and merchandise, whose importation into the United States shall not be wholly prohibited, may freely, for the purpose of commerce, be carried into the same, in the manner aforesaid, by his Majesty's subjects; and such goods or merchandise shall be subject to no higher or other duties than would be payable by the citizens of the United States on the importation of the same, in American vessels, into the Atlantic ports of the said States. And all goods not prohibited to be exported into the said territories respectively, may in like manner be carried out of the same by the two parties respectively, paying duty as aforesaid.

No duty of entry shall ever be levied by either party, on peltries brought by land or inland navigation into the said territories respectively; nor shall the Indians, passing or re-passing with their own proper goods and effects, of whatever nature, pay for the

the ſame any impoſt or duty whatever. But goods in bales, or other large packages unuſual among Indians, ſhall not be conſidered as goods belonging *bona fide* to Indians.

No higher or other tolls or rates of ferriage than what are or ſhall be payable by natives, ſhall be demanded on either ſide; and no duties ſhall be payable on any goods which ſhall merely be carried over any of the portages or carrying places on either ſide, for the purpoſe of being immediately re-embarked and carried to ſome other place or places. But as by this ſtipulation it is only meant to ſecure to each party a free paſſage acroſs the portages on both ſides, it is agreed, that this exemption from duty ſhall extend only to ſuch goods as are carried in the uſual and direct road acroſs the portage, and are not attempted to be in any manner ſold or exchanged during their paſſage acroſs the ſame, and proper regulations may be eſtabliſhed to prevent the poſſibility of any frauds in this reſpect.

As this article is intended to render in a great degree the local advantages of each party common to both, and thereby to promote a diſpoſition favourable to friendſhip and good neighbourhood, it is agreed, that the reſpective governments will mutually promote this amicable intercourſe, by cauſing ſpeedy and impartial juſtice to be done, and neceſſary protection to be extended to all who may be concerned therein.

IV. Whereas it is uncertain whether the river Miſſiſſippi extends ſo far to the northward as to be interſected by a line to be drawn due weſt from the lake of the woods in the manner mentioned in the treaty of peace between his Majeſty and the United States, it is agreed, that meaſures ſhall be taken to concert with his Majeſty's government in America, and the government of the United States, for making a joint ſurvey of the ſaid river from one degree of latitude below the falls of St. Anthony, to the principal ſource or ſources of the ſaid river, and alſo of the parts adjacent thereto; and that if on the reſult of ſuch ſurvey, it ſhould appear that the ſaid river would not be interſected by ſuch a line as is above-mentioned, the two parties will thereupon proceed by amicable negociation to regulate the boundary line in that quarter, as well as all other points to be adjuſted between the ſaid parties, according to juſtice and mutual convenience, and in conformity to the intent of the ſaid treaty.

V. Whereas doubts have ariſen what river was truly intended under the name of the river St. Croix, mentioned in the ſaid treaty of peace, and forming a part of the boundary therein deſcribed, that queſtion ſhall be referred to the final deciſion of the commiſſioners to be appointed in the following manner, viz.

One commiſſioner ſhall be named by his Majeſty, and one by the Preſident of the United States, by and with the advice and conſent of the Senate thereof, and the ſaid two commiſſioners ſhall agree on the choice of a third; or if they cannot ſo agree, they ſhall each propoſe one perſon, and of

of the two names ſo propoſed, one ſhall be drawn by lot in the preſence of the two original commiſſioners. And the three commiſſioners ſo appointed, ſhall be ſworn impartially to examine and decide the ſaid queſtion according to ſuch evidence as ſhall reſpectively be laid before them on the part of the Britiſh Government and of the United States. The ſaid commiſſioners ſhall meet at Halifax, and ſhall have power to adjourn to ſuch other place or places as they ſhall think fit. They ſhall have power to appoint a ſecretary, and to employ ſuch ſurveyors or other perſons as they ſhall judge neceſſary. The ſaid commiſſioners ſhall, by a declaration under their hands and ſeals, declare what river is the river St. Croix intended by the treaty. The ſaid declaration ſhall contain a deſcription of the ſaid river, and ſhall particularize the latitude and longitude of its mouth, and of its ſource. Duplicates of this declaration, and of the ſtatements of their accounts, and of the journal of their proceedings, ſhall be delivered by them to the agent of his Majeſty, and to the agent of the United States, who may be reſpectively appointed and authoriſed to manage the buſineſs on behalf of the reſpective governments. And both parties agree to conſider ſuch deciſion as final and concluſive, ſo as that the ſame ſhall never thereafter be called into queſtion, or made the ſubject of diſpute or difference between them.

VI. Whereas it is alledged by divers Britiſh merchants and others, his Majeſty's ſubjects, that debts to a conſiderable amount, which were *bona fide* contracted before the peace, ſtill remain owing to them by citizens or inhabitants of the United States, and that by the operation of various lawful impediments ſince the peace, not only the full recovery of the ſaid debts has been delayed, but alſo the value and ſecurity thereof have been in ſeveral inſtances impaired and leſſened, ſo that by the ordinary courſe of judicial proceedings, the Britiſh creditors cannot now obtain, and actually have and receive full and adequate compenſation for the loſſes and damages which they have thereby ſuſtained: it is agreed, that in all ſuch caſes where full compenſation for ſuch loſſes and damages cannot, for whatever reaſon, be actually obtained, had, and received by the ſaid creditors in the ordinary courſe of juſtice, the United States will make full and complete compenſation for the ſame to the ſaid creditors: but it is diſtinctly underſtood, that this proviſion is to extend to ſuch loſſes only as have been occaſioned by the lawful impediments aforeſaid, and is not to extend to loſſes occaſioned by ſuch inſolvency of the debtors, or other cauſes as would equally have operated to produce ſuch loſs, if the ſaid impediments had not exiſted, nor to ſuch loſſes or damages as have been occaſioned by the manifeſt delay or negligence, or wilful omiſſion of the claimant.

For the purpoſe of aſcertaining the amount of any ſuch loſſes and damages, five commiſſioners ſhall be appointed, and authoriſed to meet

meet and act in manner following, viz.—Two of them shall be appointed by his Majesty, two of them by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and the fifth by the unanimous voice of the other four; and if they should not agree in such choice, then the commissioners named by the two parties shall respectively propose one person, and of the two names so proposed, one shall be drawn by lot in the presence of the four original commissioners.

When the five commissioners thus appointed shall first meet, they shall, before they proceed to act, respectively take the following oath or affirmation, in the presence of each other, which oath or affirmation being so taken, and duly attested, shall be entered on the record of their proceedings; viz. "I, A. B. one of the commissioners appointed in pursuance of the 6th Article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, do solemnly swear or affirm, that I will honestly, diligently, impartially, and carefully examine, and to the best of my judgment, according to justice and equity, decide all such complaints, as under the said article shall be preferred to the said commissioners; and that I will forbear to act as a commissioner in any case in which I may be personally interested."

Three of the said commissioners shall constitute a board, and shall have power to do any act appertaining to the said commission, provided that one of the commissioners named on each side, and the fifth commissioner shall be present, and all decisions shall be made by the majority of the voices of the commissioners then present; eighteen months from the day on which the said commissioners shall form a board, and be ready to proceed to business, are assigned for receiving complaints and applications; but they are nevertheless authorised in any particular cases, in which it shall appear to them to be reasonable and just, to extend the said term of eighteen months for any term not exceeding six months, after the expiration thereof. The said commissioners shall first meet at Philadelphia, but they shall have power to adjourn from place to place as they shall see cause.

The said commissioners, in examining the complaints and applications so preferred to them, are empowered and required, in pursuance of the true intent and meaning of this article, to take into their consideration all claims, whether of principal or interest, or balances of principal and interest, and to determine the same respectively, according to the merits of the several cases, due regard being had to all the circumstances thereof, and as equity and justice shall appear to them to require. And the said commissioners shall have power to examine all such persons as shall come before them on oath or affirmation, touching the premises; and also to receive in evidence, according as they may think most consistent with equity and justice, all written depositions, or books, or papers, or copies, or extracts thereof; every such deposition, book,

book, or paper, or extract, being duly authenticated, either according to the legal forms now reſpectively exiſting in the two countries, or in ſuch other manner as the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall ſee cauſe to require or allow.

The award of the ſaid commiſſioners, or of any three of them as aforeſaid, ſhall in all caſes be final and concluſive. both as to the juſtice of the claim, and to the amount of the ſum to be paid to the creditor or claimant, and the United States undertake to cauſe the ſum ſo awarded to be paid in ſpecie to ſuch creditor or claimant without deduction, and at ſuch time or times, and at ſuch place or places, as ſhall be awarded by the ſaid commiſſioners; and on condition of ſuch releaſes or aſſignments to be given by the creditor or claimant, as by the ſaid commiſſioners may be directed; provided always, that no ſuch payments ſhall be fixed by the ſaid commiſſioners to take place ſooner than twelve months, from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

VII. Whereas complaints have been made by divers merchants and others, citizens of the United States, that during the courſe of the war in which his Majeſty is now engaged, they have ſuſtained conſiderable loſſes and damage by reaſon of irregular or illegal captures or condemnations of their veſſels and other property, under colour of authority or commiſſions from his Majeſty; and that from various circumſtances belonging to the ſaid caſes, adequate compenſation for the loſſes and damages ſo ſuſtained cannot now be actually obtained, had, and received by the ordinary courſe of judicial proceedings; it is agreed in all ſuch caſes where adequate compenſation cannot, for whatever reaſon, be now actually obtained, had, and received by ſaid merchants or others in the ordinary courſe of juſtice, full and complete compenſation for the ſame will be made by the Britiſh Government to the ſaid complainants. But it is diſtinctly underſtood that this proviſion is not to extend to ſuch loſſes or damages as have been occaſioned by the manifeſt delay or negligence, or wilful omiſſion of the claimants.

That for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the amount of any ſuch loſſes or damages, five commiſſioners ſhall be appointed and authoriſed to act in London, exactly in the manner directed with reſpect to thoſe mentioned in the preceding article, and after having taken the ſame oath or affirmation *(mutatis mutandis,)* the ſame term of eighteen months is alſo aſſigned for the reception of claims, and they are in like manner authoriſed to extend the ſame in particular caſes. They ſhall receive teſtimony, books, papers, and evidence in the ſame latitude, and exerciſe the like diſcretion and powers reſpecting that ſubject; and ſhall decide the claims in queſtion according to the merits of the ſeveral caſes, and to juſtice, equity, and the laws of nations. The award of the commiſſioners, or any ſuch three of them as aforeſaid, ſhall in all caſes be final and concluſive, both as to the juſtice of the claim, and the amount of the ſum to be paid

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to the claimant; and his Britannic Majesty undertakes to cause the same to be paid to such claimant in specie, without any deduction, at such place or places, and at such time or times as shall be awarded by the same commissioners, and on condition of such releases or assignments to be given by the claimants, as by the said commissioners may be directed.

And whereas certain merchants and others, his Majesty's subjects, complain, that in the course of the war, they have sustained loss and damage by reason of the capture of the vessels and merchandize taken within the limits and jurisdiction of the States, and brought into the ports of the same, or taken by vessels originally armed in ports of the said States.

It is agreed, that in such cases where restitution shall not have been made agreeably to the tenor of the letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Hammond, dated at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1793, a copy of which is annexed to this treaty; the complaints of the parties shall be, and hereby are referred to the commissioners to be appointed by virtue of this article, who are hereby authorized and required to proceed in the like manner relative to these as to the other cases committed to them; and the United States undertake to pay to the complainants, or claimants, in specie, without deduction, the amount of such sums as shall be awarded to them respectively by the said commissioners, and at the times and places which in such awards shall be specified; and on condition of such releases or assignments to be given by the claimants as in the said awards may be directed. And it it is further agreed, that not only the new existing cases of both descriptions, but also all such as shall exist at the time of exchanging the ratifications of this treaty, shall be considered within the provisions, intent, and meaning of this article.

VIII. It is further agreed, that the commissioners mentioned in the two preceding articles shall be respectively paid in such a manner as shall be agreed between the two parties; such agreement being to be settled at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty. And all other expences attending the said commissioners, shall be defrayed jointly by the two parties, the same being previously ascertained and allowed by the majority of the commissioners. And in the case of death, sickness, or necessary absence, the place of every such commissioner respectively, shall be supplied in the same manner as such commissioner was appointed, and the new commissioners shall take the same oath or affirmation, and do the same duties.

IX. It is agreed that British subjects, who now hold lands in the territories of the United States; and American citizens, who now hold lands in the dominions of his Majesty, shall continue to hold them according to the nature and tenure of their respective states and titles therein; and may grant, sell, or devise the same to whom they please, in like manner as if they were natives; and that neither they, nor their heirs

or assigns, shall, so far as may respect the said lands, and the legal remedies incident thereto, be regarded as aliens.

X. Neither the debts due from individuals of the one nation to individuals of the other, nor shares, nor monies which they may have in the public funds, or in the public or private banks, shall ever in any event of war or national differences, be sequestered or confiscated; it being unjust and impolitic, that debts and engagements contracted, and made by individuals, having confidence in each other, and in their respective governments, should ever be destroyed or impaired by national authority, on account of national differences and discontents.

XI. It is agreed between his Majesty and the United States of America, that there shall be a reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between their respective people, in the manner, under the limitations, and on the conditions specified in the following articles.

XII. His Majesty consents, that it shall and may be lawful, during the time hereinafter limited, for the citizens of the United States to carry to any of his Majesty's islands and ports in the West Indies from the United States, in their own vessels, not being above the burthen of seventy tons, any goods or merchandizes, being of the growth, manufacture, or produce of the said States, which it is or may be lawful to carry to the said islands or ports from the said States in British vessels; and that the said American vessels shall be subject there to no other or higher tonnage duties or charges than shall be payable by British vessels in the ports of the United States; and that the cargoes of the said American vessels shall be subject there to no other or higher duties or charges than shall be payable on the like articles, if imported there from the said States in British vessels.

And his Majesty also consents that it shall be lawful for the said American citizens to purchase, load, and carry away in their said vessels, to the United States, from the said islands and ports, all such articles, being of the growth, manufacture, or produce of the said islands, as may now by law be carried from thence to the said States in British vessels, and subject only to the same duties and charges on exportation to which British vessels and their cargoes are or shall be subject in similar circumstances.

Provided always, that the said American vessels do carry and land their cargoes in the United States only, it being expressly agreed and declared, that during the continuance of this article, the United States will prohibit and restrain the carrying any molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa, or cotton, in American vessels, either from his Majesty's islands or from the United States, to any part of the world, except the United States, reasonable sea stores excepted.

Provided also, that it shall and may be lawful, during the same period, for British vessels to import from the said islands into the United States, and to export from the United States to the said islands, all articles whatever, being

ing of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the ſaid iſlands, or of the United States reſpectively, which now may by the laws of the ſaid States be ſo imported and exported. And that the cargoes of the ſaid Britiſh veſſels ſhall be ſubject to no other or higher duties or charges, than ſhall be payable on the ſame articles, if ſo imported or exported in American veſſels.

It is agreed that this article, and every matter and thing therein contained, ſhall continue to be in force during the continuance of the war in which his Majeſty is now engaged; and alſo for two years, from and after the day of the ſignature of the preliminary or other articles of peace by which the ſame may be terminated.

And it is further agreed, that at the expiration of the ſaid term, the two contracting parties will endeavour further to regulate their commerce in this reſpect, according to the ſituation in which his Majeſty may then find himſelf with reſpect to the Weſt Indies, and with a view to ſuch arrangements as may beſt conduce to the mutual advantage and extenſion of commerce.

And the ſaid parties will then alſo renew their diſcuſſions, and endeavour to agree, whether in any or what caſes, neutral veſſels ſhall protect enemy's property; and in what caſes, proviſions and other articles, not generally contraband, may become ſuch. But in the meantime, their conduct towards each other in theſe reſpects ſhall be regulated by the articles hereinafter inſerted on thoſe ſubjects.

XIII. His Majeſty conſents that the veſſels belonging to the citizens of the United States of America ſhall be admitted and hoſpitably received in all the ſea ports and harbours of the Britiſh territories in the Eaſt Indies. And that the citizens of the ſaid United States may freely carry on a trade between the ſaid territories and the ſaid United States in all articles of which the importation or exportation reſpectively to or from the ſaid territories, ſhall not be entirely prohibited. Provided only, that it ſhall not be lawful for them, in any time of war between the Britiſh government and any other power or ſtate whatever, to export from the ſaid territories, without the ſpecial permiſſion of the Britiſh government there, any military ſtores or naval ſtores or rice. The citizens of the United States ſhall pay for their veſſels, when admitted into the ſaid ports, no other or higher tonnage duty than ſhall be payable on Britiſh veſſels when admitted into the ports of the United States. And they ſhall pay no other or higher duties or charges on the importation or exportation of the cargoes of the ſaid veſſels, than ſhall be payable on the ſame articles when imported or exported in Britiſh veſſels. But it is expreſsly agreed, that the veſſels of the United States ſhall not carry any of the articles exported by them from the ſaid Britiſh territories to any port or place, except to ſome port or place in America, where the ſame ſhall be unladen, and

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ſuch regulations ſhall be adopted by both parties, as ſhall from time to time be found neceſſary to enforce the due and faithful obſervance of this ſtipulation.

It is alſo underſtood, that the permiſſion granted by this article is not to extend to allow the veſſels of the United States to carry on any part of the coaſting trade of the ſaid Britiſh territories; but veſſels going with their original cargoes, or part thereof, from one port of diſcharge to another, are not to be conſidered as carrying on the coaſting trade. Neither is this article to be conſtrued to allow the citizens of the ſaid States to ſettle or reſide within the ſaid territories, or to go into the interior parts thereof, without the permiſſion of the Britiſh government eſtabliſhed there; and if any tranſgreſſion ſhould be attempted againſt the regulations of the Britiſh government in this reſpect, the obſervance of the ſame ſhall and may be enforced againſt the citizens of America, in the ſame manner as againſt Britiſh ſubjects or others tranſgreſſing the ſame rule. And the citizens of the United States, whenever they arrive in any port or harbour in the ſaid territories, or if they ſhould be permitted in manner aforeſaid to go to any other place therein, ſhall always be ſubject to the laws, government, and juriſdiction of what nature eſtabliſhed in ſuch harbour, port, or place, according as the ſame may be; the citizens of the United States may alſo touch for refreſhment at the iſland of St. Helena, but ſubject in all reſpects to ſuch regulations as the Britiſh government may from time to time eſtabliſh there.

XIV. There ſhall be between all the dominions of his Majeſty in Europe, and the territories of the United States, a reciprocal and perfect liberty of commerce and navigation. The people and inhabitants of the two countries reſpectively ſhall have liberty freely and ſecurely, and without hindrance and moleſtation, to come with their ſhips and cargoes to the lands, countries, cities, ports, places, and rivers within the dominions and territories aforeſaid, to enter into the ſame, to reſort there, and to remain and reſide there without any limitation of time; and alſo to hire and poſſeſs houſes and warehouſes for the purpoſes of their commerce, and generally the merchants and traders on each ſide ſhall enjoy the moſt complete protection and ſecurity for their commerce, but ſubject always, as to what reſpects this article, to the laws and ſtatutes of the two countries reſpectively.

XV. It is agreed that no other or higher duties ſhall be paid by the ſhips or merchandize of the one party in the ports of the other, than ſuch as are paid by the like veſſels or merchandize of all other nations. Nor ſhall any other or higher duty be impoſed in one country on the importation of any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, than are or ſhall be payable on the importation of the like articles, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any other foreign country. Nor ſhall any prohibition be impoſed on the exportation or importation of any

articles to or from the territories of the two parties reſpectively, which ſhall not equally extend to all other nations.

But the Britiſh government reſerves to itſelf the right of impoſing on American veſſels, entering into the Britiſh ports in Europe, a tonnage duty equal to that which ſhall be payable by Britiſh veſſels in the ports of America; and alſo ſuch duty as may be adequate to countervail the difference of duty now payable on the importation of European and Aſiatic goods, when imported into the United States in Britiſh or in American veſſels.

The two parties agree to treat for the more exact equalization of the duties on the reſpective navigation of their ſubjects and people in ſuch manner as may be moſt beneficial to the two countries. The arrangements for this purpoſe ſhall be made at the ſame time with theſe mentioned at the concluſion of the twelfth article of this treaty, and are to be conſidered as a part thereof. In the interval it is agreed, that the United States will not impoſe any new or additional tonnage duties on Britiſh veſſels, nor increaſe the now ſubſiſting difference between the duties payable on the importation of any articles in Britiſh or in American veſſels.

XVI. It ſhall be free for the two contracting parties reſpectively to appoint conſuls for the protection of trade, to reſide in the dominions and territories aforeſaid, and the ſaid conſuls ſhall enjoy thoſe liberties and rights which belong to them by reaſon of their function. But before any conſul ſhall act as ſuch, he ſhall be in the uſual forms approved and admitted by the party to whom he is ſent; and it is hereby declared to be lawful and proper, that in caſe of illegal or improper conduct towards the laws or government, a conſul may either be puniſhed according to law, if the laws will reach the caſe, or be diſmiſſed, or even ſent back, the offended government aſſigning to the other their reaſons for the ſame.

Either of the parties may except from the reſidence of conſuls, ſuch particular places as ſuch party ſhall judge proper to be ſo excepted.

XVII. It is agreed, that in all caſes where veſſels ſhall be captured or detained on juſt ſuſpicion of having on board enemy's property, or of carrying to the enemy any of the articles which are contraband of war; the ſaid veſſel ſhall be brought to the neareſt or moſt convenient port; and if any property of an enemy ſhould be found on board ſuch veſſel, that part only which belongs to the enemy ſhall be made prize, and the veſſel ſhall be at liberty to proceed with the remainder without any impediment. And it is agreed, that all proper meaſures ſhall be taken to prevent delay in deciding the caſes of ſhips or cargoes ſo brought in for adjudication; and in the payment or recovery of any indemnification adjudged or agreed to be paid to the maſters or owners of ſuch ſhips.

XVII. In order to regulate what is in future to be deemed contraband of war, it is agreed, that under the ſaid denomination

ſhall be compriſed all arms and implements ſerving for the purpoſes of war, by land or by ſea, ſuch as cannon, muſquets, mortars, petarns, bombs, grenadoes, carcaſes, fauciſſes, carriages for cannon, muſquet-reſts, bandoliers, gunpowder, match, ſaltpetre, ball, pikes, ſwords, head-pieces, cuiraſſes, halberts, lances, javelins, horſe furniture, holſters, belts, and generally all other implements of war; as alſo timber for ſhipbuilding, tar or roſin, copper in ſheets, ſails, hemp and cordage, and generally whatever may ſerve directly to the equipment of veſſels, unwrought iron and fir planks only excepted; and all the above articles are hereby declared to be juſt objects of confiſcation, whenever they are attempted to be carried to an enemy.

And whereas the difficulty of agreeing on the preciſe caſes in which alone proviſions and other articles not generally contraband, may be regarded as ſuch, renders it expedient to provide againſt the inconveniencies and miſunderſtandings which might thence ariſe: it is further agreed, that whenever any ſuch articles ſo becoming contraband according to the exiſting laws of nations, ſhall for that reaſon be ſeized, the ſame ſhall not be confiſcated, but the owners thereof ſhall be ſpeedily and completely indemnified: and the captors, or in their default the government under whoſe authority they act, ſhall pay to the maſters or owners of ſuch veſſels the full value of all articles, with a reaſonable mercantile profit thereon, together with the freight, and alſo the demurrage incident to ſuch detention.

And whereas it frequently happens that veſſels ſail for a port or place belonging to an enemy, without knowing that the ſame is either beſieged, blockaded, or inveſted; it is agreed, that every veſſel ſo circumſtanced may be turned away from ſuch port or place, but ſhe ſhall not be detained, nor her cargo, if not contraband, be confiſcated, unleſs after notice ſhe ſhall again attempt to enter; but ſhe ſhall be permitted to go to any other port or place ſhe may think proper; nor ſhall any veſſel or goods of either party that may have entered into ſuch port or place, before the ſame was beſieged, blockaded, or inveſted by the other, and be found therein after the reduction or ſurrender of ſuch place, be liable to confiſcation, but ſhall be reſtored to the owners or proprietors thereof.

XIX. And that more abundant care be taken for the ſecurity of the reſpective ſubjects and citizens of the contracting parties, and to prevent their ſuffering injuries by the men of war or privateers of either party, all commanders of ſhips of war and privateers, and all others the ſaid ſubjects and citizens, ſhall forbear to do any damage to thoſe of the other party, or committing any outrage againſt them; and if they act to the contrary, they ſhall be puniſhed, and ſhall alſo be bound in their perſons and eſtates to make ſatisfaction and reparation for all damages, and the intereſt thereof, of whatever nature the ſaid damages may be.

For

For this cauſe, all commanders of privateers before they receive their commiſſions, ſhall hereafter be obliged to give, before a competent judge, ſufficient ſecurity by at leaſt two reſponſible ſureties, who have no intereſt in the ſaid privateer, each of whom, together with the ſaid commander, ſhall be jointly and ſeverally bound in the ſum of fifteen hundred pounds ſterling, or if ſuch ſhip be provided with above one hundred and fifty ſeamen or ſoldiers, in the ſum of three thouſand pounds ſterling, to ſatisfy all damages and injuries which the ſaid privateer, or officers, or men, or any of them, may do or commit during their cruiſe, contrary to the tenor of this treaty, or to the laws and inſtructions for regulating their conduct; and further, that in all caſes of aggreſſion, the ſaid commiſſions ſhall be revoked and annulled.

It is alſo agreed, that whenever a judge of a court of admiralty of either of the parties ſhall pronounce ſentence againſt any veſſel of goods or property belonging to the ſubjects or citizens of the other party, a formal and duly authenticated copy of all the proceedings in the cauſe, and of the ſaid ſentence, ſhall, if required, be delivered to the commander of the ſaid veſſel without the ſmalleſt delay, he paying all legal fees and demands for the ſame.

XX. It is further agreed, that both the ſaid contracting parties ſhall not only refuſe to receive any pirates into any of their ports, havens, or towns, or permit any of their inhabitants to receive, protect, harbour, conceal, or aſſiſt them in any manner, but will bring to condign puniſhment all ſuch inhabitants as ſhall be guilty of ſuch acts or offences.

And all their ſhips, with the goods or merchandizes taken by them, and brought into the port of either of the ſaid parties, ſhall be ſeized as far as they can be diſcovered, and ſhall be reſtored to the owners, or the factors or agents duly deputed and authoriſed in writing by them, (proper evidence being firſt in the court of admiralty for proving the property,) even in caſe ſuch effects ſhould have paſſed into other hands by ſale, if it be proved that the buyers knew or had good reaſon to believe or ſuſpect that they had been piratically taken.

XXI. It is likewiſe agreed, that the ſubjects and citizens of the two nations ſhall not do any acts of hoſtility or violence againſt each other, nor accept commiſſions or inſtructions ſo to act from any foreign prince or ſtate, enemies to the other party: nor ſhall the enemies of one of the parties be permitted to invite, or endeavour to enliſt in the military ſervice any of the ſubjects or citizens of the other party; and the laws againſt all ſuch offences ſhall be punctually executed. And if any ſubject or citizen of the ſaid parties reſpectively ſhall accept any foreign commiſſion or letters of marque for arming any veſſel to act as a privateer againſt the other party, and be taken by the other party, it is hereby declared to be lawful for the ſaid party to treat and puniſh the ſaid ſubject or citizen having ſuch commiſſion or letters of marque, as a pirate.

XXII. It

XXII. It is expreſsly ſtipulated, that neither of the ſaid contracting parties will order or authoriſe any acts of repriſal againſt the other, on complaints of injuries or damages, until the ſaid party ſhall firſt have preſented to the other a ſtatement thereof, verified by competent proof and evidence, and demanding juſtice and ſatisfaction, and the ſame ſhall either have been refuſed or unreaſonably delayed.

XXIII. The ſhips of war of each of the contracting parties ſhall at all times be hoſpitably received into the ports of the other, their officers and crews paying due reſpect to the laws and government of the country. The officers ſhall be treated with that reſpect which is due to the commiſſions which they bear; and if any inſult ſhould be offered to them by any of the inhabitants, all offenders in this reſpect ſhall be puniſhed as diſturbers of the peace and amity between the two countries. And his Majeſty conſents that in caſe an American veſſel ſhould, by ſtreſs of weather, danger from enemies or other misfortunes, be reduced to the neceſſity of ſeeking ſhelter in any of his Majeſty's ports, into which ſuch veſſel could not in ordinary caſes claim to be admitted, ſhe ſhall, on manifeſting that neceſſity to the ſatisfaction of the government of the place, be hoſpitably received, and permitted to refit and to purchaſe at the market price ſuch neceſſaries as ſhe may ſtand in need of, conformably to ſuch orders and regulations as the government of the place, having reſpect to circumſtances of each caſe, ſhall preſcribe. She ſhall not be allowed to break bulk or unload her cargo, unleſs the ſame ſhall be *bona fide* neceſſary to her being refitted; nor ſhall ſhe be permitted to ſell any part of her cargo, unleſs ſo much only as may be neceſſary to defray her expences, and then not without the expreſs permiſſion of the government of the place; nor ſhall ſhe be obliged to pay any duties whatever, except only on ſuch articles as ſhe may be permitted to ſell for the purpoſe aforeſaid.

XXIV. It ſhall not be lawful for any foreign privateers (not being ſubjects or citizens of either of the ſaid parties) who have commiſſions from any other prince or ſtate in enmity with either nation, to arm their ſhips in the ports of either of the ſaid parties, nor ſell what they have taken, nor in any other manner to exchange the ſame; nor ſhall they be allowed to purchaſe more proviſions than ſhall be neceſſary for their going to the neareſt port of that prince or ſtate from whom they obtained their commiſſions.

XXV. It ſhall be lawful for the ſhips of war and privateers belonging to the ſaid parties reſpectively, to carry whitherſoever they pleaſe the ſhips and goods taken from their enemies, without being obliged to pay any fee to the officers of the admiralty, or to any judges whatever; nor ſhall the ſaid prizes, when they arrive at, and enter the ports of the ſaid parties, be detained or ſeized; neither ſhall the ſearchers or other officers of thoſe places viſit ſuch prizes, (except for the purpoſe of preventing the carrying of any part

part of the cargo thereof on ſhore in any manner contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of revenue, navigation, or commerce) nor ſhall ſuch officers take cognizance of the validity of ſuch prizes; but they ſhall be at liberty to hoiſt ſail and depart as ſpeedily as may be, and carry the ſaid prizes to the place mentioned in their commiſſions or patents, which the commanders of the ſaid ſhips of war or privateers ſhall be obliged to ſhew.

No ſhelter or refuge ſhall be given in their ports to ſuch as have made a prize upon the ſubjects or citizens of either of the ſaid parties; but if forced by ſtreſs of weather, or the danger of the ſea, to enter therein, particular care ſhall be taken to haſten their departure, and to cauſe them to retire as ſoon as poſſible. Nothing in this treaty contained ſhall however be conſtrued or operate contrary to former or exiſting public treaties with other ſovereigns or ſtates. But the two parties agree, that while they continue in amity, neither of them will in future make any treaty that ſhall be inconſiſtent with this or the preceding article.

Neither of the ſaid parties ſhall permit the ſhips or goods belonging to the ſubjects or citizens of the other to be taken within cannon ſhot of the coaſt, nor in any of the bays, ports, or rivers of their territories, by ſhips of war or others having commiſſion from any prince, republic, or ſtate whatever. But in caſe it ſhould ſo happen, the party whoſe territorial rights ſhall thus have been violated, ſhall uſe his utmoſt endeavours to obtain from the offending party full and ample ſatisfaction for the veſſel or veſſels ſo taken, whether the ſame be veſſels of war or merchant veſſels.

XXVI. If at any time a rupture ſhould take place (which God forbid) between his Majeſty and the United States, the merchants and others of each of the two nations, reſiding in the dominions of the other, ſhall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade, ſo long as they behave peaceably and commit no offence againſt the laws; and in caſe their conduct ſhould render them ſuſpected, and the reſpective governments ſhould think proper to order them to remove, the term of twelve months, from the publication of the order, ſhall be allowed them for that purpoſe, to remove with their families, effects, and property; but this favour ſhall not be extended to thoſe who ſhall act contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws: and for greater certainty, it is declared that ſuch rupture ſhall not be deemed to exiſt while negotiations for accommodating differences ſhall be depending, nor until the reſpective ambaſſadors or miniſters, if ſuch there ſhall be, ſhall be recalled or ſent home on account of ſuch differences, and not on account of perſonal miſconduct, according to the nature and degrees of which both parties retain their rights, either to requeſt the recal, or immediately to ſend home the ambaſſador or miniſter of the other, and that without prejudice to their mutual friendſhip and good underſtanding.

XXVII. It is further agreed, that his Majeſty and the United States, on mutual requiſitions, by them reſpectively, or by their reſpective miniſters or officers authoriſed

thoriſed to make the ſame, will deliver up to juſtice all perſons who being charged with murder or forgery committed within the juriſdiction of either ſhall ſeek an aſylum within any of the countries of the other, provided that this ſhall only be done on ſuch evidence of criminality, as, according to the laws of the place where the fugitive or perſon ſo charged ſhall be found, would juſtify his apprehenſion and commitment for trial, if the offence had there been committed. The expence of ſuch apprehenſion and delivery ſhall be borne and defrayed by thoſe who make the requiſition and receive the fugitive.

XXVIII. It is agreed that the firſt ten articles of this treaty ſhall be permanent, and that the ſubſequent articles, except the twelfth, ſhall be limited in their duration to twelve years, to be computed from the day on which the ratifications of this treaty ſhall be exchanged, but fully ſubject to this condition: that whereas the ſaid twelfth article will expire by the limitation therein contained, at the end of two years from the ſigning the preliminary or other articles of peace, which ſhall terminate the preſent war in which his Majeſty is engaged, it is agreed that proper meaſures ſhall by concert be taken for bringing the ſubject of that article into amicable treaty and diſcuſſion ſo early before the expiration of the ſaid term, as that new arrangements on that head may by that time be perfected and ready to take place; but if it ſhould unfortunately happen that his Majeſty and the United States ſhould not be able to agree on ſuch new arrangements, in that caſe all the articles of this treaty, except the firſt ten, ſhall then ceaſe and expire together.

Laſtly. This treaty, when the ſame ſhall have been ratified by his Majeſty and by the Preſident of the United States, by and with the advice and conſent of their Senate, and the reſpective ratifications mutually exchanged, ſhall be binding and obligatory on his Majeſty and on the ſaid States, and ſhall be by them reſpectively executed and obſerved with punctuality, and the moſt ſincere regard to good faith; and whereas it will be expedient, in order the better to facilitate intercourſe and obviate difficulties, that other articles be propoſed and added to this treaty, which articles, from want of time and other circumſtances, cannot now be perfected—it is agreed, that the ſaid parties will, from time to time, readily treat of and concerning ſuch articles, and will ſincerely endeavour to form them as that they may conduce to mutual convenience, and tend to promote mutual ſatisfaction and friendſhip; and that the ſaid articles, after having been duly ratified, ſhall be added to, and make a part of this treaty. In faith whereof, we, the underſigned Miniſters Plenipotentiary of his Majeſty the King of Great Britain, and the United States of America, have ſigned this preſent treaty, and have cauſed to be affixed thereto the ſeal of our arms.

Done at London, this 19th day of November, 1794.

GRENVILLE. (Seal.)
JOHN JAY. (Seal.)

CHARACTERS.

SMITHSONIAN

CHARACTERS.

Account of Adam Smith, *LL. D.*

[*From the Third Volume of the* Tranſactions *of the* Royal Society *of* Edinburgh.]

ADAM SMITH, author of the *Inquiry into the Nature and Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations*, was the ſon of Adam Smith, comptroller of the cuſtoms at Kirkaldy, and of Margaret Douglas, daughter of Mr. Douglas of Strathenry. He was the only child of the marriage, and was born at Kirkaldy on the 5th of June 1723, a few months after the death of his father.

His conſtitution during infancy was infirm and ſickly, and required all the tender ſolicitude of his ſurviving parent. She was blamed for treating him with an unlimited indulgence; but it produced no unfavourable effects on his temper or his diſpoſitions:—and he enjoyed the rare ſatisfaction of being able to repay her affection, by every attention that filial gratitude could dictate, during the long period of ſixty years.

An accident, which happened to him when he was about three years old, is of too intereſting a nature to be omitted in the account of ſo valuable a life. He had been carried by his mother to Strathenry on a viſit to his uncle Mr. Douglas, and was one day amuſing himſelf alone at the door of the houſe, when he was ſtolen by a party of that ſet of vagrants who are known in Scotland by the name of tinkers. Luckily he was ſoon miſſed by his uncle, who hearing that ſome vagrants had paſſed, purſued them, with what aſſiſtance he could find, till he overtook them in Leſlie wood; and was the happy inſtrument of preſerving to the world a genius, which was deſtined, not only to extend the boundaries of ſcience, but to enlighten and reform the commercial policy of Europe.

The ſchool of Kirkaldy, where Mr. Smith received the firſt rudiments of his education, was then taught by Mr. David Miller, a teacher, in his day, of conſiderable reputation, and whoſe name deſerves to be recorded, on account of the eminent men whom that very obſcure ſeminary produced while under his direction. Mr. Oſwald of Dunikeir, whoſe profound knowledge of finances raiſed him afterwards to important employments in the ſtate, and to a diſtinguiſhed rank as a parliamentary ſpeaker; his brother, Dr.

John Oſwald, afterwards biſhop of Raphoe; and Dr. John Dryſdale, whoſe talents and worth are well known to this ſociety, were among the number of Mr. Smith's contemporaries. — One of his ſchool-fellows is ſtill alive; and to his kindneſs I am principally indebted for the ſcanty materials, which form the firſt part of this narrative.

Among theſe companions of his earlieſt years, Mr. Smith ſoon attracted notice, by his paſſion for books, and by the extraordinary powers of his memory. The weakneſs of his bodily conſtitution prevented him from partaking in their more active amuſements; but he was much beloved by them on account of his temper, which, though warm, was to an uncommon degree friendly and generous. Even then he was remarkable for thoſe habits which remained with him through life, of ſpeaking to himſelf when alone, and of abſence in company.

From the grammar-ſchool of Kirkaldy, he was ſent, in 1737, to the Univerſity of Glaſgow, where he remained till 1740, when he went to Baliol College, Oxford, as an exhibitioner on Snell's foundation.

Dr. Maclaine of the Hague, who was a fellow-ſtudent of Mr. Smith's at Glaſgow, told me ſome years ago, that his favourite purſuits while at that univerſity were mathematics and natural philoſophy; and I remember to have heard my father remind him of a geometrical problem of conſiderable difficulty, about which he was occupied at the time when their acquaintance commenced, and which had been propoſed to him as an exerciſe by the celebrated Dr. Simpſon.

Theſe, however, were certainly not the ſciences in which he was formed to excel; nor did they long divert him from purſuits more congenial to his mind. What lord Bacon ſays of Plato may be juſtly applied to him: "*Illum, licet ad rempublicam non acceſſiſſet, tamen naturâ et inclinatione omnino ad res civiles propenſum, vires eo præcipue intendiſſe; neque de philoſophia naturali admodum ſollicitum eſſe; niſi quatenus ad philoſophi nomen et celebritatem tuendam, et ad majeſtatem quandam moralibus et civilibus doctrinis addendam et aſpergendam ſufficeret.*" The ſtudy of human nature in all its branches, more particularly of the political hiſtory of mankind, opened a boundleſs field to his curioſity and ambition; and, while it afforded ſcope to all the various powers of his verſatile and comprehenſive genius, gratified his ruling paſſion, of contributing to the happineſs and the improvement of ſociety. To this ſtudy, diverſified at his leiſure hours by the leſs ſevere occupations of polite literature, he ſeems to have devoted himſelf almoſt entirely from the time of his removal to Oxford; but he ſtill retained, and retained even in advanced years, a recollection of his early acquiſitions, which not only added to the ſplendour of his converſation, but enabled him to exemplify ſome of his favourite theories concerning the natural progreſs of the mind in the inveſtigation of truth, by the hiſtory of thoſe ſciences in which the connexion and ſucceſſion of diſcoveries may be traced with the greateſt advantage. If I am not miſtaken too, the influence of his

his early taſte for the Greek geometry may be remarked in the elementary clearneſs and fulneſs, bordering ſometimes upon prolixity, with which he frequently ſtates his political reaſonings.—The lectures of the profound and eloquent Dr. Hutcheſon, which he had attended previous to his departure from Glaſgow, and of which he always ſpoke in terms of the warmeſt admiration, had, it may be reaſonably preſumed, a conſiderable effect in directing his talents to their proper objects.

I have not been able to collect any information with reſpect to that part of his youth which was ſpent in England. I have heard him ſay, that he employed himſelf frequently in the practice of tranſlation, (particularly from the French), with a view to the improvement of his own ſtyle: and he uſed often to expreſs a favourable opinion of the utility of ſuch exerciſes, to all who cultivate the art of compoſition. It is much to be regretted, that none of his juvenile attempts in this way have been preſerved; as the few ſpecimens which his writings contain of his ſkill as a tranſlator, are ſufficient to ſhew the eminence he had attained in a walk of literature, which, in our country, has been ſo little frequented by men of genius.

It was probably alſo at this period of his life, that he cultivated with the greateſt care the ſtudy of languages. The knowledge he poſſeſſed of theſe, both ancient and modern, was uncommonly extenſive and accurate; and, in him, was ſubſervient, not to a vain parade of taſteleſs erudition, but to a familiar acquaintance with every thing that could illuſtrate the inſtitutions, the manners and the ideas of different ages and nations. How intimately he had once been converſant with the more ornamental branches of learning; in particular, with the works of the Roman, Greek, French, and Italian poets, appeared ſufficiently from the hold which they kept of his memory, after all the different occupations and enquiries in which his maturer faculties had been employed. In the Engliſh language, the variety of poetical paſſages which he was not only accuſtomed to refer to occaſionally, but which he was able to repeat with correctneſs, appeared ſurpriſing even to thoſe, whoſe attention had never been directed to more important acquiſitions.

After a reſidence at Oxford of ſeven years, he returned to Kirkaldy, and lived two years with his mother; engaged in ſtudy, but without any fixed plan for his future life. He had been originally deſtined for the church of England, and with that view had been ſent to Oxford; but not finding the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion ſuitable to his taſte, he choſe to conſult, in this inſtance, his own inclination, in preference to the wiſhes of his friends; and abandoning at once all the ſchemes which their prudence had formed for him, he reſolved to return to his own country, and to limit his ambition to the uncertain proſpect of obtaining, in time, ſome one of thoſe moderate preferments, to which literary attainments lead in Scotland.

In the year 1748, he fixed his reſidence at Edinburgh, and, during that and the following years,

read lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres, under the patronage of lord Kames. About this time, too, he contracted a very intimate friendſhip, which continued, without interruption, till his death, with Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, now lord Loughborough, and with Mr. William Johnſtone, now Mr. Pulteney.

At what particular period his acquaintance with Mr. David Hume commenced, does not appear from any information that I have received; but from ſome papers, now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Hume's nephew, and which he has been ſo obliging as to allow me to peruſe, their acquaintance ſeems to have grown into friendſhip before the year 1752. It was a friendſhip on both ſides founded on the admiration of genius, and the love of ſimplicity; and which forms an intereſting circumſtance in the hiſtory of each of theſe eminent men, from the ambition which both have ſhewn to record it to poſterity.

In 1751, he was elected profeſſor of logic in the Univerſity of Glaſgow; and, the year following, he was removed to the profeſſorſhip of moral philoſophy in the ſame Univerſity, upon the death of Mr. Thomas Craigie, the immediate ſucceſſor of Dr. Hutcheſon. In this ſituation he remained thirteen years; a period he uſed frequently to look back to, as the moſt uſeful and happy of his life. It was indeed a ſituation in which he was eminently fitted to excel, and in which the daily labours of his profeſſion were conſtantly recalling his attention to his favourite purſuits, and familiariſing his mind to thoſe important ſpeculations he was afterwards to communicate to the world. In this view, though it afforded, in the meantime, but a very narrow ſcene for his ambition, it was probably inſtrumental, in no inconſiderable degree, to the future eminence of his literary character.

Of Mr. Smith's lectures while a profeſſor at Glaſgow, no part has been preſerved, excepting what he himſelf publiſhed in the Theory of Moral Sentiments, and in the Wealth of Nations. The ſociety therefore, I am perſuaded, will liſten with pleaſure to the following ſhort account of them, for which I am indebted to a gentleman who was formerly one of Mr. Smith's pupils, and who continued till his death to be one of his moſt intimate and valued friends.

In the profeſſorſhip of logic, to which Mr. Smith was appointed on his firſt introduction into this Univerſity, he ſoon ſaw the neceſſity of departing widely from the plan that had been followed by his predeceſſors, and of directing the attention of his pupils to ſtudies of a more intereſting and uſeful nature than the logic and metaphyſics of the ſchools. Accordingly, after exhibiting a general view of the powers of the mind, and explaining ſo much of the ancient logic as was requiſite to gratify curioſity with reſpect to an artificial method of reaſoning, which had once occupied the univerſal attention of the learned, he dedicated all the reſt of his time to the delivery of a ſyſtem of rhetoric and belles lettres. The beſt method of explaining and illuſtrating the various powers of the human mind, the moſt uſeful part of metaphyſics, ariſes from an examination of the ſeveral ways of communicating

municating our thoughts by ſpeech, and from an attention to the principles of thoſe literary compoſitions, which contribute to perſuaſion or entertainment. By theſe arts, every thing that we perceive or feel, every operation of our minds, is expreſſed and delineated in ſuch a manner, that it may be clearly diſtinguiſhed and remembered. There is, at the ſame time, no branch of literature more ſuited to youth at their firſt entrance upon philoſophy than this, which lays hold of their taſte and their feelings.

It is much to be regretted, that the manuſcript, containing Mr. Smith's lectures on this ſubject, was deſtroyed before his death. The firſt part, in point of compoſition, was highly finiſhed; and the whole diſcovered ſtrong marks of taſte and original genius. From the permiſſion given to ſtudents of taking notes, many obſervations and opinions, contained in theſe lectures, have either been detailed in ſeparate diſſertations, or ingroſſed in general collections, which have ſince been given to the public. But theſe, as might be expected, have loſt the air of originality, and the diſtinctive character which they received from their firſt author, and are often obſcured by that multiplicity of common-place matter in which they are ſunk and involved.

About a year after his appointment to the profeſſorſhip of logic, Mr. Smith was elected to the chair of moral philoſophy. His courſe of lectures on this ſubject was divided into four parts. The firſt contained natural theology; in which he conſidered the proofs of the being and attributes of God, and thoſe principles of the human mind upon which religion is founded. The ſecond comprehended Ethics ſtrictly ſo called, and conſiſted chiefly of the doctrines which he afterwards publiſhed in his Theory of Moral Sentiments. In the third part, he treated at more length of that branch of morality which relates to juſtice, and which, being ſuſceptible of preciſe and accurate rules, is, for that reaſon, capable of a full and particular explanation.

Upon this ſubject, he followed the plan that ſeems to be ſuggeſted by Monteſquieu; endeavouring to trace the gradual progreſs of juriſprudence, both public and private, from the rudeſt to the moſt refined ages, and to point out the effects of thoſe arts which contribute to ſubſiſtence, and to the accumulation of property, in producing correſpondent improvements or alterations in law and government. This important branch of his labours he alſo intended to give to the public; but this intention, which is mentioned in the concluſion of the Theory of Moral Sentiments, he did not live to fulfil.

In the laſt part of his lectures, he examined thoſe political regulations which are founded, not upon the principle of juſtice, but that of expediency, and which are calculated to increaſe the riches, the power and the proſperity of a ſtate. Under this view, he conſidered the political inſtitutions relating to commerce, to finances, to eccleſiaſtical and military eſtabliſhments. What he delivered on theſe ſubjects contained the ſubſtance of the work he afterwards publiſhed under the title of *An Inquiry into the Nature and Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations.*

There was no ſituation in which the abilities of Mr. Smith appeared to greater advantage than as a profeſſor. In delivering his lectures, he truſted almoſt entirely to extemporary elocution. His manner, though not graceful, was plain and unaffected; and as he ſeemed to be always intereſted in the ſubject, he never failed to intereſt his hearers. Each diſcourſe conſiſted commonly of ſeveral diſtinct propoſitions, which he ſucceſſively endeavoured to prove and illuſtrate. Theſe propoſitions, when announced in general terms, had, from their extent, not unfrequently ſomething of the air of a paradox. In his attempts to explain them, he often appeared, at firſt, not to be ſufficiently poſſeſſed of the ſubject, and ſpoke with ſome heſitation. As he advanced, however, the matter ſeemed to croud upon him, his manner became warm and animated, and his expreſſion eaſy and fluent. In points ſuſceptible of controverſy, you could eaſily diſcern, that he ſecretly conceived an oppoſition to his opinions, and that he was led upon this account to ſupport them with greater energy and vehemence. By the fulneſs and variety of his illuſtrations, the ſubject gradually ſwelled in his hands, and acquired a dimenſion which, without a tedious repetition of the ſame views, was calculated to ſeize the attention of his audience, and to afford them pleaſure, as well as inſtruction, in following the ſame object, through all the diverſity of ſhades and aſpects in which it was preſented, and afterwards in tracing it backwards to that original propoſition or general truth, from which this beautiful train of ſpeculation had proceeded.

His reputation as a profeſſor was accordingly raiſed very high, and a multitude of ſtudents from a great diſtance reſorted to the Univerſity, merely upon his account. Thoſe branches of ſcience which he taught became faſhionable at this place, and his opinions were the chief topics of diſcuſſion in clubs and literary ſocieties. Even the ſmall peculiarities in his pronunciation or manner of ſpeaking, became frequently the objects of imitation.

While Mr. Smith was thus diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his zeal and ability as a public teacher, he was gradually laying the foundation of a more extenſive reputation, by preparing for the preſs his ſyſtem of morals. The firſt edition of this work appeared in 1759, under the title of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments.*

Hitherto Mr. Smith had remained unknown to the world as an author; nor have I heard that he had made a trial of his powers in any anonymous publications, excepting in a periodical work called The Edinburgh Review, which was begun in the year 1755, by ſome gentlemen of diſtinguiſhed abilities, but which they were prevented by other engagements from carrying farther than the two firſt numbers. To this work Mr. Smith contributed a review of Dr. Johnſon's Dictionary of the Engliſh Language, and alſo a letter, addreſſed to the editors, containing ſome general obſervations on the ſtate of literature in the different countries of Europe. In the former of theſe papers, he points out ſome defects in Dr. Johnſon's plan, which he cenſures as not ſufficiently grammatical. "The different ſignifications

nifications of a word (he obſerves) are indeed collected; but they are ſeldom digeſted into general claſſes, or ranged under the meaning which the word principally expreſſes: and ſufficient care is not taken to diſtinguiſh the words apparently ſynonymous." To illuſtrate this criticiſm, he copies from Dr. Johnſon the articles *but* and *humour*, and oppoſes to them the ſame articles digeſted agreeably to his own idea. The various ſignifications of the word *but* are very nicely and happily diſcriminated. The other article does not ſeem to have been executed with equal care.

The obſervations on the ſtate of learning in Europe are written with ingenuity and elegance; but are chiefly intereſting, as they ſhew the attention which the author had given to the philoſophy and literature of the continent, at a period when they were not much ſtudied in this iſland.

In the ſame volume with the Theory of Moral Sentiments, Mr. Smith publiſhed a Diſſertation "on the Origin of Languages, and on the different Genius of thoſe which are original and compounded."

After the publication of the Theory of Moral Sentiment, Mr. Smith remained four years at Glaſgow, diſcharging his official duties with unabated vigour, and with increaſing reputation. During that time the plan of his lectures underwent a conſiderable change. His ethical doctrines, of which he had now publiſhed ſo valuable a part, occupied a much ſmaller portion of the courſe than formerly, and accordingly, his attention was naturally directed to a more complete illuſtration of the principles of juriſprudence and of political economy.

To this laſt ſubject, his thoughts appear to have been occaſionally turned from a very early period of life. It is probable, that the uninterrupted friendſhip he had always maintained with his old companion Mr. Oſwald, had ſome tendency to encourage him in proſecuting this branch of his ſtudies; and the publication of Mr. Hume's political diſcourſes in the year 1752, could not fail to confirm him in thoſe liberal views of commercial policy which had already opened to him in the courſe of his own enquiries. His long reſidence in one of the moſt enlightened mercantile towns in this iſland, and the habits of intimacy in which he lived with the moſt reſpectable of its inhabitants, afforded him an opportunity of deriving what commercial information he ſtood in need of, from the beſt ſources; and it is a circumſtance no leſs honourable to their liberality than to his talents, that notwithſtanding the reluctance ſo common among men of buſineſs to liſten to the concluſions of mere ſpeculation, and the direct oppoſition of his leading principles to all the old maxims of trade, he was able, before he quitted his ſituation in the univerſity, to rank ſome very eminent merchants in the number of his proſelytes.

Among the ſtudents who attended his lectures, and whoſe minds were not previouſly warped by prejudice, the progreſs of his opinions, it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, was much more rapid. It was this claſs of his friends accordingly that firſt adopted his ſyſtem with eagerneſs, and diffuſed a knowledge of its fundamental principles over this part of the kingdom.

Towards the end of 1763, Mr. Smith received an invitation from Mr. Charles Townſend to accompany the duke of Buccleugh on his travels; and the liberal terms in which the propoſal was made to him, added to the ſtrong deſire he had felt of viſiting the continent of Europe, induced him to reſign his office at Glaſgow. With the connexion which he was led to form in conſequence of this change in his ſituation, he had reaſon to be ſatisfied in an uncommon degree, and he always ſpoke of it with pleaſure and gratitude. To the public, it was not perhaps a change equally fortunate; as it interrupted that ſtudious leiſure for which nature ſeems to have deſtined him, and in which alone he could have hoped to accompliſh thoſe literary projects which had flattered the ambition of his youthful genius.

The alteration, however, which, from this period, took place in his habits, was not without its advantages. He had hitherto lived chiefly within the walls of an univerſity; and although to a mind like his, the obſervation of human nature on the ſmalleſt ſcale is ſufficient to convey a tolerably juſt conception of what paſſes on the great theatre of the world, yet is it not to be doubted, that the variety of ſcenes through which he afterwards paſſed, muſt have enriched his mind with many new ideas, and corrected many of thoſe miſapprehenſions of life and manners which the beſt deſcriptions of them can ſcarcely fail to convey.—But whatever were the lights that his travels afforded to him as a ſtudent of human nature, they were probably uſeful in a ſtill greater degree, in enabling him to perfect that ſyſtem of political economy, of which he had already delivered the principles in his lectures at Glaſgow, and which it was now the leading object of his ſtudies to prepare for the public. The coincidence between ſome of theſe principles and the diſtinguiſhing tenets of the French economiſts, who were at that very time in the height of their reputation, and the intimacy in which he lived with ſome of the leaders of that ſect, could not fail to aſſiſt him in methodizing and digeſting his ſpeculations; while the valuable collection of facts, accumulated by the zealous induſtry of their numerous adherents, furniſhed him with ample materials for illuſtrating and confirming his theoretical concluſions.

After leaving Glaſgow, Mr. Smith joined the duke of Buccleugh at London early in the year 1764, and ſet out with him for the continent in the month of March following. At Dover they were met by ſir James Macdonald, who accompanied them to Paris, and with whom Mr. Smith laid the foundation of a friendſhip, which he always mentioned with great ſenſibility, and of which he often lamented the ſhort duration. The panegyrics with which the memory of this accompliſhed and amiable perſon has been honoured by ſo many diſtinguiſhed characters in the different countries of Europe, are a proof how well fitted his talents were to command general admiration. The eſteem in which his abilities and learning were held by Mr. Smith, is a teſtimony to his extraordinary merit of ſtill ſuperior value. Mr. Hume, too, ſeems,

in

in this inſtance, to have partaken of his friend's enthuſiaſm. "Were you and I together, (ſays he in a letter to Mr. Smith), we ſhould ſhed tears at preſent for the death of poor ſir James Macdonald. We could not poſſibly have ſuffered a greater loſs than in that valuable young man."

In this firſt viſit to Paris, the duke of Buccleugh and Mr. Smith employed only ten or twelve days, after which they proceeded to Thouloufe, where they fixed their reſidence for eighteen months; and where, in addition to the pleaſure of an agreeable ſociety, Mr. Smith had an opportunity of correcting and extending his information concerning the internal policy of France, by the intimacy in which he lived with ſome of the principal perſons of the parliament.

From Thouloufe they went, by a pretty extenſive tour, through the ſouth of France to Geneva. Here they paſſed two months. The late earl Stanhope, for whoſe learning and worth Mr. Smith entertained a ſincere reſpect, was then an inhabitant of that republic.

About Chriſtmas 1763, they returned to Paris, and remained there till October following. The ſociety in which Mr. Smith ſpent theſe ten months, may be conceived from the advantages he enjoyed, in conſequence of the recommendations of Mr. Hume. Turgot, Queſnai, Necker, d'Alembert, Helvetius, Marmontel, madame Riccoboni, were among the number of his acquaintances: and ſome of them he continued ever afterwards to reckon among his friends. From madame d'Anville, the reſpectable mother of the late excellent and much lamented duke of Rochefoucauld, he received many attentions, which he always recollected with particular gratitude.

It is much to be regretted, that he preſerved no journal of this very intereſting period of his hiſtory; and ſuch was his averſion to write letters, that I ſcarcely ſuppoſe any memorial of it exiſts in his correſpondence with his friends. The extent and accuracy of his memory, in which he was equalled by few, made it of little conſequence to himſelf to record in writing what he heard or ſaw; and from his anxiety before his death to deſtroy all the papers in his poſſeſſion, he ſeems to have wiſhed, that no materials ſhould remain for his biographers, but what were furniſhed by the laſting monuments of his genuis, and the exemplary worth of his private life.

It was not, however, merely the diſtinguiſhed men who about this period fixed ſo ſplendid an era in the literary hiſtory of France, that excited Mr. Smith's curioſity while he remained in Paris. His acquaintance with the polite literature both of ancient and modern times was extenſive; and amidſt his various other occupations, he had never neglected to cultivate a taſte for the fine arts;—leſs, it is probable, with a view to the peculiar enjoyments they convey, (though he was by no means without ſenſibility to their beauties), than on account of their connexion with the general principles of the human mind; to an examination of which they afford the moſt pleaſing of all avenues. To thoſe who ſpeculate on this very delicate ſubject,

ſubject, a compariſon of the modes of taſte that prevail among different nations, affords a valuable collection of facts; and Mr. Smith, who was always diſpoſed to aſcribe to cuſtom and faſhion their full ſhare in regulating the opinions of mankind with reſpect to beauty, may naturally be ſuppoſed to have availed himſelf of every opportunity which a foreign country afforded him of illuſtrating his former theories.

In October 1766, the duke of Buccleugh returned to London. His grace, to whom I am indebted for ſeveral particulars in the foregoing narrative, will, I hope, forgive the liberty I take in tranſcribing one paragraph in his own words: "In October 1766, we returned to London, after having ſpent near three years together, without the ſlighteſt diſagreement or coolneſs; on my part, with every advantage that could be expected from the ſociety of ſuch a man. We continued to live in friendſhip till the hour of his death; and I ſhall always remain with the impreſſion of having loſt a friend whom I loved and reſpected, not only for his great talents, but for every private virtue."

The retirement in which Mr. Smith paſſed his next ten years, formed a ſtriking contraſt to the unſettled mode of life he had been for ſome time accuſtomed to, but was ſo congenial to his natural diſpoſition, and to his firſt habits, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he was ever perſuaded to leave it. During the whole of this period, (with the exception of a few viſits to Edinburgh and London), he remained with his mother at Kirkaldy; occupied habitually in intenſe ſtudy, but unbending his mind at times in the company of ſome of his old ſchool-fellows, whoſe "ſober wiſhes" had attached them to the place of their birth. In the ſociety of ſuch men, Mr. Smith delighted; and to them he was endeared, not only by his ſimple and unaſſuming manners, but by the perfect knowledge they all poſſeſſed of thoſe domeſtic virtues which had diſtinguiſhed him from his infancy.

At length (in the beginning of the year 1776) Mr. Smith accounted to the world for his long retreat, by the publication of his "Inquiry into the Nature and Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations."

About two years after the publication of "the Wealth of Nations," Mr. Smith was appointed one of the commiſſioners of his majeſty's cuſtoms in Scotland; a preferment which, in his eſtimation, derived an additional value from its being beſtowed on him at the requeſt of the duke of Buccleugh. The greater part of theſe two years he paſſed at London, in a ſociety too extenſive and varied to afford him any opportunity of indulging his taſte for ſtudy. His time, however, was not loſt to himſelf; for much of it was ſpent with ſome of the firſt names in Engliſh literature. Of theſe no unfavourable ſpecimen is preſerved by Dr. Barnard, in his well known "Verſes, addreſſed to ſir Joſhua Reynolds and his friends,"

If I have thoughts, and can't expreſs 'em,
Gibbon ſhall teach me how to dreſs 'em
In words ſelect and terſe:
Jones teach me modeſty and Greek,
Smith how to think, Burke how to ſpeak,
And Beauclerc to converſe.

In consequence of Mr. Smith's appointment to the board of customs, he removed, in 1778, to Edinburgh, where he spent the last twelve years of his life; enjoying an affluence which was more than equal to all his wants; and, what was to him of still greater value, the prospect of passing the remainder of his days among the companions of his youth.

His mother, who, though now in extreme old age, still possessed a considerable degree of health, and retained all her faculties unimpaired, accompanied him to town; and his cousin miss Jane Douglas, (who had formerly been a member of his family at Glasgow, and for whom he had always felt the affection of a brother), while she divided with him those tender attentions which her aunt's infirmities required, relieved him of a charge for which he was peculiarly ill qualified, by her friendly superintendence of his domestic economy.

The accession to his income which his new office brought him enabled him to gratify, to a much greater extent than his former circumstances admitted of, the natural generosity of his disposition; and the state of his funds at the time of his death, compared with his very moderate establishment, confirmed, beyond a doubt, what his intimate acquaintances had often suspected, that a large proportion of his annual savings was allotted to offices of secret charity. A small, but excellent library, which he had gradually formed with great judgment in the selection; and a simple, though hospitable table, where, without the formality of an invitation, he was always happy to receive his friends, were the only expences that could be considered as his own.

The change in his habits which his removal to Edinburgh produced, was not equally favourable to his literary pursuits. The duties of his office, though they required but little exertion of thought, were yet sufficient to waste his spirits and to dissipate his attention; and now that his career is closed, it is impossible to reflect on the time they consumed, without lamenting that it had not been employed in labours more profitable to the world, and more equal to his mind.

During the first years of his residence in this city, his studies seemed to be entirely suspended; and his passion for letters served only to amuse his leisure, and to animate his conversation. The infirmities of age, of which he very early began to feel the approaches, reminded him at last, when it was too late, of what he yet owed to the public, and to his own fame. The principal materials of the works which he had announced, had been long ago collected; and little probably was wanting, but a few years of health and retirement, to bestow on them that systematical arrangement in which he delighted; and the ornaments of that flowing, and apparently artless style, which he had studiously cultivated, but which, after all his experience in composition, he adjusted, with extreme difficulty, to his own taste.

The death of his mother in 1784, which was followed by that of Miss Douglas in 1788, contributed, it is probable, to frustrate these projects. They had been the objects

objects of his affection for more than fixty years; and in their fociety he had enjoyed, from his infancy, all that he ever knew of the endearments of a family. He was now alone, and helplefs; and, though he bore his lofs with equanimity, and regained apparently his former cheerfulnefs, yet his health and ftrength gradually declined till the period of his death, which happened in July 1790, about two years after that of his coufin, and fix after that of his mother. His laft illnefs, which arofe from a chronic obftruction in his bowels, was lingering and painful; but had every confolation to footh it which he could derive from the tendereft fympathy of his friends, and from the complete refignation of his own mind.

A few days before his death, finding his end approach rapidly, he gave orders to deftroy all his manufcripts, excepting fome detached eflays, which he entrufted to the care of his executors; and they were accordingly committed to the flames.

Account of Colonel Mack.

COLONEL Mack is a native of Wurtzburg, and fon of a tradefman of that place. He began his military career as a common huffar in an Auftrian regiment; but his uncommon talents for military drawing, his unwearied application to this art, and his extraordinary fkill in laying down plans, foon raifed him from obfcurity, and introduced him to the notice of Marfhal Laudohn. This General employed him on different occafions, and attached him to the ftaff of the army under the character of a geographic engineer.

His diftinguifhed conduct at the affair of Liffa ftill more ingratiated him with that great commander. Field Marfhal Laudohn had made all his difpofitions for croffing the Danube, and attacking that place. Mr. Mack, who had formed the plan of paffing the river, as well as that of the attack, went the night before to the Marfhal to receive his laft orders; when this General informed him, that he had juft received intelligence of the Turks having been reinforced at Liffa by a corps of 30,000 men, and that, of courfe, he had given up his project of an attack; as, after having paffed the river, in cafe of meeting with any difafter, he fhould be at a lofs how to effect his retreat. Mr. Mack did not credit the report of the reinforcement, but could not prevail on the Marfhal to execute his intended attack. The Colonel left the General, croffed the Danube in a boat, accompanied by one fingle Hulan, ftole into the place, got certain information of the fuppofed reinforcement not having arrived, took a Turkifh officer prifoner in the fuburb, recroffed the Danube, and at four o'clock in the morning informed the Marfhal of his expedition. On this report the Auftrian army paffed the river, and took Liffa, the whole garrifon of which place, confifting of 6,000 men, were made prifoners of war.

In the prefent war Colonel Mack, ftill attached to the ftaff, has much contributed to the fucceffes obtained at the beginning of the campaign, efpecially at the attack and capture of the camp of Famars, for which he made all the neceffary difpofitions.

diſpoſitions. In this affair he received a wound, the cure of which obliged him to repair to Bruſſels. He expected to be made Quarter-Maſter-General of Prince Coburg's army, but this place having fallen to the ſhare of Prince Hohenlohe, his wound afforded him a pretext to retire to Vienna. Called there to the conferences held with reſpect to the plan of operations for the enſuing campaign, he cauſed a ſyſtem to be adopted totally different from that which had been purſued in the preceding campaign. This he laid at Bruſſels before the commanding Generals of the confederate troops, who gave it their fulleſt approbation.

Character of the lower Iriſh.

From Crumpe's Eſſay on the beſt Means of providing Employment for the People.

TWO leading and naturally allied features in the character of the lower Iriſh, as connected with this ſubject, are idleneſs and inquiſitiveneſs, eſpecially when hired and employed to perform the work of others. The prevalence of theſe principles muſt be obvious to any perſon who has in the remoteſt degree been converſant in country affairs, or who ever, as a traveller, has caſt an obſervant glance on the conduct of the labouring peaſantry. The moment an overſeer quits them they inevitably drop their work, take ſnuff, and fall into chat as to the news of the day: no traveller can paſs them without diverting their attention from the buſineſs in hand, and giving riſe to numerous ſurmiſes as to his perſon, errand, and deſtination. The moſt trival occurrence, eſpecially in the ſporting line, will hurry them, unleſs reſtrained, from their occupations. Even the ſedentary manufacturer will, on ſuch occaſions, quit his employment. Nothing is more common than to ſee a weaver in the North ſtart from his loom on hearing a pack of hounds, and purſue them through a long and fatiguing chaſe.

A tendency to pilfering and theft is very predominant among the lower claſſes of the Iriſh. To any perſon acquainted with them this requires no proof; and it is highly detrimental to thoſe poſſeſſed of capital, who wiſh to enter into the extenſive practice of any branch of induſtry among them, but eſpecially of agriculture. I have known twenty ſheaves of corn reckoned into each ſtack at night, in a very extenſive field, and one out of each was miſſing next morning. Of this tendency many ſimilar inſtances might be given. Let one ſuffice.

Connected with this vice is the prevalence of a low cunning, and of lying, which is very obſervable among them; and, as their accompaniment, may be mentioned a fawning flattery. The blunt honeſty, the bold independence of the Engliſh yeoman, are wanting; and in their place too generally ſubſtituted the petty diſhoneſty of the vaſſal, the ſervility and artifice of the ſlave.

Drunkenneſs is an evil of conſiderable magnitude, in the catalogues of national vices. It is one to which the lower Iriſh are peculiarly addicted, and that from which

which the moſt ſerious obſtructions arrive to their induſtry and employment. That vile beverage, whiſkey, ſo cheaply purchaſed, and ſo generally diffuſed, affords them an eaſy opportunity of gratifying this deſtructive paſſion; and, where they are, from habit and example, ſtrongly enough addicted to the crime, preſents them an additional temptation, by the facility with which it is obtained. I know no evil which more ſtrongly demands the interference of the legiſlature, or which requires more efficacious meaſures to be adopted for its diminution.

As one conſequence of the general prevalence of ebriety, the lower Iriſh are remarkably riotous. I do not here ſo much allude to Whiteboyiſm, and other public diſturbances, which owe their origin chiefly to other cauſes, as to their quarrels among themſelves. Their fairs are frequently the ſcenes of confuſion, riot, diſturbance, and bloodſhed: fired with the fumes of whiſkey, one acquaintance quarrels with another: the friends of each eſpouſe his cauſe; *their* relations and acquaintances inevitably fall in as parties, till the quarrel ſpreading in compound progreſſion includes, perhaps, a majority of the multitude. Inſtances, indeed, of this nature are becoming every day conſiderably leſs frequent.

Combinations, riſings, and outrage among tradeſmen, are far from unuſual. Their pretexts upon ſuch occaſions are often truly ridiculous. I have known a tumultuous mob of coopers aſſemble in one city to demoliſh the ſtores of a merchant, becauſe he found it advantageous to export ſome of his hog's fleſh ſaved as bacon, and conſequently required ſomewhat a ſmaller number of caſks than when all was exported ſaved as pork; and on five being taken up and confined, the bakers refuſed to bake, and the butchers to kill meat, till they were liberated.

Tradeſmen in Ireland have much leſs cauſe to complain than any other claſs of labourers. Their wages are nearly as high as in England, and the natural and artificial neceſſaries of life much cheaper. "When it is conſidered," ſays Mr. Young, "that common "labour in Ireland is but little "more than a third of what it is "in England, it is extraordinary "that artizans are paid nearly, "if not full as high, as in that "kingdom."

The lower Iriſh are to a remarkable degree lawleſsly inclined. It is well known, that inſtead of being anxious to apprehend offenders, or to aſſiſt the execution of the law, they are in general ready to give the former every aſſiſtance to eſcape; and to reſiſt the latter, unleſs awed by ſuperior force. Of theſe propenſities many proofs may be given, by inſtances of reſcue, forcible poſſeſſion, and other ſimilar proceedings; but the fact is too notorious to require any evidence.

The Oppreſſion of the lower Iriſh, the Cauſe of their Profligacy.

From Crumpe's Eſſay.

WHATEVER credit may be due to the ſplendid accounts of antiquarians, reſpecting the civilization, wiſe inſtitutions, and happy

ſtate of the Iriſh nation in more remote ages, it is certain that at the period of the firſt deſcent of the Engliſh under Henry II. they were at any rate as barbarous and unpoliſhed as any of the other then uncivilized ſtates of Europe. Some writers would have us believe they were infinitely more ſo; but in the diſcuſſion of their comparative merits, as to this point, we are little intereſted. At the period alluded to, the latter end of the twelfth century, the ſituation of the poorer orders was, all over Europe, melancholy: but the Iriſh peaſantry were at that time, and for ſeveral ſubſequent ages, expoſed to more than ordinary oppreſſion. The inſtitutions and cuſtoms of the country itſelf were peculiarly unfavourable to their intereſts. Their chieftains, and the head of the ſubordinate ſepts and clans, ſeem to have poſſeſſed the power of fleecing and oppreſſing their inferiors almoſt at will; or at leaſt the pretext and rules by which their exactions were extorted were of ſuch nature, that both the liberty and property of the poor were at the mercy of every petty and deſpotic Kern.

Of this many proofs may be adduced. The inſtitution of what was termed *Coin and Livery*, originally Iriſh, and ſomething ſimilar to the inſtitution of *purveyance* in other ſtates, was as powerful an inſtrument of oppreſſion as could be entruſted to a multitude of uncivilized chiefs. This conſiſted in taking man's-meat and horſe-meat, as they were called, and money at will, from all the inhabitants of the country, for the ſupport of the ſoldiery.

The Iriſh chieftains and Taniſts exacted, as ſeignoral right, aſſeſſments equally grievous, favouring of barbarity. Such were *Coſherings*, or viſits of the lord and his family among his dependents, on whom he lived during his progreſs at free coſt. *Seſſings*, or the maintenance of his horſes and horſe-boys, dogs and dog-boys. Other exactions were practiſed under the name of *Cuttings*, *Tallages*, &c. all of which, as Sir John Davies ſays, "made the lord an abſolute "tyrant, and the tenant a very "ſlave and villain; and, in one "reſpect, more miſerable than "bond ſlaves; for commonly the "bond-ſlave is fed by his lord, but "here the lord was fed by his "bond-ſlave."

The deſcent of the Engliſh, inſtead of meliorating the ſituation, aggravated the miſeries of the unfortunate Iriſh peaſant. The natural progreſs of civilization might have aboliſhed thoſe oppreſſive remnants of the feodal ſyſtem, as well in Ireland as the other European ſtates. The ſettlement of the Engliſh, by throwing the kingdom into a ſtate of almoſt perpetual warfare, and conſequently protracting its civilization, not only riveted thoſe remnants of barbarity, but heaped additional miſeries on a people already devoted and oppreſſed. As barbarous and prone to oppreſſion as the chiefs they invaded, theſe ſettlers adopted, and, if I may proſtitute the expreſſion, improved on the inſtitution of coin and livery "The Engliſh," ſays their countryman, Sir John Davies, "when they "had learned it, uſed it with "more inſolence, and made it "more intolerable; for this op-

"preſſion

" preſſion was not temporary, or " limited either to place or time; " but, becauſe there was every " where a continual war, either " offenſive or defenſive, and every " lord of a country and every " marcher made war and peace at " his pleaſure, it became univerſal " and perpetual, and was, indeed, " the moſt heavy oppreſſion that " ever was uſed in any Chriſtian " or Heathen kingdom."

The Engliſh not only oppreſſed the natives of the iſland, by adopting, and executing with increaſed rigour, the ruinous inſtitutions they found exiſting; thoſe they themſelves fabricated were equally calculated to oppreſs with additional miſeries an already wretched race. This will be ſufficiently evident from a review of the general conduct of the Engliſh ſettlers, and the inhabitants of the Engliſh pale, towards the Iriſh people. The latter were reputed aliens and enemies; they were allowed no compenſation or remedy for any treſpaſſes committed againſt them, by the inhabitants of the pale. They frequently requeſted to be admitted to the participation of the Engliſh laws and inſtitutions. and were refuſed. Intermarriage with them was, by the ſtatute of Kilkenny, deemed a capital crime; and their invaders had the audacity ſo far to inſult the rights of human nature as to adjudge, that the murder of an Iriſhman was no felony*. How ſimilar the ſentiments entertained, by their oppreſſors, of the Weſt Indian negro, and Iriſh peaſant!

From theſe ſketches may be formed a tolerable general idea of the ſituation of the great maſs of the Iriſh people from the reign of Henry II. to that of James I. Expoſed to the combined inſolence, extortion, and rapacity of domeſtic and foreign deſpots, the hiſtorian will ſcarcely be able to diſcover an inſtance in any age or country, of a people more wretched and miſerable, more injured and oppreſſed. At this period ſome little improvement in their ſituation was effected. The inſtitution of coin and livery was aboliſhed; the war carried on by Elizabeth had in a great meaſure deſtroyed the power of the petty chiefs throughout the kingdom; the benefits of the Engliſh law were, for the firſt time, *equally* extended to all its inhabitants; and this as Sir John Davies ſays, " though ſomewhat diſtaſteful to

* At a general gaol delivery at Limerick, before the Lord Juſtice in the fourth year of Edward II. it is recorded, that " Wilielmus filius Rogeri, rectatus de morte " Rogeri de Canteton felonice per ipſum interfecti, venit et dicit, quod feloniam " per interfectionem prædictam committere non potuit, quia dicit quod prædict. " Rogerus *Hibernicus* eſt et non de *libero ſanguine.* Dicit etiam quod prædict. Roge- " rus fuit de cognomine de O'Hederiſcal, et non de cognomine de Canteton; et de " hoc ponit ſe ſuper patriam, &c. et Jurati dicunt ſuper ſacram: ſuum, quod prædict. " Rogerus Hibernicus fuit, et de cogomine de O'Hederiſcal, et pro Hibernico ha- " bebatur tota vita ſua. *Ideo* prædict. Wilielmus quoad feloniam prædict. *quietus.* " Sed quia prædict. Rogerus O'Hederiſcal fuit Hibernicus domini regis, prædictus " Wilielmus recommittatur gaolæ quouſque plegios invenerit de *quinque Marcis* " *ſolveadii* Dom. Regi pro ſolutione prædicti Hibernici." *Archiv. in Caſtr. Dub. apud Davies.*

" the

" the Iriſh lords, was ſweet and " moſt welcome to the com- " mon people; who, albeit they " were rude and barbarous, yet " did they quickly apprehend the " difference between the tyranny " and oppreſſion under which they " lived before, and the juſt go- " vernment and protection which " we *promiſed* unto them for the " time to come."

This apparent dawn of better days was ſoon, however, to be overcaſt. The unhappy difference in religious points, which had commenced ſome years before, ripened at length to the unfortunate and infamous rebellion of 1641. This and the ſubſequent civil war in 1688, in their conſequences, reduced the lower Iriſh to almoſt as wretched a ſtate as ever; and the penal code completed, under Queen Anne, a ſyſtem which pollutes the annals of the nation that gave it birth, was the concluding act of injury exerciſed over an oppreſſed, perſecuted, and at length dejected people. The liberal ſpirit of an enlightened and enlightening age has at laſt repealed the moſt obnoxious articles of this diſgraceful code. The ſituation of the peaſant has, ſince the final pacification of the kingdom, but more eſpecially ſince the ſettlement of its conſtitution in 1782, been daily improving; the exactions of a barbarous age are no longer known; but it remains to be conſidered whether the Iriſh commonalty are not ſtill expoſed to the oppreſſion of the powerful, the contumely of the rich, the inſult of the haughty.

It is equally certain, and to be lamented, that the Iriſh peaſantry of even the preſent day are expoſed to, and experience a greater degree of domeſtic tyranny than can well be imagined. A reſidence of ſome continuation among them is requiſite fully to comprehend, as well the obvious and open outrages of the unfeeling *gentleman bully*, as the various little exactions and oppreſſions of the authoritative landlord. The writer of this Eſſay has had many opportunities of knowing the real ſituation of the lower Iriſh. He might adduce inſtances from his own obſervation, of the hard treatment they frequently experience, and the extortions to which they are daily expoſed: but a repetition of the former would be diſguſting, a petty detail of the latter tedious. Of both a very adequate idea may be formed from the juſt and liberal remarks of Mr. Young. We ſhall give an extract from them in place of any deſcription of our own; only remarking, that the improvement he notices has, ſince his Tour, been progreſſive, and, even during ſo ſhort a period, far from inconſiderable. " It muſt be very ap- " parent to every traveller through " the country, that the labouring " poor are treated with harſhneſs, " and are in all reſpects ſo little " conſidered, that their want of " importance ſeems a perfect con- " traſt to their ſituation in Eng- " land, of which country, com- " paratively ſpeaking, they reign " the ſovereigns. The age has " improved ſo much in humanity, " that even the poor Iriſh have " experienced its influence; and " are every day treated better and " better. But ſtill the remnant " of the old manners, the abomi- " nable diſtinction of religion, " united

"united with the oppreſſive con-
"duct of the little country gen-
"tlemen, or rather vermin of the
"kingdom, who never were out
"of it, altogether bear ſtill very
"heavy on the poor people, and
"ſubject them to ſituations more
"mortifying than we ever beheld
"in England.—A landlord in Ire-
"land can ſcarcely invent an or-
"der which a ſervant, labourer,
"or cotter, dares refuſe to exe-
"cute. Nothing ſatisfies him but
"an unlimited ſubmiſſion; diſ-
"reſpect, or any thing tending
"towards ſaucineſs, he may pu-
"niſh with his cane or his horſe-
"whip with the moſt perfect ſecu-
"rity. A poor man would have
"his bones broke if he offered to
"lift his hand in his own defence.
"Knocking down is ſpoken of in
"the country in a manner that
"makes an Engliſhman ſtare.—
"If a poor man lodges a com-
"plaint againſt a gentleman, or
"any animal that chooſes to call
"itſelf a gentleman, and a juſtice
"iſſues out a ſummons for his ap-
"pearance, it is a fixed affront,
"and he will infallibly be *called*
"*out*.' Where *manners* are in con-
"ſpiracy againſt *law*, to whom are
"the oppreſſed people to have
"recourſe?"—Even if an unfor-
tunate individual, treated in the
harſheſt manner, find any juſtice
hardy enough to receive his infor-
mation, and attempts to puniſh
his oppreſſor at the general aſſizes,
I merely aſk one ſimple queſtion—
is it not ten to one that the grand
jury will throw out the bills of
indictment?

The exactions and extortions
which thoſe ſaid *little* country
gentlemen are guilty of, in a thou-
ſand different ways, are too well
known to require any proof; we
ſhall have occaſion hereafter
ſlightly to notice them.

To offer any evidence of the
poverty which prevails among the
Iriſh commonalty would ſurely
be ſuperfluous: it is too obvious
to eſcape the notice of the moſt
inattentive, too conſiderable not
to poſſeſs a powerful influence on
their character, and ſo univerſally
acknowledged, as to render any
proof of its exiſtence unneceſſary.
Its prevalence has probably been
occaſioned by the diſturbed ſtate
of the nation for ſeveral ages, by
the general diſcouragement to
induſtrious purſuits already no-
ticed, and by that oppreſſion to
which the peaſantry have been
expoſed from ſo many ſources, and
through ſo many centuries.

It is not difficult to determine
how the facts we have mentioned
have influenced the character of
the Iriſh commonalty, and ſullied
it with the defects already ſtated.
The relation between cauſe and
effect is probably as ſteady and
uniform in the moral and political,
as in the natural world. If the
human mind be, as we ſuppoſe it,
ultimately ſimilar in every variety
of our ſpecies, the ſame cauſes to
whoſe operation it is expoſed,
muſt, in ſimilar ſituations, be uni-
verſally followed by ſimilar con-
ſequences. The great difficulty
in all ſuch inquiries is, to trace
the operation of the ſeveral collat-
eral circumſtances, which modify
the impreſſion of the generally
operating cauſe.

Conformably to this leading
principle, it will be found, that
conſiderable and continued op-
preſſion has uniformly degraded
the character of any unfortunate

people

people over whom it has been exerted. In the inſtance before us, many of the leading traits in the character of the lower Iriſh may eaſily be traced to this original. "Extortion and oppreſſion," as Sir John Davies ſays, "hath "been the true cauſe of the idle- "neſs of this Iriſh nation." Oppreſſion is univerſally the parent of idleneſs, eſpecially when accompanied by exaction and rapacity; both have exiſted to an enormous degree among us, and both, though conſiderably diminiſhed, ſtill exiſt. National habits, once acquired, are not eaſily eradicated; and that idleneſs which the more open, deſultory, and barbarous violence of former ages introduced, is continued by the more uniform and *gentlemanly* oppreſſion of the preſent.

To the ſame cauſe are to be attributed the fawning flattery, the low cunning, the tendency to falſehood, with which our unfortunate peaſantry may, with too much truth, I cannot ſay with too much juſtice, be reproached. Man reſiſts, by nature and by inſtinct, the inſulting arm of power; but if ſuch reſiſtance be unfortunately ineffectual, he ſeeks the debaſing protection of flattery, craft, and cunning, the reſources of the ſlave in every age and every nation. *Ingenium mala ſæpe movent.* Deprived of independence, man, as well as the more inferior ſpecies of the animal creation, deſerts the dignity of nature, and aſſumes an artificial and degrading character.

To the ſame oppreſſion are we to trace the lawleſs inclinations of the Iriſh peaſant. Feeling little protection from the law, he is little intereſted in its ſupport. Conſcious of the inefficacy of ſtatutes to his defence, he ſeeks the protection of his more powerful maſter*; who defends him from fellow-lordlings, more, in general, from a ſenſe of injury which any attack on his vaſſal is ſuppoſed to convey, than from motives of philanthropy or general equity and independence. Hence, if the chief be engaged in any lawleſs attempt, if he be deſirous, for inſtance, of forcing or detaining an unwarrantable poſſeſſion, the nod is given to his dependents, and his dictates obeyed, not only without murmur, but with alacrity.

To the deſtructive influence of oppreſſion upon the character of the lower Iriſh, is added that of general and extreme poverty. To this the thieving diſpoſition they are reproached with is to be principaliy attributed. It is an old ſaying, that "neceſſity has no law;" and the wretch who feels himſelf and family pinched with hunger, and expoſed in rags to the inclemency of ſeaſons, is in ſome degree excuſable in pilfering from his oppreſſors, the means of ſcanty and temporary relief. Where the ſituation of the poor has been bettered, their thieving has been uniformly found to diminiſh: render their circumſtances comfortable, it will entirely diſappear.

The miſery and idleneſs occaſioned by poverty and oppreſſion united, is a principal ſource of the prevalent tendency to ebriety, and the conſequent riotous feuds

* The common appellation for landlord in Ireland.

ſo remarkable among the Iriſh. Drunkenneſs is the ſolace of miſery, the reſource of the uncivilized in every quarter of the world. Habit and example confirm and extend a practice ſo deſtructive; but as general wealth increaſes, and as induſtry and civilization become diffuſed, it is gradually diminiſhed, and, as a national ſtigma, at length effaced.

Mode of letting Land in Ireland.

From Crumpe's Eſſay.

FROM the different mode of *ſetting lands* in England and Ireland, the proportionate rent muſt to a certainty be higher in the latter than in the former country. In England, when a leaſe is expired, the proportion of rent to be paid in future is amicably adjuſted between landlord and tenant according to a general principle almoſt univerſally adhered to, viz. that the landlord is to receive one-third of the whole annual produce as his rent. This, even, however, he ſeldom receives. I have ſeen a calculation, according to which the Engliſh farmer generally made four rents per annum, often five and ſix. From the prevalence of this mode of agreement between landlord and tenant, when a leaſe is expired, a third perſon ſcarcely ever interferes: the former occupier is ſuppoſed to have what is called a *tenant-right* to the premiſes. He is content to pay a reaſonable advance for the improved ſtate his farm may have arrived at; the landlord accepts the cuſtomary proportionate increaſe; and theſe cuſtoms, according to Smith, "ſo favourable to the yeo-"manry, have contributed more "to the preſent grandeur of Eng-"land than all their boaſted re-"gulations of commerce taken "together."

In Ireland, the mode of ſetting lands is perfectly oppoſite, and as deſtructive a ſyſtem of extortion as can be conceived. When a leaſe is expired, in place of ſuch an amicable adjuſtment, the lands are advertiſed to be let to the higheſt bidder, the propoſals of each are kept ſecret, and by this unfair ſpecies of auction, a promiſe of exorbitant rent is obtained, very frequently to the excluſion of the former occupier, who is conſidered as having no ſtronger claim to them than the moſt perfect ſtranger, unleſs he exceed him in the amount of the propoſed rent. This practice of *canting* lands, as it is termed, ſo univerſally prevalent, and ſo juſtly reprobated by every enlightened mind, proves ſeverely injurious to agriculture in two ways: by paying for his land an exorbitant and diſproportionate rent, the occupying farmer is kept in perpetual poverty, and prevented from acquiring that capital which would enable him to proſecute the cultivation of his farm more ſucceſsfully; and as the farmer is certain that any improvements made upon his land will but enhance their value upon the expiration of his leaſe, and from the competition of the cant neceſſarily and conſiderably raiſe his rent; if he inclines to continue an occupier, he neglects any except thoſe immediately neceſſary. Nay, he is tempted, as well from motives of preſent gain as from the deſire of preventing

venting others from outbidding him, to leave his farm in as ruinous a ſtate as poſſible. Hence ariſe thoſe clauſes in leaſes, ſo frequent in Ireland, preventing the occupier from turning up above a certain number of acres of ground during the laſt three years of his leaſe.

But theſe are not the only injuries occaſioned by the canting of lands; the evils are uſually repeated between the proprietor of the eſtate and the cultivator; and this leads to the conſideration of thoſe nuiſances, *middle-men*, as they are termed. Theſe become the primary tenants to large diſtricts; and dividing them into ſmaller, portion each out among the immediate occupiers and reſidents. Their only motive for taking theſe farms is the acquiſition of ſome annual profit. To obtain this, as they have probably become tenants at an exorbitant rent themſelves, they endeavour to gain ſuch profit by ſetting up the lands among the wretched peaſantry to an auction ſimilar to that by which they themſelves obtained them. The farm is publiſhed, as it is called, at the chapel or market town. Private propoſals are to be made, and no preference to be expected, except by the higheſt bidder. Attached, from various motives, to the place of his reſidence, and having little proſpect of bettering himſelf elſewhere, as every acre of land in its vicinity is probably in the hands of ſimilar jobbers, the former proprietor is tempted to offer an extravagent rent, from the dread of being ouſted from his little dwelling, by ſome more bold ſpeculator. To this inconvenience, however, notwithſtanding his advanced offers, he is frequently obliged to ſubmit. A higher bidder is often at hand, who ſupplants the former wretched tenant, and either drags out a miſerable exiſtence under a diſproportionate burden, or failing in the endeavour to diſcharge his promiſes, drives off his ſtarving cattle, in the night, to ſome diſtant and mountainous diſtrict, and is no more heard of by his diſappointed landlord.

But middle-men are injurious to the agricultural intereſts of Ireland in more ways than we have juſt mentioned. They are the claſs from whom the poor principally experience that oppreſſion, to which we have aſſerted they are ſtill ſubject. A middle-man, poſſeſſed of large farms, and reſident among his tenantry, can, and too frequently does, act the deſpot over them without the ſemblance of reſiſtance. Many of them have no leaſes but at will; but even thoſe who have obtained a tenure of twenty-one or thirty-one years, are ſtill liable to be turned out at the whim of the landlord; for although he may not be ſo daring as to attempt illegally to diſpoſſeſs them, yet by driving their cattle when the rent falls due, and haraſſing them in a variety of ways, he will compel them either to unlimited ſubmiſſion, or a voluntary ſurrender of their premiſes. By theſe means, and by the ſcandalous connivance of magiſtrates and juries, where a *gentleman* is in queſtion, the middle-man poſſeſſes an uncontrouled dominion over his vaſſals; and thoſe

who know human nature will be but too ſenſible how liable ſuch a poſſeſſion is to abuſe.

Beſide the exorbitant rent which he engages to pay, the wretched tenant, in conſequence of this power, is liable to further exactions from the reſident middle-man. Is his maſter's turf to be cut and drawn home, the gratuitous ſervice of himſelf and horſe is expected. Are the gentleman's crops to be ſaved, although his own are rotting, and the ſcanty wages of labour, from a preſs of buſineſs, are ſomewhat raiſed in the neighbourhood; his attendance at the cuſtomary rate is expected, and expectation is enough. Does his lady want the luxury of eggs for breakfaſt—but it would be diſguſting to deſcend to a detail of pitiful exactions, the very recital of which ſhould raiſe the bluſhes of every petty lordling conſcious of their perpetration.

An improvement in the agriculture of the kingdom might be hoped for from middle-men reſident in the country, and, in their own defence, neceſſitated to practiſe ſome degree of huſbandry. Vain are ſuch expectations. A general improvement in agriculture will never be effected by gentlemen farmers. Their huſbandry differs little from that of the cottagers who ſurround them; their profits, in place of being ſo uſefully employed, are expended in idle diſſipation and extravagance. The yell of a pack of ſtarving beagles is more pleaſing to their ears than the ſong of the ploughman. The ſight of their fellow ſportſmen, drenched to inſenſibility in whiſkey, more pleaſing to their eyes, than luxuriant crops, and well cultivated fields. They are the claſs among whom what remains of the ferocious ſpirit of drinking, which formerly diſgraced the kingdom, is ſtill to be found; they are thoſe from whom principally emanate all the bad conſequences we have already aſcribed to oppreſſion, diſſipation, extravagance, and pernicious example.

As the exiſtence of an intermediate tenant between the poſſeſſor and immediate occupier of the ſoil, is a circumſtance which, in the various ways we have mentioned, obſtructs and depreſſes the agriculture of Ireland; ſo it affords an additional proof, beſide thoſe already given, of the low ſtate of that important branch of employment. Middle-men are only known in the unimproved parts of every empire. In the central and well cultivated ſhires of England they do not exiſt; in the diſtant and poorer diſtricts there are ſome traces of them. In Scotland they are common; in Ireland they are wearing out in the more rich and beſt cultivated counties; in thoſe of a contrary deſcription they are almoſt univerſal. In France the ſame obſervations are applicable. In ſhort, their number and frequency are in every country in an inverſe ratio to its wealth and improvement.

On Pedlars.

From Heron's *Journey through Part of Scotland.*

AND here, if I may be allowed to aſſume, for a moment, the cloak,

or hood at leaſt, of a commercial philoſopher, I am induced to obſerve, that chapmen or pedlars, are the great civilizers of countries and nations. We learn from Cæſar and other Roman writers, that the travelling merchants who frequented Gaul and other barbarous countries, either newly conquered by the Roman arms, or bordering on the Roman conqueſts, were ever the firſt to make the inhabitants of thoſe countries familiarly acquainted with the Roman modes of life, and to inſpire them with an inclination to follow Roman faſhions, and to enjoy Roman conveniencies. In North America, travelling merchants from the ſettlements have done and continue to do much more towards civilizing the Indian natives, than all the Miſſionaries, papiſt or proteſtant, who have ever been ſent among them. There is reaſon to expect, that much may be equally done for the civilization of the natives of New Holland, by chapmen travelling, with ſuitable wares, from our new formed ſettlements at Botany Bay.

Nothing can be more natural, than that theſe things ſhould ſo happen. A rude people will hardly go in ſearch of commodities of which they know not the names, the nature, or the value, and which they have little, if any, money to purchaſe. Yet, when ſuch commodities are brought among them, expoſed to their view, and recommended as faſhionable or uſeful; they ſeldom fail to take a fancy for them, and will often give in exchange any thing of however eſſential utility, that they already poſſeſs. They learn to labour, that they may have means with which to purchaſe thoſe foreign commodities. They learn to diſdain the uſe of thoſe coarſe clothes, or rude utenſils, with which they were before content. And with the new conveniencies, they inſenſibly adopt that improved ſyſtem of manners to which ſuch conveniencies properly correſpond. In the ſtage of the progreſs of ſociety in which this change is begun, no ſuch alteration could poſſibly take place, without the intervention of chapmen or pedlars.

It is farther to be obſerved, for the credit of this moſt uſeful claſs of men, that they commonly contribute, by their perſonal manners no leſs than by the ſale of their wares, to the refinement of the people among whom they travel. Their dealings form them to great quickneſs of wit, and acuteneſs of judgment. Having conſtant occaſion to recommend themſelves and their goods, they acquire habits of the moſt obliging attention, and the moſt inſinuating addreſs. As, in their peregrinations, they have opportunity of contemplating the manners of various men and various cities; they become eminently ſkilled in the knowledge of the world. As they wander, each alone, through thinly inhabited diſtricts, they form habits of reflexion, and of ſublime contemplation. With all theſe qualifications, no wonder, that they ſhould often be, in remote parts of the country, the beſt mirrors of faſhion, and cenſors of manners; and ſhould contribute much to poliſh the roughneſs and ſoften the ruſticity of our peaſantry. It is not more than twenty or thirty years, ſince a young man going from any part of Scotland to England, of purpoſe

to *carry the pack*, was conſidered, as going to lead the life, and to acquire the fortune of a gentleman. When, after twenty years abſence, in that honourable line of employment, he returned, with his acquiſitions to his native country, he was regarded as a gentleman to all intents and purpoſes. When he had purchaſed a little eſtate, he commonly made improvements, and ſet up in a ſtile of living, by which the taſte of the whole country-ſide was mightily corrected and refined. I believe in my conſcience, that at leaſt a fifth part of our ſecond-rate gentry, whoſe gentility is not of ancient, military origin, may trace it to the uſeful induſtry of this deſerved claſs of citizens.

But, to trace ſomewhat farther, the progreſs of that refinement which is begun through the miniſtration of itinerant merchants:—When curioſity, taſte, induſtry, and fancy have, by their endeavours, been rouzed; the purchaſers of their commodities learn next to meet them at fairs. By aſſembling upon theſe occaſions, they become more ſocial in their tempers, they are taught to vie with one another in their manners and appearance, they gain ſome knowledge of traffic, and become acquainted with more of the conveniencies of life. The time of the fair becomes a period to which their hopes look forward, and an æra from which every one dates ſome increaſe or other of his perſonal importance. Every one returns home from it, too, with reſolutions to earn money or to prepare commodities which may enable him to make greater purchaſes by the return of next fair.

The ſpirit of induſtry and of ſocial intercourſe which is by this means ſtirred up, continues to operate, till yet more frequent meetings for the purpoſes of traffic become requiſite. Markets are next eſtabliſhed; the chapmen become ſhop-keepers; and the improvement of the country, if not impeded by the operation of oppoſite cauſes, goes rapidly on.

This is no fanciful or ludicrous deduction. The progreſs of induſtry, and of luxury, advances by theſe very ſteps. Chapmen are undeniably of all that conſequence in ſociety which I have aſcribed to them. I know not if the Society for propagating Chriſtian knowledge in the Highlands and Iſlands of Scotland, had not better employ chapmen, inſtead of preaching miſſionaries,—or unite the two characters of the chapman and the preaching miſſionary in the ſame perſon.

Anecdotes of celebrated Botaniſts.

From Stoever's *Life of Linnæus.*

WITH the cloſe of the ſixteenth century a man appeared, who had long ago been expected by botany in its confuſed ſtate, who did not ſhrink from the herculean labour of collecting into one regular maſs its numerous and ſcattered treaſures, of exhibiting them at one view, and giving a knowledge of the botanical world and all its diſcoveries. This was Caſpar Bauhin, the ſecond great botaniſt produced by Switzerland. He was born in the year 1560, at Baſil, made a tour through Italy and Germany, and was appointed profeſſor

feſſor of botany and anatomy in his native place, where he died in 1624.

His elder brother John Bauhin, firſt phyſician to the Duke of Wurtemburgh, acquired alſo a great literary reputation in botany. The principal works by which he gained a laſting name in the annals of that ſcience, were his repreſentations of plants; and eſpecially what he called the exhibition of the botanical theatre, a work which took up almoſt all his lifetime, and was the fruit of fourteen years collections and labours. It ſerved to facilitate the ſtudy of botany, and to promote its knowledge.

Bauhin was not the creator of a ſyſtem, but he reformed many abuſes and defects, eſpecially the confuſion of names.

He collected the ſynonymous terms of 6,000 plants, which various authors had aſſigned to them of their own accord. This prevented the manifold miſtakes which had till then been made by botaniſts, who took ſeveral deſcript plants for non-deſcript, and gave them new names, only becauſe they had been deſcribed too much and too variouſly. Bauhin himſelf made ſeveral miſtakes in this new method, which are, however, conſidering the whole extent of his merits, worthy of being overlooked.

Linnæus himſelf repreſents the fate of botany under an ingenious ſimile: "Botany," ſays he, "is a plant of the genus of the palms, which ſometimes do not bloom for a whole century, and bear fruit at a late period. Botany firſt put forth ſome ſhoots in the reign of Alexander, was afterwards tranſplanted to Rome, continued to proſper, but grew no further, and began to fade, when they ceaſed to foſter it. It was then tranſported into Arabia, and yielded for the firſt time, in the ſixteenth century, a ſlight frail bloſſom in Italy, (Cæſalpinus) a bloſſom which could be blaſted on its ſhort and thin ſtalks by the leaſt guſt of wind, and bore no kind of fruit. In the ſeventeenth century it began to germinate, produced only a few leaves, and no mark of bloom; but in the ſpring of this golden age, when the ſnow had ſcarcely been melted, the trunk put forth bloſſom, and the latter a fruit (Caſpar Bauhin) which almoſt came to maturity."

This fruit procured contentment. A pauſe enſued in the farther cultivation of botany. The learned thought it was ſufficient, if they knew and called the plants by the names which Bauhin had given them. The ravages of the thirty years war, the theatre of which was chiefly in Germany, had no progreſſive influence on the arts and ſciences of peace, eſpecially on botany. Among thoſe men who thought freely of botany, and conſulted their own ſpirit of inquiry, there was one at this period in Lower Saxony, of the name of Joachin Jungius. He was born at Lubeck in 1586, firſt profeſſor of mathematics at Gieſon and Roſtock, afterwards profeſſor of phyſic at Helmſtaedt, and died as rector at Hamburgh, in 1657. His ſpirit, accuſtomed to mathematical accuracy, beſtowed more attention on the internal ſtructure of plants, he made more ingenious remarks in his

his writings, and was the firſt who had ſome of the fundamental ideas of the ſyſtem which was finally introduced by Linnæus.

But during the latter half of the laſt century, a new epoch commenced in botany as well as in many other ſciences. The former acquired more enthuſiaſtic lovers, even among thoſe nations who till then had hardly taken any notice of it. Thus far its empire had ſolely been extended to the productions of Europe; but now the firſt zealous beginning was made, to obtain knowledge from the other parts of the world.

The Engliſh, Dutch, and French, being the firſt commercial nations, had the beſt opportunities, and took care to profit by them. Rumphius, Herman, Rheede, Kaempfer, Margrof, Sloane, Pluckenet, Brown, Sherard, Cateſby, Clayton, Tournefort, Dodart, Plumier, Feuille, Boccone, and many others, travelled to remote countries and iſlands, and acquired merit in natural hiſtory. With the love of collecting natural curioſities, which ſpread more and more throughout Europe, the botanical gardens alſo became more numerous. In England thoſe of Oxford, Chelſea, and Kew, and in Holland thoſe of Amſterdam, Leyden, and the Hague, were eſtabliſhed.

The advantage accruing from theſe voyages and travels, augmented to an uncommon degree the botanical materials, and rendered them twice as copious as they had been before. Hence a proper ſyſtematical method became the more neceſſary to avoid a Babelonian confuſion among the different writers in that ſcience. It required a better compaſs to extricate oneſelf from ſuch a labyrynth, and according to theſe wiſhes the epoch of ſyſtematical botany arrived.

The Britons were the firſt who opened this ſyſtematic tract in Robert Moriſon and John Ray, or as he called himſelf in Latin, Rajus, both of them originally divines. Moriſon was a native of Aberdeen, in Scotland, born there in 1620. He remained a ſtaunch loyaliſt during the civil wars which diſtracted England, and ſerved even as a ſoldier; a ſituation of life which he could never forget, owing to a dangerous wound he had received. He afterwards went to France, where he was made director of the royal garden at Blois, returned to England in 1660, and was appointed profeſſor of botany at Oxford. His end was tragical. While riding in a curricle through the ſtreets of London it was overſet, and himſelf thrown on the pavement, by which fall he fractured his ſkull in 1683. Linnæus drew his character and merits in a letter to Baron Haller, written in the year 1737, in the following expreſſions: "Moriſon was a vain, ſelf-conceited, but nevertheleſs, a meritorious man, ſince he revived an antiquated method. If you compare the genera of Tournefort, you will eaſily ſee what the latter owed to Moriſon; it was at leaſt an obligation as great as that which Moriſon owed to Cæſalpinus, even allowing Tournefort to have been a moſt ſcrupulous enquirer. With all the good things which Moriſon borrowed of Cæſalpinus, he ſeems to have differed from him in point of a ſyſtematical knowledge of nature,

nature, whereas Cæſalpinus paid greater attention to the diſtinctive marks of plants."

Ray, an Engliſhman, born in the county of Eſſex 1628, the rival of Moriſon, was a much ſuperior genius. Divinity was his profeſſional ſtudy; but this ſacred purſuit did not make his fortune, owing to the ſpirit of oppoſition which he manifeſted in the contentions of the church. He travelled through Germany, France, and Italy, and afterwards directed his excluſive application to botany and natural hiſtory, in which he wrote more than any other of his countrymen. He died in 1705, in the 77th year of his age, after having acquired great celebrity.

Linnæus gave a ſtill more unfavourable opinion of him. He draws his character in the above-mentioned letter as follows: "Ray certainly was a moſt laborious man in collections and deſcriptions; but in that branch of botanical knowledge which relates to the genera of plants, he was leſs than nothing, and in the examination of flowers a mere non entity. Compare the firſt edition of his botanical ſyſtem with the ſecond and third; every thing it contains he borrowed from Tournefort. I am at a loſs to divine why nobody takes notice of the diſcoveries of Cæſalpinus, and wiſhes to aſcribe every thing to Ray. Both Moriſon and Ray derived their botanical ſyſtem from the fruit of plants."

To theſe authors of ſyſtems may be added Auguſtus Rivin, a Saxon, profeſſor of botany at Leipzick, where he died in 1723, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age. He claſſified the plants by the number of their petals, or the leaves of their flowers, and divided them into eighteen claſſes; a diviſion ſubject to many material defects.

Thus different ſtructures were raiſed to reduce into order the ſtores of natural productions, and to facilitate a comprehenſive view of them; but, as in all former fabrics, there was no formal and regular perfection in them. The chambers were not ſufficiently commodious for common uſe, and the diviſion of the whole was deſtitute of ſolidity and preciſion.

A greater architect aroſe, who excelled all his predeceſſors. This was Joſeph Pitton de Tournefort, a Frenchman, born at Aix, in Provence, in 1656, whoſe genius was wholly created for botany. His parents had deſtined him for the church, but Tournefort, like our Linnæus, ranged through the fields, and collected plants, inſtead of going to ſchool. He was left fatherleſs at the age of twenty-one. He now devoted himſelf entirely to his inclination, ſtudied at Montpelier, where the botanical garden was of great ſervice to him; made a tour through Languedoc, Dauphiny, and the Pyrennees; was appointed profeſſor of the royal botanical garden at Paris in 1683; viſited Spain, Portugal, England, and Holland; undertook to travel from 1700 to 1702, at the expence of Louis XV. into Greece and Aſia, whither he was accompanied by A. Gundelſheimer, a native of Anſpach, and phyſician to the king of Pruſſia, and died at laſt in a ſtate of celibacy in the year 1708. His death was occaſioned by a cataſtrophe ſimilar to that which befel Moriſon; his cheſt being cruſhed by a carriage which ſuddenly paſſed by him.

Before

Before he set out on his travels, he published a new botanical system, which soon attracted universal attention. He divided the plants into twenty-two classes, which he determined by the different formation of the flower, and their orders he ascertained by the fruit. His system of reform principally consisted of the following points and topics:

He divided all the plants which were known to him from the quality of the flower *(corollæ)*, into classes, which his predecessors had limited by the fruit, and these classes he subdivided into orders. He arranged the genera by solid distinctive marks, which he borrowed of the fruit; gave them fixed generical names, and placed the species, with their manifold variations, under the genera. Thus, when the lovers and professors of botany met with a flower or plant unknown to them, the guidance of this system enabled them to get acquainted with the class by the structure of the flower, with the order by the quality of the fruit, and by the examination of both fruit and flower with the species. This classification was of infinite service in affording uncommon aid to the memory and judgment. His system also remained in general acceptance to the time of Linnæus, and many learned men took pains to mend its defects.

While Tournefort was still dignified with the title of the oracle of botany, one of his pupils made himself conspicuous by his heterodox ingenuity. Too soon, however, was he torn from the top of the sciences, to have erected himself a throne upon the ruins of that of his master. This was Sebastian Vaillant, a Frenchman, born at Vigny, in Isle de France, in 1669. His poverty made him apply rather late to his favourite study. He first was an organist, then a surgeon, and afterwards secretary to Fagon, first physician to Louis XIV. He learned a great deal of this man; made his fortune through him, being appointed demonstrator of the plants in the royal botanical garden at Paris, under Anthony de Jussieu, professor of botany, whom he soon after excelled by his superior talents and merits. Vaillant died at Paris in 1722. He only published two small pamphlets, in which he did not encompass with peculiar judgment the whole reign of botany, although he displayed many new and original observations in them. Linnæus stood much indebted to his ingenuity and observations upon the internal structure of plants and their sexes, and always remained his warmest defender.

"I own", says Linnæus, in a letter to Baron Haller, "that I never read an author more accurate than Vaillant, nor one who invented more novelty in botany, laboured more, and obtained less reward than him."

Tournefort was, and remained the prince of botany; but upon nearer investigation, there were many imperfections and flaws found in his system. Soon after him many articles of his were changed, new names and new classes introdnced, and fresh methods planned; but those who embarked in such enterprizes were men not half so ingenious nor half so penetrating as Tournefort. The botanical commonwealth was threatened with fresh barbarism and ravages, had not a different legislation brought about a total reform.

Linnæus's

Linnæus's Visit to England.

From the same Work.

THE amenities of the summer of 1736 were considerably heightened, for Linnæus, by a journey to England, which he undertook towards the latter end of July, at Clifford's expence. No country could offer greater aliments for his desire of knowledge, nor was there one he had more anxiously wished to visit than this happy island. Clifford's intention of enriching his garden with foreign, and especially with North American plants, which were cultivated in the nurseries of Oxford and London, and of establishing fresh connexions for the benefit of his museum and garden, coincided with the desires of Linnæus. Clifford, who did not like to be long deprived of the latter, limited the time of his absence to the short period of eight or twelve days. But Linnæus was eight days on his passage from Rotterdam to Harwich. He arrived at London with a letter of recommendation from Boerhaave to Sir Hans Sloane, bart. then the greatest amateur and collector in natural history, and afterwards founder of the British Museum. This letter is still carefully preserved among the archives of that Museum. The substance of this letter, to the honour of Linnæus, and as an exact opinion of that great man respecting the genius of our young botanist, deserves particular mention: "*The bearer of this letter,*" says Boerhaave "*is alone worthy of "seeing you—alone worthy of being "seen by you. He who shall see "you both together, shall see two "men, whose like will scarcely ever "be found in the world.*"

But, notwithstanding, a recommendation couched in such expressions as Boerhaave's, whose mind was unsullied by flattery, had never been written before, and which Sir Hans Sloane had never received of any foreigner, Linnæus did not meet with that warm and friendly reception which he had fancied. The old Baronet did not seem quite pleased with Boerhaave's compliment, and the presence of the young man, who wished to raise his learning above all others, and to subvert the orthodoxy of botanical science. He had followed Ray's system ever since the last century, and observed the alphabetic order in his collections. He was too old, in fact, and too self-sufficient to feel any inclination to learn the innovations of our young man, and to do homage to the laws of his system. He very readily permitted Linnæus, as he did other foreigners, to see his cabinet; a treasure unequalled in its kind all over the world. He also shewed him his herbal, which consisted of near 250 divisions.

One of the principal motives of the journey of Linnæus to England, was the botanical garden at Chelsea. Clifford wished to procure some foreign plants from it. The great botanist, Philip Miller, who died on the 18th of December 1771, in the 80th year of his age, was then keeper of that garden. Linnæus waited on him; Miller conducted him into the garden, shewed him the plants, and gave them their ancient and inaccurate names. Linnæus was silent, his silence was ascribed to ignorance,

and Miller jocofely faid to one of his acquaintance: "*Sure the botaniſt of Burgomaſter Clifford is a great man,—he knows nothing at all of plants.*" Linnæus heard of this, and ſaw Miller again, firmly reſolved to teach him to know better. Miller made uſe a ſecond time of the ancient names: "why do you apply theſe, pray?" aſked Linnæus, "we have better and conciſer appellations."—Miller ſtill retained the ancient terms, was ſomewhat offended at the leſſon he had received, but began, however, to conceive more eſteem for the knowledge of Linnæus. The latter viſited him a third time, and met with a more pleaſant and polite reception, obtained the plants which he requeſted for Clifford's garden, kept up ever after a friendly acquaintance and correſpondence with Miller, and the garden of Chelſea was finally arranged according to the Linnæan ſyſtem.

From London, Linnæus went to Oxford. The greateſt and moſt ingenious botaniſt in that Univerſity was, at that time, John James Dillenius, by birth a Heſſian, formerly a profeſſor of botany at the Univerſity of Gieſſen, who died in 1747. He met with the ſame patronage on the part of a rich Engliſhman, which Linnæus did on the part of Clifford. This patron was William Sherard, whoſe brother James was alſo a great lover of natural hiſtory. Sherard, as a private man, was the moſt zealous promoter of natural ſcience England could then boaſt of. He had long reſided at Smyrna as Conſul, and he collected a great number of plants and natural curioſities. On his return to England he eſtabliſhed the celebrated botanical garden at his ſeat at Eltham, which was deſcribed by Dillenius. (Hortus Elthamenſis, Oxon 1732.) He intended to continue the great work of Bauhin (πινακες Theatri Botanici) but death arreſted him in his enterprize in 1738. To render his collections uſeful to poſterity, he depoſited a ſum of money to eſtabliſh a profeſſorſhip at Oxford, for the purpoſe of deſcribing and arranging thoſe collections. Dillenius obtained this office; he took upon him the preſcribed literary labour, but could not accompliſh it. His time was moſtly taken up by his natural hiſtory of Moſſes, (Hiſtoria Muſcorum, Oxon 1741) a claſſical work, in which more than 600 ſpecies of Moſſes are deſcribed, by which he made an epoch in natural hiſtory, and raiſed a laſting monument to his fame.

Linnæus waited on Dillenius, and found him in company with another gentleman; who, as he afterwards learned, was no other than William Sherard. He addreſſed Dillenius in Latin, and apologized for his ignorance of the Engliſh language. After ſome ſhort converſation, Dillenius ſaid to Sherard in Engliſh: "*See, this is the young man who confounds all botany.*" Linnæus underſtood this, as the word confound, is analogous to the Latin of *confundere*, was made uſe of; he feigned, however, not to underſtand him. They then went to the garden. Linnæus took great notice of a plant which he had not yet ſeen (*Anthirrhinum Minus.*) He aſked Dillenius what plant it was?

was? That is more than you can tell me, answered the latter.—"Yes, I can tell, if I may be permitted to take off a flower and examine it."—Take one, and welcome, said Dillenius; Linnæus took one, and gave it the right name. Dillenius, prepossessed by the pride of his own knowledge, continued to treat our luminary with great coolness and reserve.

The latter despaired of ever gaining his friendship, and obtaining presents of plants for Clifford's garden. His travelling money was also very nearly expended. He went, therefore, on the third day to Dillenius, and intreated him to let his servant hire a coach for him to return to London, as he could not speak English. The servant was dispatched. "Before "I go," said Linnæus, "I have "one favour more to request: "pray tell me, candidly, why did "you tell the man who was with "you the day before yester-"day, that I was *the person who* "*confounded all botany*?" Astonished and thunderstruck! Dillenius endeavoured to deny what he had said, and to turn the conversation on some other subject; but Linnæus insisted on an explanation. "Well," said Dillenius, "come along with me." He went to his library, and shewed Linnæus his work, intituled, *Genera plantarum*, of which Gronov, without his knowledge, had sent him one half of the printed sheets. Every page was marked in different places with the letters N. B.—"What do "these marks signify?" asked Linnæus. "*They signify all the false* "*genera of plants in your book.*" "They are not false," replied Linnæus, "or if they are, I beg you "would teach me better; I will "thankfully receive your correc-"tion."—"Very well, let us try." They went in the garden. Dillenius took up a plant called *blitum*, in his and others opinion it had three stamina. Linnæus examined the flower, and found, according to his assertion, that it had only one. "Psha! such a thing may happen "in one flower," exclaimed Dillenius; "but it was so with all. Several plants were now examined, and the genera given by Linnæus proved to be accurate. This effected an entire change in the conduct of Dillenius. "You must "not be gone so soon," said he, "I "wish you would assist me in ar-"ranging and classing Sherard's "collections." Linnæus saw those collections, remained some time longer at Oxford, and received of Dillenius all the plants he wished to have for Clifford's garden.

Dillenius would not, however, publicly accept the Linnæan system. Old age, added to the pride of experience, scouted the idea of reform, and fought rather to follow error than truth. But this literary discordance did not diminish the esteem Dillenius had conceived for Linnæus, though it was not preserved quite uncontaminated by envy.

To this interesting acquaintance may be added several other connexions at Oxford and London, which were useful to Clifford, and in process of time equally advantageous to Linnæus. A friendly intercourse was cultivated and improved between the latter and professors Collinson Martyn, Rand, Ehret, and other persons who make

make a conſpicuous figure in the annals of literature. Enriched with knowledge, and a collection of natural treaſures, he returned to Holland towards the end of September, and was moſt joyfully received by Cliffort.

Linnæus's Tour through Dalecarlia.
From the ſame.

WE will now give an account of the ſcientific tour which was made laſt year (1734) all over the Swediſh province of Dalecarlia, and of which we have received the principal particulars from Linnæus, who lately paſſed through the city on his way to Leyden.

Before the latter ſet out in the ſummer months on this expedition, undertaken by advice, and at the expence of Baron Nicholas Reutherholm, Governor of Dalecarlia, ſeveral ſtudents applied and requeſted to accompany him. He choſe ſeven of the ableſt and moſt zealous of them, that he might proceed on his way with more convenience, and formed in this manner a kind of a caravan of naturaliſts, and enacted, with their aſſiſtance, certain laws and regulations, for the due obſervance of which every member made himſelf anſwerable. For his own part, he choſe to be their governor, to ſuperintend the whole enterprize, and to take care that every body diſcharged the functions of the office allotted him.

Nähemana, the firſt companion, who had made himſelf known by a good diſſertation on the Dalecarlian language (de Lingua Dalecarlia) was to act as geographer, to give an accurate deſcription of all the villages, mountains, lakes, rivers, roads, and diſtricts, &c. to ſay morning and evening prayers, and to preach on Sundays.

Clewberg, the ſecond companion, as naturaliſt, was to make obſervations on the four elements; ſuch as on the quality of the water, on mineral ſprings, on ſources, on the ſnow, which never melts in the Alps in ſummer; on the height of the mountains, the weather, the fruitfulneſs or ſterility of the ſoil, &c. &c. He was alſo charged with digeſting, as ſecretary, the tranſactions of the ſociety, in a proper written form.

Fahlſtedt, the third companion, as Metalliſt (Metallurgus) beſides collecting ſtones, minerals, earth, all kind of petrifactions, &c. &c. was further employed as groom, to ſaddle, water, and attend the horſes.

Stohlberg, an able ſtudent of phyſic, as botaniſt or herbaliſt, was to examine and to preſerve, as well as poſſible, all the trees, plants, herbs, graſſes, and fungi, which occurred to his view. He was, moreover, appointed to precede the company as a quarter-maſter, to procure them good lodgings, and to provide every neceſſary for their reception.

To Emportelius, the fifth companion, was aſſigned the office of Zoologiſt, to deſcribe and depict the quadrupeds, and all the animals living, as well in the water as on the land, ſuch as fiſhes, birds, worms, &c. His collateral occupation conſiſted in ſhooting the game which was neceſſary for the ſupport of the company, and in

fiſhing

fishing and angling, whenever it was deemed expedient.

Hedenstad, the sixth companion, was commissioned to act as œconomist, to examine the dress of the Laplanders, their dwellings, their way of preparing provisions, their matrimonial and funeral rites, their knowledge of medicine, mode of living, diet, &c. &c. and to describe with the pen and the pencil such objects as were most worthy his attention.

His additional employment was to communicate to his fellow companions the dispositions and regulations of the president, in the same manner as the adjutant of a regiment announces the orders of the general to his corps, and to call them together whenever it was required, especially in the evening, when an account was always given of the transactions of the day; he was also to take care that every companion went to bed, and rose again to continue the journey at the proper time appointed.

Sandel, an American, born in Pensylvania, as the seventh companion, did the duty of a steward and treasurer; he had the chief care of the fodder, cattle, wood, buying and selling, and discharged the expences of the whole company.

Owing to these excellent regulations, and their due observance, the tour was continued and terminated with the greatest ease and convenience. When the president discovered a village, it was not necessary for all the company to ride thither, but the geographer alone was sent to enter it. If some particular stone or fossil was found on the way, the metallist was desired to alight; at the sight of some curious plant or insect the botanist or zoologist did his duty; they took the respective objects with them, and prepared a description to be inserted at night in the transactions, besides the name of the place where they had been found. The above regulations being thus uniformly observed, the president had nothing to do on the road but remind his companions of what they were to set down in the diary.

At night they all met together, the president then dictated to the secretary the memoranda collected by each companion, in a regular turn from the geographer to the steward; and if he happened to forget any remark, the companion to whose office that part of the science belonged, refreshed his memory. The president was quite surprized at the readiness and diligence with which his attendants discharged the duties of their respective offices. In the short space of a few weeks, they appeared to him as if they had been accustomed to it for whole years together.

Account of the Convent of St. Bernard.

[From Whitaker's Course of Hannibal over the Alps.]

THAT elevated spirit of charity, which has multiplied poor-houses and propagated hospitals all over Christendom; houses of benevolence, such as Romans in their highest refinements so little knew, that they have no appropriated word in their language to signify either; proceeding in the same career

career of humanity, has settled a Convent at the old town, dedicated to St. Bernard, so extending its own appellation to the hill itself, and calculated for the relief of wretched travellers. This has now turned the whole town of the Gauls and Romans, into an inn, a hospital, an infirmary for them. The monks of this convent assist travellers with a care and a cordiality, that do infinite honour to the institution and to themselves, that sweep away at once all our Protestant prejudices against monks, and exhibit *these* to us as the most beneficent beings of our race.

There are ordinarily between twenty and thirty monks belonging to the convent, the number not being absolutely fixed; eight of them are usefully dispersed among the Alpine parish churches, that are under their patronage; and ten or twelve are constantly resident here, being such as, from their age and health, are able to bear the keen atmosphere of the mountain. The few others, who can no longer bear it, are permitted to reside with the aged *Provost* of the whole, in a house which belongs to the convent, and is situated at Martigny below. The monks of the mountain are employed in a manner, of which British Protestantism, removed from the sight of such institutions, and naturally warped with its own prejudices, has no conception; in the prosecution of their private studies, in the instruction of their *novices*, in the education of some scholars who are sent to board and lodge with them, and in managing the temporal œconomy of the whole. They have a *Prior*, the deputy of the Provost, and the governor of the convent in his absence; a *Sacristan*, who takes care of their chapels, and whom we have equally among ourselves, but have degraded into a mere sexton, the humble toller of bells, and the low digger of graves; a *Cellarer*, such as the kings of Scotland used to have under the same title, and our kings still retain under that of gentleman of the cellar, but, in the more contracted state of monastick than royal households, acting in a more extensive capacity, and serving as purveyor, comptroller, steward too, by superintending the provisions of the kitchen, and managing all the exterior concerns of the monastery; a *Clavandier*, who keeps the keys, and dispenses the articles wanted to the monks and to the travellers; and an *Infirmier*, who takes care of the sick in the apartment appropriated to them. The cellarer keeps twenty horses constantly employed during the summer, in fetching the magazines of flour, bread, cheese, liquors, and dried fruits, for themselves and their guests; or forage for their milch cows and fatting cattle, during the winter. Their firewood, of which they expend a very great quantity, is brought them on the backs of mules, from a distance of four leagues, and by a steep path that is practicable only for six months in the whole year. Then, before the winter sets in, they send down their horses for the season, to a farm which they have on the northern side of the Rhone.

But it is peculiarly pleasing to a tender mind, to note the useful solicitude of these amiable monks,

to

on such days as the pass is most frequented; in personally receiving, warming, and recovering travellers, that are exhausted by their excess of fatigue, or indisposed from the severity of the air. With equal eagerness, they attend their own countryman and a foreigner. They make no distinction of state, of sex, or of religion; and ask no questions, concerning the nation or the creed of the wretched. Their wants or their sufferings are, what primarily entitle them to their care. Yet, in winter and in spring, their solicitude has a larger scope of activity, and takes a wider range of attention. From that very time nearly, in which Hannibal carried an army over Great St. Bernard, and at which the Romans reckoned the general winter of Italy to commence, from the 1st of November through the winter, to the 1st of May; a trusty Alpine servant, who as an Alpine is denominated a Maronnier, and one or two dogs of an extraordinary size with him, are constantly engaged in going to *meet* travellers, a considerable way down the descent toward the Vallais, even as far as St. Peter's.

These dogs possess an instinct and receive a training, which fit them to be peculiarly useful in their employment. They point out the road to the guide and the travellers, through fogs, tempests, and snows. They have also the sagacity to discover travellers, that have wandered out of the way, have floundered in the drifts of snow, and are lying wearied, exhausted upon them. But, what forms a wonderful addition of kindness, the monks often go themselves with the guide; in order to see assistance more promptly administered to the unfortunate, and to act occasionally as friends to the soul equally with the body. Even when the guide is not sufficient of himself, to save the unhappy traveller from perishing; they run to his assistance themselves, support him with their own arms, lead him with their own hands, and sometimes carry him up to their convent upon their own shoulders. They are often obliged to use a kind of friendly violence to him, when he is benumbed by the cold or worn out by the fatigue. He then insists upon being left to rest, or even to sleep, for a moment upon the snow. The torpid influence of the cold is stealing upon him, renders all motion unpleasant, and is gently carrying the sleep of death from the extremities to the heart. The monks know this; and the very thing which he dislikes, they know to be the only means of saving him. They are therefore compelled to shake the traveller in his deadly doze, and to drag him by force from his fatal bed of slumber. They thus expose themselves to all the severities of the weather, in order to save others. They necessarily suffer much in the work. At times, when the quantity of snow upon the ground prevents them from walking fast, and so their bodies are not properly warmed with their own motion; their extremities would congeal with the cold, before they perceived their numbness. They are therefore obliged to carry short thick staffs with them then, armed at the ends with iron; and to

ſtrike their hands and feet with them, continually*.

They even ſtretch their exertions of humanity beyond all this. About three miles below the convent on the road of Hannibal's aſcent, they have built a ſmall vaulted room, that is called the hoſpital. This is intended for the caſual refreſhment of travellers, benumbed with the cold, and unable to reach the convent. The truſty *Maronnier* viſits it frequently, in order to meet the traveller; but goes principally at the approach of night; and, when he ſets out on his return, leaves ſome bread, cheeſe, and wine behind †. This man even ſallies out extraordinarily, when a ſtorm is juſt over, with his ſtock of wine and meat; takes his way to the building, and aſſiſts all that he finds diſtreſſed ‡. The monks themſelves alſo may be frequently ſeen on the tops of their rocks, watching to do offices of humanity. They turn their view eagerly on every ſide, endeavour to ſpy out the diſtreſſed, and fly to their ſuccour. When the new ſnow is deep upon the ground, they appear making roads through it, running to the ſounds of diſtreſs, and preventing fatal accidents by charitable vigilance.

But notwithſtanding all theſe glorious exertions of humanity, upon the hill which Hannibal traverſed ſo late, as the beginning of winter and the very falling of the ſnows; ſcarcely a winter paſſes over this mountain, in which ſome traveller is not brought to the convent with his limbs frozen into abſolute inactivity. In theſe moments, the uſe of ardent liquors is exceedingly dangerous, and often occaſions the death of the traveller. He thinks to warm himſelf, with drinking that modern production from wine by the fire of diſtillation, that general *ſtimulus* on any common impediments of the circulation, in wine countries, or in countries bordering upon them, *brandy*. The potion does in fact communicate a warmth and an activity to him for ſome moments after he has drunk it. The efficacy is too ſtrong, and the potency too great, not to be felt. But the potency and the efficacy form the baneful nature of it, in that ſtate of the applicant. Accordingly, this force upon the ſpirits is ſhortly followed with a debility and a faintneſs that are abſolutely incurable. In the frozen and rigid ſtate of the veſſels, the ſudden impulſe given to the current breaks down the banks and deſtroys the navigation.

Yet the zealous benevolence of theſe monks does all that can be done by benevolence and zeal united, when they have to combat with ſuch lofty mountains as theſe Alps, and to ſtruggle with ſuch angry elements as are upon them. They almoſt riſe into a complete ſuperiority over both. They particularly do ſo in ſome caſes, that are ſtill more deſperate and dreadful than all the reſt. The traveller is ſometimes overwhelmed at once, and plunged into the body of a mountainous ſnow-ball. When he is not very deep, the dogs diſcover

* Sauſſure, iv. 238, 238, and Simler, 293, 294, additionally, for this fatal tendency to ſleep upon ſnow.

† Sauſſure, iv. 267, 268.

‡ Martyn, 20.

him

him by the ſcent; but when any is miſſing, whom *their* ſagacity cannot penetrate far enough to diſcover, the monks engage in a laborious office themſelves. They range upon the ſnow, and ſound it with long poles. The reſiſtance which they feel at the end tells them deciſively, whether it is a rock or a body that they ſtrike. If it is a body, they inſtantly clear away the ſnow over it, and bring the perſon to air and life again. They have been the means of reſcuing many in this way from the very jaws of death. The amazing ſweep of deſtruction, which theſe *globes of ſnow* frequently carry with them, may be ſufficiently eſtimated from one of them, that fell upon a party of Swiſs ſoldiers marching over the Alps, and buried no leſs than *ſixty* of them in its vaſt bulk. In the year 1781, ſome travellers attempted to paſs the mountain when the ſnows had fallen. They could not be induced to ſtay by the obliging monks, more wary than they concerning the weather, and more experienced about the road. Theſe, finding their efforts to detain them unavailing, ordered their ſervants to prepare for conducting them along the paſs. The travellers, however, without waiting for their guides, took the road from the convent towards Italy, and went along the ſide of the lake about nine in the morning. In ſuch a road and at ſuch a ſeaſon as that, travellers ſhould always keep themſelves cloſe to each other, to be more in a ſtate of general reſiſtance againſt the ſnow-balls, and to be more capable of lending or receiving aid in ſtruggling out of the ſnows. But this precaution was totally neglected by the travellers, in their impatience to puſh on; and they marched in a file, one after the other, with a conſiderable interval between ſome of them. In this diſpoſition, and when they had but juſt wiſhed each other a happy journey, a ſnow-ball flew with the rapidity of lightning from one of the pikes on their right, and burſt in an inſtant deſtruction upon their heads. At the noiſe which this made, the prior of the convent opened haſtily his window, threw his eye in a glance along the road, and, ſeeing no appearance of the travellers, at once took in the whole calamity. He immediately gave an alarm to the houſe, the inhabitants all aſſembled, the long poles were taken in their hands, and they ruſhed out in a hurry, unchecked by the danger of being loſt themſelves. What an affecting ſpectacle does this exhibit to us; men, who encounter the greateſt difficulties, who fear not even death itſelf, in order to ſave the dying. With very great difficulty theſe good fathers had the happineſs to recover from the ſnows the greateſt part of the travellers. Theſe were carried to the convent, and brought back to life by the care that was taken of them. Three alone periſhed; and their bodies were not found till two months afterward, when the ſnows melted.

But let me here notice one particular concerning this convent, that is neceſſary to the very authentication of ſuch extenſive charities. The poor and the rich, ſays M. Bourrit, "are here received *gratis.*" M. Sauſſure alſo relates, without any diſtinction of the rich from the poor, that the convent

"exercises a hospitality so extend-
"ed and so expensive *gratuitously**."
Thus charity is magnified till it becomes a paradox, incredible in itself, and impossible to be imitated. Let me therefore bring down this benevolence from the clouds, in which it is so injudiciasly placed by both those writers, and place it where it ought to stand, upon the earth. Simler enables me to do this effectually. The monks, he tells us, "give food *gratis* to the "*poor*; the *rich* make *presents for* "*their reckoning*, each according "to his own inclination†." This mode of acting speaks for itself. Simler shews what Messrs. Saussure and Bourrit conceal, the *propriety* of such charity, and the *practicability* of it in such circumstances. All that are able to make the monks a pecuniary compensation do so; but are delicately left to consult their own feelings, and from these to determine equally the act and the degree of recompence. They thus form an additional fund for extending the charity to those travellers who really need it. Benevolence then wears the face of wisdom, and walks upon the earth, though she lists her head to the skies:

Ingreditur que solo, et caput inter nubila condit.

"I myself," notes M. Saussure, "in passing the mountain met two "Swiss soldiers; who, going the "year before in the spring to re-"join their regiment in Italy, had "been frost-bitten in their hands, "whom the monks recovered, "and kept six weeks at the con-"vent, without requiring the "slightest return from them‡." What is true charity and benevolence to the poor, would be a waste of charity and a prodigality of benevolence to the rich.

Description of the Mohammedan Inhabitants of Aleppo.

[From Russell's History of Aleppo.]

THE Turks, a denomination comprehending all Mohammedans whatever, are believed to compose two hundred thousand of the computed inhabitants of Aleppo. They are a mixed race, partly descended from those who inhabited the city before it was subdued by the emperor Selim, in the year 1516, partly from such as came to settle in the new conquest, and from others drawn thither by commerce, from most of the Ottoman provinces. They are united by living under the same government, as well as by joining in the profession of the same system of religious faith, being all of them Sonnites, "or Traditionists, because they ac-"knowledge the authority of the "Sonna, or Collection of moral "Traditions of the sayings and "actions of their Prophet, which "is a sort of supplement to the "Koran, answering to the Mishna

* Saussure, iv. 235. "Exerce gratuitement une hospitalité aussi etendue et aussi "dispendieuse."

† Simler, 83. "Pauperibus *gratis* victum dant, opulentiores (suo quisque arbitratu) "symboli loco munera dant."

‡ Saussure, iv. 240. "J'ai moi-même rencontré, en passant la montagne, deux "soldats Suisses, qui l'année precedente, en allant au printems rejoindre leur regi-"ment en Italie, avoient eu les mains gelées; et que l'on avoit guéris et gardés "pendant six semaines au couvent, sans exiger d'eux la moindre retribution."

"of

" of the Jews." (Sale Prel. Diſcourſe, p. 154.)

The Baſhaw with his retinue, and all others immediately in the ſervice of the Porte, are called Oſmanli, and either ſpeak, or affect to ſpeak, the Turkiſh language. The Effendees compoſe the body of the Ullama or learned men. Their common language is the Arabic, for moſt of them being natives of Aleppo, but few can ſpeak the Turkiſh with tolerable purity. The Agas*, or (in a reſtricted ſenſe) thoſe who rent the lands, have ſtill ſome influence in the Divan, or council of the city, but their power and ſplendor have been long on the decline, and moſt of the old families are now extinct. Among the few ancient houſes which ſtill remain is that of Shahny. An Effendee deſcended from a famous hiſtorian, (Eben al Shahny, who wrote a hiſtory of the city of Aleppo,) was living in the year 1752, and the houſe made pretenſions of alliance to the celebrated lawyer and hiſtorian of that name. The Agas alſo ſpeak the Arabic, though ſome of them, from intercourſe with the Seraglio, or occaſional reſidence at Conſtantinople, have acquired the Turkiſh.

The Shereefs, (or Greenheads, as they are called by the Franks) compoſe a numerous and very formidable body, in which are comprehended perſons of all ranks. They are diſtinguiſhed by the green colour of the ſhaſh of their Turban, and, under the Nakeeb, who is a chief nominated by the Porte, enjoy peculiar privileges. The number of Turks who wear the white ſhaſh, of courſe daily decreaſes, on account of their intermarriage with the daughters of Shereefs; the children of ſuch marriages becoming Greenheads, in right of the mother.

The merchants at Aleppo are numerous, and a few of them are eſteemed opulent. Some have travelled, in their youth, to Bagdat, Baſſora, or even to India, and continue, though advanced in years, to make a journey now and then, to the capital, in the caravans which tranſport their merchandize: when they do not go themſelves, it is uſual to commit the care of their goods to ſome truſty ſlave.

To the body of merchants belongs a conſiderable number of ſtrangers; there being a perpetual ſucceſſion of them, from all the great trading towns of the empire. They remain till they can diſpoſe of the effects they brought along with them, or finiſh their inveſtments, and eaſily find an opportunity of returning home, by the caravans, which, though not deſtined for Aleppo, approach near enough, in their way to other places, to take up paſſengers.

The trades are divided into different companies, under their reſpective maſters or Sheihs†. They uſed in former times to make

* The title of Aga is given indiſcriminately to various perſons, meaning no more than Dominus, or maſter. The ſenſe in which it is uſed above, diſtinguiſhes the Agas of Aleppo, who hold lands, and have a ſeat in the council, from the Baſhaw's officers, the Sardar Aga, Mohaffil Aga, &c.

† Vulgarly pronounced Sheih, by the natives. It ſtrictly means ſenex, but is variouſly applied. The Arab princes, in ſome places, are called Sheikhs; there are Sheikhs of villages, of the reſpective trades, of each diſtrict within the city: in which inſtances, it is equivalent to Chieftain, maſter of a company, or head of a ward. See D'Arvieux's Memoirs, tom. vi. Thevenot's Voyages, p. 33.

ſplendid proceſſions on certain occaſions, but for ſome years thoſe Pageants have been prohibited, on account of tumults excited by diſputes about precedency.

The mechanicks, in general, are induſtrious and frugal. They work ſlowly, but work a great many hours in the four-and-twenty; they have few holidays; and drunkenneſs, though not entirely unknown, is reckoned extremely ſcandalous, and is really uncommon. Their tools are coarſely made; but natural ingenuity often ſupplies the want of ſuch as might eaſily be procured from Europe. Though they greatly admire the finiſhed hardware and cabinet work brought from England, they labour under diſcouraging circumſtances, which muſt for a while, perhaps for ever, obſtruct all attempts towards imitation. The Aleppeens poſſeſs the art of tent-making unrivalled; the tents, for the Sultan and great officers of the Porte, are uſually made at Aleppo.

A vaſt number of hands are employed in the ſilk and cotton manufactures. Beſides large factories, where a great many looms are kept under the ſame roof, a multitude of inferior artiſans have one or two looms in their own houſes. A great part of the ſilk, as well as of the cotton, is ſpun and prepared for the loom by the women, who employ the time they can ſpare from houſehold avocations in this kind of labour, and many of them draw their chief ſubſiſtence from it. This laſt circumſtance, when the city happens to be viſited by contagious diſtempers, renders it doubly calamitous, for the maſter artiſans being afraid to leave their property diſperſed among a number of ſmall obſcure houſes, expoſed in a peculiar degree to infection, a ceſſation of the manufactures neceſſarily enſues, and involves the middling people in the utmoſt diſtreſs.

A conſiderable number of Arabs dwell within the city and ſuburbs, in Keiſarias, or in ſmall mean houſes. The men are employed in various kinds of manual labour, and the women are often attached to the Harems of the Great, as ſervants or nurſes. They ſeldom marry out of their tribes, and retain the Arab dreſs and manners. Theſe are called Biſdoweens, as are the Arabs of the Deſert, and other tribes, which, in the ſpring, encamp without the city walls: the latter, in the ſummer, removing their tents to the neighbouring villages, and, in the winter, taking ſhelter in grottoes, or caverns, in the vicinity of the town.

The Arabs dreſs in a faſhion more ſimple, and in ſeveral reſpects different from the Turks, eſpecially in the article of the Turban. D'Arvieux ſays, that there is little difference between the dreſs of the Arab Emeers, and that of the Turks of diſtinction; but the Emeer, who comes occaſionally to Aleppo as well as his principal attendants, always wore the black ſhaſh, hanging down on the neck on one ſide, and the Arab Abai. He wore alſo a kunbaz, but no dulaman. Their women, by means of a needle and a certain powder, give a dark blue colour to the lips, and in the ſame manner make blue marks, or imitations of flowers, on their cheeks, breaſts, and arms. They prick the parts with a needle, and then rub the powder into the punctures. The mark remains indelible, like

what

what may be ſeen among ſailors, and ſome of the common people in England. They wear a large ring of gold or ſilver, pendant from the noſe, the cartilage on one ſide being pierced for that purpoſe: it is uſually the external cartilage of the right noſtril. I have ſeen ſome of the rings of at leaſt an inch and a half diameter. La Roque deſcribes them as made, not only of gold and ſilver, but of tin, lead, or copper, and of a ſize ſo large as to encompaſs the mouth; he adds, that it is a piece of gallantry among the Arabs to kiſs their women through them. Their arms and ankles are adorned with bracelets of ſilver, or of coloured glaſs; they wear ear-rings; necklaces of amber, or of Venetian beads; and their hair is braided with beads and cowries. But ſome of thoſe attached to the Harems, adopt more the faſhion of their miſtreſſes, and neither diſcolour their lips, nor uſe noſe-rings; they wear neat linen, yellow boots, or babooges, and appear abroad properly veiled. The others are clothed nearly in the ſame manner as the Bidoweens who dwell in tents. They wear a coarſe, blue garment, made in the form of a ſhirt, with wide ſleeves, open a little at the breaſt, and reaching to the ankles. The black ſhaſh they wear on the head, ſerves to conceal the face, one corner of it being brought acroſs the mouth and the chin. At other times they uſe a muffler, and a ſhort veil of linen, thrown looſely over the head. Their legs are naked, but, though in the country they commonly walk barefoot, it is unuſual to ſee them in town without Babooges or boots. The Arab inhabitants of the city retain enough of their national dreſs to diſtinguiſh them from others, but they are inſenſibly led, in that reſpect, as well as in their manners, to borrow ſomething from the more poliſhed people among whom they dwell. Thoſe who have been mentioned as encamping under the city walls, are of the meaner ſort, and anſwer more the deſcription given by D'Arvieux.

There are a good many Turkman families ſettled in the ſuburbs. They ſpeak a dialect of the Turkiſh much harſher in ſound, than that uſed by the Oſmanli. Being a ſtout hardy people, they are chiefly employed in agriculture, or as camel drivers in the caravans. By living in the ſkirts of the town, and mixing leſs with the people in the interior parts, they retain their cuſtoms and language more pure than the Arabs. They differ, however, in many particulars, from the tribes that live conſtantly in tents.

There are alſo in the ſuburbs a great number of Kurdeens; one of the Diſtricts, or Haras, is named the Kurdeen-ſtreet. Their language approaches nearer to the Turkiſh than the Arabic, but differs conſiderably from both. They live in the ſame manner as the Turkmans, and are employed much in the ſame way. Both wear the high tapering felt kaook, with a ſhort white ſhaſh wrapt round it. Beſides the Kurdeens who inhabit the mountains of Bylan, and are well known to the Franks, there is a wandering tribe which often viſits the champaign of Aleppo, and are known by the name of Ruſhwans.

The

The Arabs, who encamp without the gates of the city, have been already mentioned. The Chinganas, who are a perfectly diſtinct people, (though they live in the ſame manner,) uſually encamp near them. Their language is Arabic, but mixed with a number of words and phraſes hardly underſtood in Syria. They migrate in the ſummer to the adjacent villages, and return early in the ſpring. Their dreſs is like that of the Bidoweens, and their women colour their lips, and adorn themſelves with rings, in the ſame faſhion.

It has already been remarked that the Turks are a temperate people: a more particular account of their mode of living, of their table, and of their manner of paſſing their time, is given in this place.

As ſoon as the Turks get out of bed, they ſmoke a pipe, and drink a ſmall diſh of coffee. About an hour afterwards, breakfaſt, conſiſting of bread, fruit, honey, leban, cheeſe, eggs, or cakes made with butter, is ſerved on a ſmall table, ſometimes in the Harem, but more commonly in the outer apartments.

The people of diſtinction either ſit at home after breakfaſt, to receive company, or go abroad themſelves to make viſits. When they go abroad, not having the conveniency of wheel-carriages, they ride on horſeback, attended by two or four pages walking on each ſide. The horſe is gorgeouſly decked. The furniture, which reaches almoſt to the ground, is richly embroidered, or ſtudded with ſilver; the bridle is ornamented with chains of plate, or gilt ſilver, and ſilk fringes, covering the head and part of the horſe's neck, in the manner of a net. A plain or gilt poitrel of maſſy ſilver, with a boſs and rich fringes hanging from the ſide, cover the breaſt. All theſe ornaments are finely worked, and ſometimes enriched with precious ſtones. The ſaddle is of crimſon velvet plated behind with ſilver, and the ſtirrups are of ſolid ſilver. A ſcimitar, on the blade of which ſome verſe from the Koran is uſually inſcribed, is girt on the left ſide of the ſaddle, and, on the right, a ſhort warlike weapon reſembling a mace: the head of this, and the hilt of the ſcimitar are of worked ſilver, ſometimes gilt.

The horſes are excellently broken, and walk gracefully; ſo that the Turks, who are, in general, taught early to ride, make a noble appearance on horſeback. From the outer gate, where they diſmount, they walk in their boots (their train being borne) to the door of the apartment, and there have them drawn off by a page, who carries the babooge wrapped up in a piece of ſcarlet cloth. The boots are made of fine yellow leather, ſhort and ſo wide that they eaſily ſlip over the ſhahkſhoor. Perſons of a certain rank enter the chamber in their boots, and have them drawn off after ſtepping on the Divan.

A Baſhaw riſes from his ſeat, on the entrance or departure of the Mufti, Cady, Nakeeb, and ſome of the principal Ullama; but receives all other viſitors ſitting. Other perſons of diſtinction uſually riſe to welcome, or bid farewel, to their gueſts. As ſoon as the viſitor has taken

taken his place, a ſtring of pages make their appearance in the attaby, preceded by an officer, diſtinguiſhed by a large ſilk apron, who carries a round ſalver, covered with red cloth, in the middle of which ſalver is placed a coffee-pot, ſurrounded with half a dozen ſmall cups reverſed. The firſt page, carrying a large ſilk or embroidered napkin, advances on the Divan, drops down on his knees, and, reſting on his hams, ſpreads the napkin over the ſtrangers robe, ſo as to prevent its being accidentally ſoiled. A ſecond, in the ſame attitude, preſents the ſweetmeat* in a chryſtal cup, together with a ſmall ſpoon, with which the gueſt helps himſelf. A third having received a cup from the kahwagee, ſtands ready with the coffee; he does not kneel, but ſtooping gently forward, firſt lowering, then quickly advancing the hand, delivers the cup with a dexterity to be acquired only by practice. A fourth brings the lighted pipe, and, firſt laying down an utenſil †, (for preſerving the carpet) upon which the bowl of the pipe is placed, he preſents the other end of the pipe, by an eaſy movement of one arm, while the other hand is placed on the breaſt. The moment the coffee is finiſhed, a page is ready to receive the empty cup, which he catches as it were between both hands, the left palm turned up; another page, kneeling alſo, removes the napkin, and, the coffee-cup being replaced on the ſalver, the kahwagee retires, while the pages, one hand laid on the girdle and croſſed by the other, in the attitude of humble attendance, remain in the attaby.

On ceremonial days, on which there is a conſtant ſucceſſion of viſitors, the pages themſelves know the proper time to preſent the perfume, and bring it without orders from the maſter; but, at other times, they wait till the gueſt lays down his pipe, or makes a ſignal to one of them to take it away. The pipe and niffada are then removed, and, after a little pauſe, the pages again enter in proceſſion. One ſpreads a napkin of a different colour from the former; another preſents a ſmall baſon of ſherbet, and holds diſplayed in the other hand an embroidered gauze handkerchief, for drying the lips; a third ſprinkles the hand with roſe or orange flower water, from a ſilver veſſel, with a long neck. The napkin being then removed, one of the pages brings a ſilver cenſer to the maſter of the houſe, who, taking from his pocket a ſmall box containing aloes wood cut into little pieces, he either gives a bit to be laid on the live coal, or puts it himſelf into the cenſer. This is the laſt part of the ceremonial, for the viſitor, as ſoon as he has been perfumed, takes leave. At the door he is received by his own pages, and, after putting on his boots he walks away between two rows of

* The ſweetmeat conſiſts of roſe leaves in conſerve, acidulated with lemons; or Viſna cherry, orange flowers, orange peel, and other confections.

† Niffada. A round plate of tin, or of ſtrong leather ſtudded with ſilver, that ſlides eaſily on the carpet, ledged in the middle and lined with ſilver, for receiving the pipe bowl. They ſave the carpet from the burning tobacco or aſhes, which drop from the pipe.

officers

officers of the houſehold, who bow to him as he paſſes.

If the viſitor be a perſon of very high rank, the hoſt attends him to the top of the ſtairs, otherwiſe they part on the Divan. On particular occaſions, the viſitor is preſented with a horſe, ſometimes in rich furniture, but for the moſt part in a body cloth only. It is more uſual to make a preſent of a fur; and then the perſon is inveſted in the Baſhaw's preſence, the chauſes, at the inſtant of inveſiment, pronouncing a ſhort benediction in a loud voice.

At viſits of mere ceremony, the converſation is made up of empty profeſſions and compliments often repeated. Theſe are generally compoſed in a hyperbolical ſtrain, and expreſſed with much ſolemnity. The queſtion "how do you do?" is repeated ſeveral times; and, after a long pauſe, they begin anew, "and once more how do you do?" This is common among both Turks and Arabs, the former ſaying, "wa bir daha nidge kaifiniz!" the latter, "wa kummana kaif kaif-"kom?". The next queſtion after this is, "what news? how goes the "world?" and the like. Converſation at ordinary viſits, is leſs fettered by forms. Beſides the weather, and other common topics, domeſtic news is circulated, diverting ſtories are familiarly told, and, if the great man ſeems to give encouragement, ſome of his gueſts now and then exert their talents for raillery. When he is diſpoſed to converſe, the diſcourſe is addreſſed to him, but otherwiſe the company entertain one another, and he either joins them at intervals or continues muſing, as inclination may lead him: ſometimes, indeed, a deep ſilence reigns, and, after the firſt compliments, hardly a word is ſpoken during the whole viſit. As the grandees ſit ſo many hours in public, and receive all company, it is neceſſary they ſhould be indulged in the privilege of leaving the gueſts to entertain themſelves; but buſineſs in the mean while is not neglected, the officers, and others who have affairs to tranſact, come and go without interrupting converſation, and either talk aloud, or, kneeling down before the great man, ſpeak ſo low as not to be heard by any one elſe. Private buſineſs, of more importance, is tranſacted at times when no viſitors are admitted; the Baſhaw regularly gives audience of this kind to his Kehia, or firſt miniſter, at Aſſora, and then all perſons whatever are excluded.

The Turks go to dinner about eleven o'clock in winter, but in ſummer ſomewhat earlier. The table is prepared in the following manner. In the middle of the Divan, a round cloth is ſpread, for the preſervation of the carpet, and upon that is either placed a folding ſtand (reſembling in form the croſſes uſed at European tables,) or a ſmall ſtool about fifteen inches high, which ſerves to ſupport a large round plate or table, ſometimes of ſilver, but commonly of copper tinned. Upon this, a few ſaucers are ſymmetrically diſpoſed, containing pickles, ſalad, leban, and ſalt, and all round, nearer the edge, are laid thin narrow cakes of very white bread, and wooden or tortoiſe-ſhell ſpoons. They do not uſe table knives and forks, their fingers ſerving inſtead of them; and the roaſt meat is uſually ſo much done, that it can

eaſily

eaſily be torn aſunder, or is carved by one of the attendants with his knife or hanjer. Each gueſt then helps himſelf, and if the morſel happen to be too large, the cakes of bread ſupply the place of plates. A ſilk and cotten towel, long enough to ſurround the table, is laid on the ground, which the gueſts, when ſeated, take up over their knees.

After the table is thus prepared, a ſilver ewer and baſon, for waſhing the hands, is brought round to the gueſts; who, laying aſide their outer garment in the ſummer, or the large fur in the winter, take their places, and ſit all the while on their hams and heels: a poſture inſufferably irkſome to thoſe who have not been early accuſtomed to it; and, to many elderly men, ſo uneaſy, that they either ſit on the edge of the mattraſs, or are indulged with a cuſhion reverſed. It is cuſtomary for each perſon to ſay a ſhort grace for himſelf in a low voice.

The diſhes are brought up covered, and ſet down in the middle of the table, one at a time in ſucceſſion; the whole amounting to twenty or thirty: and the ſame ſervice is repeated, with little variation, every day.

The firſt diſh is almoſt conſtantly ſoup; and the laſt a plain pilaw. The intermediate courſe conſiſts of a variety of diſhes. A liſt of Turkiſh diſhes which I brought from Aleppo, makes the number amount to one hundred and forty-one, excluſive of khuſhafs, creams, and confections. Mutton in ſmall bits, roaſted on iron ſkewers, with ſlices of either apples or artichoak bottoms and onions, between each piece; or mutton minced ſmall, and beat up with ſpiceries into balls, and roaſted alſo on ſkewers; both which are called kubab. Mutton or lamb ſtewed with gourds, roots, herbs, and chiches; fowls, pigeons, and ſometimes quails, or other ſmall birds, boiled or roaſted, but more frequently made into ragouts. Farce-meat, which is called mahſhee, compoſed of mutton, rice, piſtachios, currants, pine nuts, almonds, ſuet, ſpice, and garlick, is ſerved up in a variety of ſhapes, and takes an additional name from the reſpective fruit which is farced or ſtuffed, as mahſhee of mad apple, cucumber, or gourd. It is alſo enveloped in the leaves of vine, endive, beet, or borage, and is then called yaprak. A lamb, thus farced and roaſted entire, is a diſh not uncommon at feaſts. The balls made of burgle, called kubby, have been mentioned in another place, as well as the different kinds of cream; beſides which they have ſeveral ſorts of pies; minced meat with pomegranate grains, ſpread upon thin cakes, and baked on an iron plate; ſauſages made without blood; and a great variety of ſweet diſhes, and paſtry; the former made with honey or dibs, and rather luſcious; the latter is very well made, but retains the ſtrong taſte of the Arab butter.

The Turks ſeldom eat fiſh; and ſea-fiſh is rarely brought to town, except for the Europeans. Neither are they fond of geeſe or ducks; and wild-fowl, as well as other kinds of game, though very plentiful, are ſeldom ſeen at their tables.

A few plates of ſweet ſlummery are ſerved by way of deſert, for they ſeldom ſerve fruit at that time; and laſt of all, appears a large

large bowl of khuſhaf, which is a decoction of dried figs, currants, apricots, cherries, apples, or other fruit, made into a thin ſirup, with piſtachio nutts, almonds, or ſome ſlices of the fruit, left ſwimming in the liquor. This is ſerved cold, ſometimes iced, and with a few ſpoonfuls of it, the repaſt concludes.

They drink nothing but water at meals, and very often do not drink till an hour after dinner. They do not drink healths, but wiſh health to the perſon after he has drank, whether water or sherbet, and the compliment is returned by ſlightly touching the right temple, with the fingers of the right hand extended, and wiſhing the continuance of health and long life. They ſit only a ſhort while at table, and when a perſon does not chooſe either to eat more, or to wait the khuſhaf, he may riſe without breach of good manners. But the hoſt often invites to taſte particular diſhes, and the removes are at any rate ſo quick, that the gueſts by neceſſity, as well as complaiſance, are induced to eat of a greater variety than they probably would do from choice.

After getting up from table, every one reſumes his place on the Divan, and waits till water and ſoap be brought for waſhing the mouth, and hands; after which pipes and coffee are ſerved round.

The deſcription given above will be underſtood of the tables of the grandees, thoſe of the inferior ranks are ſerved much more frugally: among people of middling condition, who have ſeldom more than three or four diſhes, the whole is ſet down at once on the table, and when the maſters have finiſhed, the ſervants in waiting, after bringing the coffee and pipes, ſit down to the victuals that are left. The number of diſhes decreaſes of courſe in the inferior ranks of life; but, except people of the loweſt claſs, who live almoſt wholly on vegetables, the quality of the diſhes is nearly the ſame, that is, they are highly ſeaſoned, greaſy, and generally made very acid with the juice of lemons, pomegranates, or unripe grapes. From the deſcription of the eaſtern table given by ſome of the early travellers, one would be led to think, either that the manners of the modern Mohammedans have been greatly poliſhed, or that the deſcriptions regarded the ordinary people, not the ſuperior ranks of life. The laſt circumſtance ſeems to be the moſt probable; for many of the later travellers have fallen into the ſame inaccuracy. They preſent as a portrait of general cuſtoms, what has been drawn from the inferior ranks, or elſe confounding every diſtinction together, they exhibit an aſſemblage of contradictory circumſtances. The few opportunities of aſſociating familiarly with perſons of a certain rank in Turkey, renders it difficult for the moſt ſcrupulous traveller to avoid miſtakes.

Between one and two in the afternoon, the great men retire into the Harem to take their ſieſte, and are not viſible again till between three and four. It is conſidered as a ſanctuary into which only the moſt urgent buſineſs dares intrude; and conſequently thoſe in high office, often retire to it for refuge, from the fatigues of ſolicitation. He is in the Harem! is an anſwer ſufficient to ſilence the moſt importunate ſuitors.

They

They ſup in the winter about five o'clock, and in the ſummer at ſix, making little difference in the ſervice between that meal and dinner. They frequently have company at ſupper, or make familiar viſits after it, but ſeldom ſit later than ten o'clock: this is meant of people of rank, for others ſup at home, and are rarely ſeen in the ſtreet after evening prayer.

At theſe nocturnal aſſemblies, they ſmoke inceſſantly, drink coffee two or three times, and in the winter are regaled with kunaſy, or other ſweet paſtry. Several circumſtances render theſe aſſemblies more entertaining than thoſe of the forenoon; they are not ſo often intruded upon by buſineſs, the company is more ſelect, the sherbet and perfume are omitted, and the air of the whole is leſs formal.

The Oſmanli, who in general derive little of their knowledge from books, rarely talk on ſubjects of a literary kind. The Ullama, in order to diſplay their learning, ſometimes ſurprize the company with ſome marvellous phænomenon in phyſiology, or ſome ſtriking hiſtorical incident, which they may have collected in the courſe of their reading: or they will take occaſion to recite a ſtanza from their poets, more or leſs appoſite to the ſubject of diſcourſe. This laſt expedient is moſt admired; for when the verſes are happily introduced, the juſtneſs of the alluſion, being inſtantly felt, is extremely pleaſing: and even where the propriety is not perceived, the Effendee's reputation remains tolerably ſecure; the hearer modeſtly diſtruſts his own penetration, applauds what he did not comprehend, and often aſcribes to a retentive memory, the merit due only to genius and judgment.

But among perſons whoſe principal ſchool has been the world, it is natural for converſation to take a narrative turn. The Oſmanli, who from the loweſt rank in life ſometimes riſe to the firſt offices of the ſtate, have themſelves been actors in ſo great a variety of ſcenes, that their own experience ſupplies ample matter of entertainment. They recal with pleaſure the accidents of times paſt, the difficulties they have encountered, the dangers they have eſcaped, and the conteſts in which they have triumphed. With their own hiſtory, they interweave that of their patrons, companions, and competitors: and, as they proceed, interſperſe the reflections of more mature age, ſuggeſted by natural good ſenſe, untainted by the ſophiſtry of the ſchools. It muſt be confeſſed that their narratives are ſometimes tediouſly prolix, but as for the moſt part they comprehend matters of which the relater is well informed, and ſuch as an European can have no opportunity of learning but on ſuch occaſions, they often are highly amuſing, intereſting and inſtructive.

The Turks, though rather reſerved on political topics, are by no means ſilent. They declaim plauſibly on the decay of religion, the degeneracy of manners, the increaſe of luxury, and the corruptions of government: and, while a cautious reſpect is preſerved for the actual adminiſtration, that of preceding times is criticiſed with ſtrict ſeverity.

ſeverity. But in theſe, as in all ſpeculative matters of opinion, concerning which they may happen to differ, the diſpute is conducted on both ſides with much temper; and ſeldom continues longer than till the maſter of the houſe (if a grandee) declares his ſentiments: a ſervile complaiſance always leading a majority of the company over to whatever opinion he happens to defend. This in matters of perſonal intereſt is not the caſe; the diſpute there grows warm, they talk loud, and contend obſtinately.

The change of a grand Vizir occaſions no great ſtir among the bulk of the people, who, give themſelves little concern about revolutions by which they can be but remotely affected, though among the Oſmanli it excites conſiderable commotion. The Governor, by means of his reſident agent at Conſtantinople, receives the news by expreſs, in ſeven or eight days; and the ſucceeding interval of ſeveral days, before the arrival of further particulars, is employed by the politicians in forming conjectures about future changes at the Porte, and the conſequent changes in the provinces. The characters of men in power are often, at ſuch times, treated in converſation with a degree of freedom that ſeems neither to court favour nor dread reſentment; which, conſidering that the great men talk thus openly before their attendants, is the more remarkable; for their inferior officers frequently change place, as well as the pages, and both are too often indulged in tattling, when their aga has no company. What might rationally be expected, happens often in fact; the fidelity of theſe domeſtics is not proof againſt the temptation of ingratiating themſelves with a new, at the expence of an old patron; and inſtances of implacable quarrels, kindled or fomented in this manner, are far from being uncommon. It may juſtly ſeem ſtrange that a want of caution ſo prejudicial in its conſequence, ſhould never be reformed. In tranſacting official buſineſs of privacy, a ſignal is made for the attendants to leave the room: the like precaution is very rarely obſerved at the evening aſſemblies.

It is ſeldom among the Oſmanli, that religious ſubjects are canvaſſed in converſation; and though in general, when introduced, they are treated with reſpect, they are ſometimes diſcuſſed with a freedom bordering on licentiouſneſs. If an Effendee happen to be preſent, he is either applied to, or of courſe interferes; he talks learnedly and with much confidence, but his deciſions meet with leſs obſequious ſubmiſſion than in moſt other companies.

The Turks never talk of their own Harem, except among intimate friends; but the ſex in general is not an uncommon topic of mixed converſation. The great men will ſometimes divert themſelves at the expence of ſome humble dependant, by affecting to enquire gravely into domeſtic ſquabbles, and drawing him to confeſs a timid ſubjection to his wives. They rally one another on going often or ſeldom to the Bagnio, and occaſionally repeat ſome of thoſe common-place ſarcaſms on women, which are found current in every country. But it may be remarked to their honour, that, in talking of women, they commonly preſerve a decency

a decency of expreſſion, too often violated by nations who pride themſelves on their more refined and voluptuous civilization. So far at leaſt is true of genteel company; but as neither the Arabic nor Turkiſh languages are deficient in obſcene words, individuals may be met with, in every rank of life, who are laviſh in the uſe of them.

The cuſtom of drinking wine, or ſpirituous liquors, is far from being ſo common among the Turks at Aleppo, as it is ſaid to be at Conſtantinople: and (the Janizaries excepted) is hitherto confined in a great meaſure to perſons either of very high or very low rank; the middling claſſes remaining as yet untainted by a practice, ſo inconſiſtent with an expreſs precept given by Mohammed, in the fourth year of the Hegira. Under the name of wine was comprehended all inebriating liquors, and the prohibition is expreſſed in more than one place of the Koran.

The Turks who are given to drink, do it profeſſedly with an intention of exciting a degree of intoxication, and therefore commonly prefer brandy to wine, on account of its producing the effect more ſpeedily. For the ſame reaſon the whole quantity intended to be drank is poured at once into a bowl, and taken off at one or two draughts: nothing to them appearing more abſurd, than the European manner of drinking out of ſmall glaſſes, and ſitting ſo long over one or two bottles of wine.

The people of rank who give into the practice, uſually drink privately in the Harem, and attempt, but in vain, to conceal it from their pages: when a debauch is committed in company, it is always at night, and conducted with all poſſible ſecrecy. The lower people, however regardleſs they may be of reputation, are obliged alſo to proceed with caution, for they are liable to puniſhment when found drunk. The Janizaries in actual ſervice, drink the moſt openly of all; their employment leads them much among the Chriſtians and Jews, and brandy often proves a more effectual bribe with them than money.

The cuſtom of drinking, eſpecially among the Oſmanli, is thought to be on the increaſe. It is talked of among them in general, with leſs abhorrence than formerly; and, beſides the large quantity of French ſpirituous liquors annually imported from Marſeilles, the diſtillery at Aleppo is ſaid to have conſiderably increaſed of late years. It depends much on the grandees to repreſs or promote the progreſs of this vice, by the influence of their own example. When a Baſhaw, or other great man, is ſtrictly abſtemious, his dependants, or ſuch as have buſineſs near his perſon, are afraid to approach, leſt their breath ſhould betray them; but where that reſtraint is once removed, it is not unuſual to find half his retinue talking as familiarly of roſolis, as they do of coffee.

A ſtory is told of a certain Sardar of Aleppo, much addicted to drinking, who uſed to retire to one of the gardens near town, in order to indulge more luxuriouſly in a Kioſk cloſe to the river.

Returning, one ſummer's evening, from a debauch of this kind, he obſerved, as he paſſed near the Chriſtian burial ground, a Maronite ſitting on a grave-ſtone, and ſmoking

ing his pipe, who, as ſoon as he perceived the Sardar at ſome diſtance, roſe up, laid down his pipe, and at the ſame time attempted haſtily to conceal ſomething in his pocket. This the old Sardar ſuſpected, and juſtly, to be arrack; therefore, ſtopping his horſe, he diſpatched one of his attendants to bring the culprit before him.

The chriſtian was not only reproached for drinking thus publickly, but threatened with inſtant puniſhment for having aggravated the crime, by drinking on a tomb ſtone. Upon his ſwearing by the goſpel that he had taſted no ſtrong liquor for a week, orders were given to ſearch his pockets; but he had taken care no teſtimony ſhould appear againſt him from that quarter, by dropping the empty bottle before he was ſeized. The Sardar then commanded another of his attendants to try whether the charge might not be proved from the criminal's breath. Breathe ye, Giaur, exclaims the Janizary, breathe full in my face. The trembling culprit at firſt heſitated, but, knowing the conſequence of refuſal, was at laſt obliged to comply. "I knew very well (ſaid the Sardar) I ſhould detect this jew of a damned Chriſtian—" does he not "ſmell abominably, Muſtafa? bring "him nearer me—Don't you per-"ceive his breath?" Why really, (replies the half drunk Janizary) "that there is a ſtrong ſmell of "arrack among us, cannot be "doubted, but whether it pro-"ceeds from you yourſelf, Sir, "from me, or from this damned "infidel, may I periſh if I can "juſtly determine."

There are ſome who regard coffee and tobacco in the ſame light with wine, and, on a principle of conſcience, abſtain from both; but, at Aleppo, the number of ſuch is very inconſiderable.

Account of the Baſhaws.

From Dr. Ruſſel's *Aleppo.*

A Miſunderſtanding ſometimes happens between the Baſhaw and the Emeer, or civil wars ariſe among the Arabs themſelves: in either caſe they uſually fall upon the Caravans, and pillage the herds.

It is the duty, though not always in the power of the Baſhaw, to prevent thoſe diſorders; but he is for the moſt part more profitably employed in town. He knows that an expedition with his troops is neceſſarily attended with expence as well as hazard, and uncertain how ſoon he may be ſent to another government, he is leſs ſolicitous about the proſperity of the Baſhawlick, of which a ſucceſſor is likely to reap the advantage. It may at the ſame time be remarked, that when a Baſhaw, excited by ambition, or provoked by repeated inſult, determines to exert himſelf, a part of the expence of a military expedition falls at laſt ſo heavy on the villages, as to render it doubtful whether it is not better for them to ſubmit to occaſional pillage, than to purchaſe protection at ſo high a rate.

The caſe is different where a Baſhaw finds means to prolong his ſtay, for a courſe of years, in the ſame province. He by degrees finds himſelf intereſted in the welfare of the people; he becomes a farmer of the lands, a joint adventurer in their cultivation; he has leſs inducement to adopt the uſual

modes

modes of oppreſſion, which he knows would endanger popular favour, his beſt ſecurity againſt the machinations of the Porte: and he will naturally exert all his power to repel depredations, from which he muſt himſelf be a principal ſufferer. A Baſhaw, in ſuch a ſituation, alarms the jealouſy of the Porte, if he happens to be a man of enterprize; and at any rate tempts its avarice, by the treaſure he is ſuppoſed to accumulate: but, marked by the Porte as a future victim, he ſometimes is allowed to purchaſe quiet for a long while. Excluding all petty tyrants, he reigns in a manner abſolute in his province; but ſo artfully tempers deſpotiſm with occaſional acts of juſtice and liberality, as to prevent the people wiſhing for a change, which might poſſibly bring them under the yoke of a harder maſter. At length, the fatal period approaching, he is flattered with deceitful profeſſions and promiſes; he is removed under ſome plauſible pretence, to a diſtant government, and falls a ſacrifice before he has had time to form defenſive connections: of which Aſad Baſhaw of Damaſcus, was a ſtrong example. He had amaſſed vaſt riches, but his country was in a proſperous ſtate of cultivation.

Examples of theſe powerful, and almoſt independent Baſhaws, are found only in the frontier or diſtant provinces; the vigilance of the Porte being ſufficiently active to render them rare. In the ordinary courſe of adminiſtration, the provinces are left to be pillaged, by thoſe whoſe duty it is to protect them. The Baſhaw himſelf, anxious and indigent in the midſt of pomp and adulation, ſubject to the inceſſant demands of the Porte, and haraſſed by long and expenſive journies, is continually in purſuit of that wealth which he is ſeldom permitted to enjoy: and which often muſt be procured by means as incompatible with juſtice, as ruinous to the Province. Under ſuch circumſtances it cannot be wondered that the country, though bleſt with ſo many natural advantages of ſoil and climate, ſhould be found thinly peopled, and poorly cultivated.

The Gardens of Aleppo.

From Dr. Ruſſel's *Natural Hiſtory of Aleppo.*

THE Babullah gardens are bounded on one part by a chain of low hills, on the extremity of which ſtands a Sheih's houſe, called Sheih Fares; on the other part by a beautiful pyramidal hill, whoſe ſides, ſloping by an eaſy aſcent, are covered with vineyards and corn fields, and at the ſummit, in a moſt picturesque ſituation, ſtands the Derviſe convent of Sheih Abu Becker, elegantly built, and adorned with tall cyprus trees. On the ſouth of the gardens, the high road leading to the city mounts over ſeveral riſings, leaving on the right a fine meadow, already mentioned, which, being refreſhed partly by ſprings, and partly by the waters that run off through the gardens, preſerves unfading verdure throughout the year.

Cloſe to this meadow*, and

* Meidan al Ahder.

ſituated in the middle of a garden, is a royal villa, where the Turkiſh emperors uſed occaſionally to reſide when they led their armies into Syria; but it has long been neglected, and is hardly habitable in its preſent ſtate. The Meidan garden is watered by the Kowick, which at this place makes its turn to the ſouthward. The garden, though under the care of a Boſtangee from the Porte, who reſides on the ſpot, is very ill kept, and the ſtone divans, bridges, and pavillions are running faſt to ruin.

This is the place mentioned by Rauwolff. What he terms a chapel built over the river, is a ſtone Kioſk, or pavilion, which ſtill remains, though much decayed. In this pavilion it is ſuppoſed the converſation paſſed between the emperor Solyman and his counſellors, which was related to Rauwolff by the gardener *.

Mention has already been made of a conſiderable tract of gardens, extending near twelve miles in length, that is, from Heylan to about four miles on the other ſide of the city ſouthward. This tract lies along the river, but is of unequal breadth, as the width of the valley, or the ſhelving banks happen to favour or obſtruct its extenſion: ſometimes one ſide only of the river, but generally both are planted.

Theſe gardens commonly make part of ſome religious eſtate, or belong to ſome Effendee †, or Aga ‡, poſſeſt of influence ſufficient to protect his tenants; for they are cultivated with care, but from their ſituation ſo near to the town, are liable, eſpecially in the fruit ſeaſon, to the depredations of the ſoldiery, or other ſtrollers. For the ſame reaſon tenants are often Greenheads or Janizaries.

The gardens are ſeparated from each other by low ſtone walls; and, though ſome variety muſt neceſſarily ariſe from difference of ground, they differ ſo little in the mode of plantation, that the deſcription of one will be ſufficient to give an idea of all the Syrian gardens §. As they are planted with a view more to profit than pleaſure, very little labour is beſtowed in removing unſightly deformities in levelling, or ſloping the ground, or in any other improvements not ſtrictly connected with lucrative cultivation. They are a compound of the kitchen and flower garden blended, without the intervention of parterres or graſs plats.

The whole extent is ſubdivided into ſquare or oblong fields, irregularly bordered with dwarf trees, flowering ſhrubs, and trees of taller growth, among which the plane, the weeping willow, the aſh, and the white poplar, make a conſpicuous figure. Within ſome of theſe incloſures are cultivated mad-apples, melons, and cucumbers, together with a variety of eſculent roots, greens, and legumes, for the kitchen: in others cotton, tobacco, ſeſamum, palma Chriſti, and lucern; and ſome are ſown with barley, to be cut green for the uſe of the horſes in the ſpring.

* Ray's Collection. † Man of the law. ‡ Gentleman.

§ Relative to the ſubject of eaſtern gardens, the reader may peruſe with pleaſure the learned biſhop Lowth's entertaining note on Iſaiah, i. 30.

Interſperſed

Interſperſed among the kitchen encloſures are large plantations of pomegranate, of plum, or of cherry trees; and ſometimes groves, compoſed of the various fruit trees that the country produces. All theſe trees are ſtandards; and, though ſometimes planted in rows, they are for the moſt part crowded cloſe together with little regard to ſymmetry, forming wild and almoſt impervious thickets. But a more complete ſhade is met with in other parts of the grounds, formed by tufts of lofty trees, which, uniting their branches at top, give ſhelter to roſes of different ſorts, and to a profuſion of wild aromatic herbs, which, thus protected from the ſun, long retain their fragrance. The flowers cultivated for ſale, contribute little to the ornament of the gardens; being neither diſplayed regularly in parterres, nor artfully ſcattered among the plantations.

The gardens, thoſe of Babulla excepted, are ſupplied from the river, by the aid of Perſian wheels; and the water, by means of pumps, and wooden pipes, or troughs, is conveyed to reſervoirs in the higher grounds, whence it is occaſionally let off into the watering channels, as deſcribed before. Where the grounds happen to be well ſhaded, and require leſs watering, ſeveral of the diverging rills, being made to unite, eſcape in a ſwifter current through the ſhade, and the ſwollen brook diſcovers itſelf at intervals amid the foliage, or, when concealed, is traced by its pleaſing murmur.

Inelegant as the Aleppo gardens may appear to the cultivated taſte of an European, they afford a voluptuous noontide retreat to the languid traveller*. Even he, whoſe imagination can recal the enchanting ſcenery of Richmond or of Stow, may perhaps experience new pleaſure in viewing the gliſtening pomegranate-thickets, in full bloſſom. Revived by the freſhening breeze, the purling of the brooks, and the verdure of the groves, his ear will catch the melody of the nightingale, delightful beyond what is heard in England†; with conſcious gratitude to heaven, he will recline on the ſimple mat, bleſs the hoſpitable ſhelter, and perhaps, while indulging the penſive mood, he will hardly regret the abſence of Britiſh refinement in gardening.

But though, in laying out the grounds, profit be the principal object, ſome attention, at the ſame time, is paid to pleaſure. In moſt of the gardens near the town there are ſummer houſes, for the recep-

* 'Tis raging noon; and, vertical the ſun
Darts on the head direct his forceful rays.
O'er heaven and earth, far as the ranging eye
Can ſweep a dazzling deluge reigns; and all
From pole to pole is undiſtinguiſh'd blaze.
In vain the ſight, dejected to the ground,
Stoops for relief; thence hot aſcending ſteams
And keen reflection pain.

† Cool thro' the nerves, your pleaſing comfort glide
The heart beats glad; the freſh expanded eye
And ear reſume their watch; the ſinews knit;
And life ſhoots ſwift thro' all the lighten'd limbs.

tion of the public, furnished with fountains, and with Kioſks projecting over the river. In others, at a greater diſtance, there are tolerably commodious villas, to which the Franks reſort in the ſpring, as the natives do in the ſummer.

As walking is not a favorite exerciſe among the Turks, little care is taken to keep the garden walks in order, or to prune luxuriant branches. One broad walk generally ſurrounds the whole, while another runs through the middle; but the reſt of the grounds are traverſed by narrow intricate paths.

The river Kowick, to which moſt of the gardens owe their exiſtence, contributes leſs than it might eaſily be made to do, to their embelliſhment. Near the kioſks and bridges, where it is banked with ſtone, it has the appearance of an artificial canal; and in a few places, where moles have been raiſed for mills or water engines, it forms caſcades: but the ſtream is ſlow and turbid, and its banks in many parts are either overſpread with reeds and buſhes, or deformed by the roots of trees ſhooting out from the ſide, which undermine the ſoil, and choak up the channel. Still in this neglected ſtate, in a country where the ſight of water is always pleaſing, the river ſomewhat varies and enlivens the proſpect.

The ſloping hills to the weſt and ſouth-weſt of the town, on both ſides of the river, which are too diſtant, or too ſteep to be from thence ſupplied with water, are laid out into vineyards, olive plantations, and fig gardens; or into orchards, where all thoſe trees are planted promiſcuouſly, piſtachio trees being interſperſed. But very extenſive piſtachio orchards cover the rough riſing grounds to the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt of the town, which are remarkably ſtony and arid, their ſole ſupply of water in the ſummer being from draw-wells, or from ciſterns filled in the ſpring. In all the orchards a ſmall ſquare watch-houſe is built for the accommodation of the watchmen in the fruit ſeaſon; or, in their ſtead, temporary bowers are conſtructed of wood, and thatched with green reeds, and branches.

The natives always talk with rapture of the Aleppo gardens. The city is ſupplied from them with plenty of greens and fruits; and they contribute both to the health and amuſement of the inhabitants, by alluring them from a life too ſedentary, to the enjoyment of gentle exerciſe and a purer air: it may be added, that, in the ſummer months, when the open fields retain hardly a veſtige of verdure, they preſent an agreeable contraſt, more eſpecially to ſtrangers who come from croſſing the parched and naked tracts, met with in ſeveral parts of the road from Scanderoon.

Some Tranſactions and Character of Humaioon Shaw Bhamenee, commonly called Zalim, or the Cruel.

From Scott's *Tranſlation of* Feriſhta's *Hiſtory of Dekkan.*

SHAW HUBBEEB OOLLA, an eminent divine, had been impriſoned for his attachment to the prince of Houſſun Khan. Upon the ſultan's marching againſt Secunder Khan, towards Bilcondah, ſeven of the ſhaw's diſciples formed the reſolution of procuring his liberty

berty. For this purpoſe they addreſſed Euſuff Turk, ſlave to the late ſultan Alla ad Dien, a man generally beloved, and celebrated for his virtue, integrity, piety, and extenſive charities, alſo a firm diſciple and friend to the ſhaw's family. He promiſed his aid, and corrupted ſome of the guards and porters of the palace. The number of the confederacy increaſed to twelve horſemen and fifty foot, all bent upon ſacrificing their lives to the ſervice of the ſhaw. Euſuff, advancing in the path of fortitude, one evening went with his friends to the gate of the royal haram, in which the priſoners were confined. Moſt of the guards were abſent on their occaſions, but he was queſtioned by the few on duty. He replied, that he had the ſultan's orders to enter the priſon, and blind ſuch and ſuch criminals, producing a forged firmaun to prove his aſſertions; at ſeeing which, they were ſilent, and ſuffered him to paſs in. Upon his arrival at the ſecond gate, the guards refuſed to admit him; and, though he ſhowed the firmaun, inſiſted that the cutwal's order was neceſſary before he could be allowed entrance; upon which he ruſhed upon them with his friends, put them to death, with ſome reſiſtance, and paſſed on. Euſuff firſt haſtened to the apartments of the capital priſoners, and took off the chains from Hubbeeb Oolla, Houſſun Khan and Yiah Khan, ſons of the late king, and Jellall Khan Bokharee, entreated him to break their chains, and take them with him; to which petiton he conſented. After this he went into every apartment of the priſon, proclaiming aloud, that all who wiſhed to be freed from captivity, ſhould repair to the gate of the palace, and join him. About ſeven thouſand unfortunate captives, of all conditions, roſe upon the keepers, and arming themſelves with clubs, or whatever came to hand, ranged themſelves at the gate as directed. By this time the cutwal of the city, having received the alarm, had advanced to the palace with his people; but the captives, deſperate for freedom, received him ſo warmly with ſhowers of ſtones, and clubs, that they were defeated. The priſoners, during the night, diſperſed to different quarters among their friends. Jellall Khan, near eighty years old, and the prince Yiah Khan, fell into the cutwal's hands again in a few hours, and were put to death. Houſſun Khan and Hubbeeb Oolla took ſhelter in the houſe of a barber, where they ſhaved their beards, and put on the dreſs of beggars. The latter now adviſed making their eſcape to ſome humble retirement; but the prince obſerved, that the people in general being wearied and diſguſted with his brother's cruelty, and attached to himſelf, it was likely he could ſoon raiſe an army, and regain the throne he had loſt. Hubbeeb Oolla conſented to aſſiſt his views. When they had got out of the city to ſome diſtance, Houſſun Khan made himſelf known, and adventurers and the diſaffected joined him from all quarters. Euſuff Turk alſo joined his ſtandard; and in a few days the prince was able, with an army of three thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot, to advance to the garden of Kumtaneh, only ſix miles from the capital, in hopes

of being able to take it. Finding this, however, impoſſible, he retreated to the town of Peer, which he poſſeſſed himſelf of, with the country round, and levied freſh troops. Such was the ſtate of affairs when the ſultan arrived at Ahmedabad with his army.

The firſt buſineſs of the ſultan was to puniſh the garriſon of the city; all the ſoldiers of which, above two thouſand, he put to death in various ways, the moſt cruel that could be deviſed. The cutwal he confined in an iron cage, every day cutting off ſome member from his body, which he obliged him to eat, ſo that he died ſhortly of his maims. He then diſpatched eight thouſand horſe and foot againſt the rebels, who at firſt were victorious; upon which the rage of the ſultan was extreme. He reinforced his army, but confined the women and children of the officers; vowing to put them to death if they ſhould be defeated, or deſert to the prince Houſſun Khan.

In the next battle the rebels ſuffered a total defeat, and Houſſun Khan, after a deſperate reſiſtance, quitted the field with his adherents, hoping to find an aſylum at Beejanuggur. Upon his arrival near the fort of Beejapore, with about eight hundred horſe, the governor, Serauje Khan Juneedee, ſent out a meſſage to invite him in, declaring that he would give him up the fort and all its dependencies. Houſſun Khan, by the advice of Hubbeeb Oolla and Euſuff Turk, entered the fort of Beejapore, then only of mud, Serauje Khan received them with officious reſpect and attention. At night-fall he came, with all his attendants, to the prince's apartment, under pretence of paying his reſpects, and ſurrounded it. The next day he attempted to take his gueſts priſoners, and Hubbeeb Oolla ſuffered martyrdom in the reſiſtance. At length, the prince Houſſun Khan, Euſuff Turk, and his other followers, even to carpet-ſpreaders, watermen, and ſweepers, were ſeized, and ſent priſoners, by the treacherous Serauje Khan, under a ſtrong eſcort to Ahmedabad.

Humaioon Shaw, letting looſe the bridle of puniſhment, and mad with rage, ordered ſtakes to be ſet up on both ſides of the king's market, and vicious elephants and beaſts of prey to be ſtationed in different parts of the ſquare; in others were placed cauldrons of ſcalding oil and boiling water. Then, aſcending a balcony to view the ſpectacle, he firſt caſt his brother Houſſun Khan before a voracious tiger, who ſoon tearing the wretched prince in pieces with his teeth and claws, left ſcarce a relic remaining. Euſuff Turk, and his ſeven friends, were beheaded before him; and their innocent and helpleſs families, being dragged from their houſes, were violated and otherwiſe tortured in the court of the palace by ruffians, in ways too indecent to mention. Puniſhments invented by the ſultan were inflicted on young and old, women and children; who ſuffered ſuch tortures as the imaginations of * Zohaak and the tyrant Hijaaje never could have

* A Perſian and Tartar tyrant.

conceived

conceived. About ſeven thouſand of the unhappy prince's women and ſervants, who had not the moſt diſtant concern in his rebellion, even to cooks, waiters, ſcullions, and other menials, were ſome ſtabbed with daggers, others cut in pieces with hatchets, and the reſt killed in cruel methods by ſcalding oil and water. This tragedy happened in Shauban, the ſame year as the rebellion.

The author of the Tarekh Mhamood Shawee ſays, he heard from the royal attendants, that upon learning the eſcape of Houſſun Khan, rage and paſſion ſo overcame the ſultan, that he ſometimes tore his robes, at others bit his pillows, and often his own lips, in ſuch a manner that they dropped with blood. Alarmed at the example of Houſſun Khan, he put to death ſeveral innocent perſons of the royal family, who were confined in different fortreſſes. Nor did he ſtop here. He became ſuſpicious of all his court, and the innocent and guilty were undiſtinguiſhed by his ſavage tyranny. He extended his hands to the children of his ſubjects, tearing them from their parents to ſatisfy his luſts. He would frequently ſtop nuptial proceſſions in the ſtreet, and ſeizing the bride, after deflowering her, ſend her back to the huſband's houſe. He put his women to death on trivial occaſions; and when any of the nobility were obliged to attend him, ſo great was their dread, that they took leave of their families, as if preparing for death.

At laſt the Almighty took pity on the ſufferings of his people, and liſtened to the complaints of the wretched. The tyrant was taken ill, and judging he ſhould die, appointed his eldeſt ſon, Nizam Shaw, then only eight years of age, his ſucceſſor; and calling Khajeh Jehaun Turk from Berar, and Mallek al Tijar from Telingana, made his will; conſtituting them regents and guardians to his ſon during his minority; commanding them ſtrictly to tranſact no affair without the advice of the queen mother. He died on the twenty-eighth of * Zeekaud, 865, according to ſome; but others relate, that he recovered from this illneſs, and was aſſaſſinated in a fit of intoxication by his own ſervants, wearied out with his inhuman cruelties. His reign was three years, ſix months, and ſix days.

Travelling of North American Indians.

From La Trobe's *History of the Miſſion.*

WHEN the Indians are going on a journey, they pretend to be careleſs about the weather: yet in their prayers they frequently aſk for a clear and pleaſant ſky. The food they take with them is the flour of Indian corn, which they either eat dry, or mix with ſugar and water. This makes a cooling and nourishing draught. They alſo boil it into a kind of ſoup.

They never take bread of Indian corn for a long journey; for in ſummer it will ſpoil in three or four days, and is unfit for food.

* The eleventh month of the Mahummedan year.

As to meat, they find it every where in the foreft. Formerly they carried fire with them, uſing a kind of fungus for this purpoſe. But now they are generally provided with an European tinder-box. They are never in great haſte in travelling, for they ſeem every where at home in the foreſts. They ſeldom forſake their ſleeping place very early, firſt eating a hearty meal, and examining their clothes, which often want mending, before they ſtart. This is very troubleſome to Europeans, who are ſtraightened for time, or wiſh to be ſoon at their journey's end, and yet it is by far the beſt to let them have their own way, leſt they ſhould grow ſulky; for their aſſiſtance as guides is moſt eſſentially neceſſary. But when they have once ſtarted, they will ſeldom ſtop, till after ſun-ſet, when they ſeek a night's lodging in ſome convenient place. If it rains, they peel ſome trees, and in a very ſhort time build an hut of bark, or rather a roof fixed upon four poles, ſtuck into the ground, under which they may ſleep dry.

We have already obſerved, that they travel through the woods for days together, without any trace of a path, and yet never go aſtray. Difficulties never prevent them. If they meet with rivers and brooks, in which the waters are ſo high, that no European would judge it poſſible to paſs over, they are not intimidated, but ſwim acroſs the moſt rapid current with great ſtrength and dexterity.

If they travel in company, they have all things in common. They uſually appoint one to be their leader, and the young men hunt by the way. If they kill a deer, they bring it to the rendezvous, lay it down by the fire, and expect that the leader will diſtribute it among the whole party. When the chiefs travel, they generally take ſome young men with them, to hunt for them.

The thickneſs of the woods, and the various kinds of plants and long graſs, which entangle the feet of a traveller, render a journey in theſe countries very troubleſome. The muſquitoes are alſo a great torment in paſſing through the woods. The Indians defend themſelves at night from their attack, by lying in the ſmoke of their fires.

In ſome parts bands of robbers infeſt the woods, who attack and plunder travellers; nor do they even ſpare their own countrymen. They commonly conſiſt of perſons expelled from their reſpective tribes, on account of ſome enormous crime, which rendered them infamous. In the country of the Iroquois and further north, where the winters are ſevere, with much ſnow, the Indians are provided with ſnow-ſhoes, which enable them to walk over the deepeſt ſnow. Theſe ſhoes are made of hoops, rounded in front, wide in the middle, and running to a point behind. The ſoles conſiſt of ſmall thongs of deer-ſkin, woven like a net with wide meſhes, that the ſnow may eaſily paſs through. Towards the fore-part of the ſhoe, near the middle, is a croſs piece of wood, with two ſmall holes at each end, through which leather ſtraps are drawn. By theſe ſtraps it is faſtened to the foot, which reſts upon the croſs wood, the longer part of the ſhoe dragging behind. On the banks of the

Muſkingum, where there is leſs ſnow, ſuch ſhoes are not in uſe, and therefore the Delawares are not ſo well fitted out for a winter's journey as the Iroquois. The ſledges in uſe among the Indians, are made of two thin boards, faſtened ſideways together, about two feet broad, and ſix long. They are bent upwards in front, and have little hand-rails on each ſide.

If a ſingle Indian has occaſion to paſs a river or bay, he ſoon builds a canoe: taking a long piece of bark, of proportionable breadth, to which he gives the proper form, by faſtening it to ribs of light wood, bent ſo as to ſuit his purpoſe. But if there are more in company, they make a large canoe, as above deſcribed, ingeniouſly conſtructed of pieces of bark, carefully ſewed together. Large canoes do not eaſily overſet, being broad bottomed: they will carry a great weight, but ſeldom laſt longer than one year. Formerly they were in common uſe, but are now only made in caſe of neceſſity, the Indians being furniſhed with proper tools, with which they build boats with eaſe. If the voyage is expected to be long, many Indians carry every thing they want for their night's lodging with them, namely, ſome ſlender poles, and ruſh-mats, or birch-bark.

Amuſements of the North American Indians.

From La Trobe's *Miſſion.*

WHEN the men are at home, they amuſe themſelves with diverſions of various kinds, in which the women join them as much as their time will permit.

Dancing is their moſt favourite amuſement. All ſolemn meetings are celebrated with a dance, nor does a night paſs, in which there is not a dance in one family or other, to which the young people of both ſexes reſort with eagerneſs.

The Delawares and Iroquois have different modes of dancing. The common dance is held either in a large houſe, or in an open field around a fire. In dancing they form a circle, and always have a leader, whom the whole company attend to. The men go before, and the women cloſe the circle. The latter dance with great decency, as if engaged in the moſt ſerious buſineſs; they never ſpeak a word to the men, much less joke with them, which would injure their character. They neither jump nor ſkip, but move one foot lightly forward, and then backward, yet ſo as to advance gradually, till they reach a certain ſpot, and then retire in the ſame manner. They keep their bodies ſtrait, and their arms hanging down cloſe to their bodies. But the men ſhout, leap, and ſtamp with ſuch violence that the ground trembles under their feet. Their extreme agility and lightneſs of foot is never diſplayed to more advantage than in dancing. Their whole muſic conſiſts in a ſingle drum. This is made of an old barrel or kettle, or the lower end of a hollow tree, covered with a thin deer-ſkin, and beat with one ſtick. Its ſound is diſagreeable, and ſerves only to mark the time, which the Indians, when dancing even in the greateſt numbers, keep with

with due exactneſs. When one round is finiſhed, they take ſome reſt, during which the drummer continues to ſing, till another dance commences. Theſe dances laſt commonly till midnight.

Another kind of dance is only attended by the men. Each riſes in his turn, and dances with great agility and boldneſs, extolling his own or his forefather's great deeds in a ſong, to which the whole company beat time, by a monotonous rough note, given out with great vehemence at the commencement of each bar.

Some dances held upon particular occaſions differ much from the above. Of theſe the chief is the dance of peace, called alſo the *calumet* or pipe-dance, becauſe the *calumet* or pipe of peace is handed about during the dance. This is the moſt pleaſing to ſtrangers, who attend as ſpectators, its appearance being peaceable, and not ſo dreadful as the former. The dancers join hands, and leap in a ring for ſome time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, keeping hold of the other. He then ſprings forward, and turns round ſeveral times, by which he draws the whole company round ſo as to be encloſed by them, when they ſtand cloſe together. They diſengage themſelves as ſuddenly, yet keeping their hold of each others' hands during all the different revolutions and changes in the dance: which, as they explain it, repreſents the chain of friendſhip. A ſong, made purpoſely for this ſolemnity, is ſung by all.

The war-dance, held either before or after a campaign, is dreadful to behold. No one takes ſhare in it, but the warriors themſelves. They appear armed as if going to battle. One carries his gun, or an hatchet, another a long knife, the third a tomahawk, the fourth a large club; or they all appear armed with tomahawks. Theſe they brandiſh in the air, to ſignify how they intend to treat or have treated their enemies. They affect ſuch an air of anger and fury on this occaſion, that it makes a ſpectator ſhudder to behold them. A chief leads the dance, and ſings the warlike deeds of himſelf or his anceſtors. At the end of every celebrated feat of valor, he wields his tomahawk with all his might againſt a poſt fixed in the ground. He is then followed by the reſt, each finiſhing his round by a blow againſt the poſt. Then they dance all together, and this is the moſt frightful ſcene. They affect the moſt horrible and dreadful geſtures, threatening to beat, cut, and ſtab each other. They are however amazingly dextrous in avoiding the threatened danger. To complete the horror of the ſcene, they howl as dreadfully as in actual fight, ſo that they appear as raving madmen. During the dance they ſometimes ſound a kind of fife, made of reed, which has a ſhrill and diſagreeable note. The Iroquois uſe the war-dance even in times of peace, with a view to celebrate the heroic deeds of their chiefs in a ſolemn manner.

The ſacrificial dance is held at the ſolemnization of their ſacrifices.

The Indians are naturally given to gambling, and frequently riſk their arms, furniture, clothes, and all they poſſeſs, to gratify this paſſion.

ſion. The chief game of the Iroquois and Delawares is *dice*, which indeed originated with them. The dice are made of oval and flattiſh plum-ſtones, painted black on one, and yellow on the other ſide. Two perſons only can play at one time. They put the dice into a diſh, which is raiſed alternately by each gambler, and ſtruck on the table or floor with force enough to make the dice riſe and change their poſition; when he who has the greater number of the winning colour, counts five, and the firſt who has the good fortune to do this eight times, wins the game.

The ſpectators ſeem in great agitation during the game, and at every chance that appears deciſive, cry out with great vehemence. The gamblers diſtort their features, and, if unſucceſsful, mutter their diſpleaſure at the dice and the evil ſpirits who prevent their good fortune.

Sometimes whole townſhips, and even whole tribes, play againſt each other. One of the miſſionaries happened to be preſent when two Iroquois townſhips, having got together a number of goods, conſiſting of blankets, cloth, ſhirts, linen, &c. gambled for them. The game laſted eight days. They aſſembled every day, and every inhabitant of each townſhip toſſed the dice once. This being done, and the chance of each perſon noted down, they parted for that day. But each townſhip offered a ſacrifice in the evening, to enſure ſucceſs to their party. This was done by a man going ſeveral times round the fire, throwing tobacco into it, and ſinging a ſong. Afterwards the whole company danced. When the appointed time for the game was at an end, they compared notes, and the winners bore away the ſpoil in triumph.

Cards, ſkittles, and foot-ball, were introduced among them by the Europeans.

Character, Houſekeeping, and Education of the North American Indians.

From La Trobe's *Miſſion.*

THE Indians affect an appearance of great coolneſs towards their neareſt relations. When the children and other kindred go to meet the father of the family, after a long abſence, he paſſes by them with an haughty air, never returns their ſalutation, nor aſks how his children do; for circumſtances relating to his own family and kinſmen ſeem indifferent to him in time of war. This cool behaviour is generally thought a mark of a noble mind, but it would be a great miſtake to infer, that they are diveſted of the feelings of nature.

The houſekeeping of the married people is very different in a Delaware and an Iroquois family. The Delaware Indian hunts and fiſhes, provides meat for the houſehold, keeps his wife and children in clothing, builds and repairs the houſe or hut, and makes fences round the plantations. The woman cooks the victuals, fetches fire-wood, and labours in the field and garden, though, as to the latter, the huſband will aſſiſt occaſionally.

But in managing the affairs of the family the huſband leaves the whole

whole to his wife, and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word, but rather goes to some friend, being assured that he shall find something to eat. Nor does he ever offer to put wood on the fire, except he has guests, or some other extraordinary call to do it. If his wife longs for meat, and gives him a hint of it, he goes out early in the morning without victuals, and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer, he throws it down before the door of the hut, and walks in, saying nothing. But his wife, who has heard him lay down his burden, gives him something to eat, dries his clothes, and then goes out to bring in the game. She may then do with it whatever she pleases. He says nothing if she even gives the greatest part of it to her friends, which is a very common custom. If the husband intends to go a-hunting, or to take a journey, he gives his wife notice, and then she knows that it is her business to furnish him with proper provisions.

If any dissatisfaction arises between them, the husband commonly takes his gun and walks off into the woods, without telling his wife whither he is going. Sometimes he does not return till after some days, when both parties have frequently forgot their quarrels, and live again in peace.

Most married people understand, that whatever the husband gets by hunting, belongs to the wife. Therefore, as soon as he has brought the skins and meat home, he considers them as his wife's property. On the other hand, whatever the wife reaps from the garden and plantation belongs to the husband, from which she must provide him with the necessary food both at home and abroad. Some men keep the skins, and purchase clothes for their wives and children, that they may not be in want. The cows belong to the wife, but the horses to the husband, who generally makes his wife a present of one for her own use.

All this proves that the Delaware women live as well as the situation of an Indian will permit. But the women are not so well treated among the Iroquois. A wild Iroquois is proud of his strength, courage, and other manly virtues, and treats his wife with coolness, contempt, and often with abuse. He considers every occupation but that of a hunter or warrior in a despicable point of view, and therefore leaves every other consideration to his wife. Thus the women have business enough upon their hands. The wife must not only do all the work in the house and in the field, but make fences, keep the house in repair, and in general, perform all kind of drudgery. In travelling she must carry the bundles, and sometimes her husband's gun, and when he has shot a deer, the wife must convey it home.

The Indian women are in general of a very strong bodily constitution, and seldom want any assistance in child-bearing. They have no midwives, but there are clever and experienced women enough,

enough, who are able to give both affiſtance and advice in time of labour. When the time approaches, they prepare every thing neceſſary both for themſelves and the child, nor do they deſiſt from their uſual employment in the houſe, till about an hour or two before their delivery. Some very ſtout women are delivered when alone in the foreſt, and are capable of conveying the new-born infant home.

After the birth, the infant is immediately laid upon a board covered with moſs, and wrapped up in a ſkin or piece of cloth, little arched pieces of wood being faſtened to the ſides of the board, to hinder the babe falling off; for when the mother is engaged in her houſehold work, ſhe hangs this rude cradle upon ſome peg, or branch of a tree. But this practice gets more and more out of faſhion.

Moſt mothers ſuckle their infants till they are two or more years old. If they cannot do this, ſoup made of Indian corn ſupplies the place of milk. Though they marry very young, they have ſeldom more than ſix children. Their love to them is very great, and the favour of the parents is gained by nothing ſo eaſily as by careſſing, or giving ſomething to their little children. The mothers generally carry them in a blanket faſtened upon their backs. The ancient pernicious cuſtom of ſetting the infant upright upon a board, to which its feet were faſtened with thongs, and of carrying the board with a ſtrap upon their backs, is almoſt entirely aboliſhed. The many inſtances of children being deſtroyed by this practice have made it univerſally deteſted.

The children are always conſidered as the property of the wife. If a divorce takes place, they all follow her. Thoſe indeed that are grown up, may ſtay with the father, if they pleaſe. Both parties are very deſirous of gaining the love of their children, and this accounts for their conduct towards them. They never oppoſe their inclinations, that they may not loſe their affection. Their education therefore is not much attended to. Their children have entirely their own will, and never do any thing by compulſion. The parents are very careful not to beat or chaſtiſe them for any fault, fearing leſt the children might remember it, and revenge themſelves on ſome future occaſion. Yet many well-bred children are found among them, who pay great attention and reſpect to their parents, and are civil to ſtrangers. This is certainly a conſequence of the mild treatment they receive, for the contrary generally produces bitterneſs, hatred and contempt.

They do not ſpend much upon the dreſs and equipment of their children. Boys go naked till they are ſix years old. The firſt piece of dreſs they receive is a narrow ſlip of blue cloth paſſing in a looſe manner between their legs, and faſtened by a ſtrap round their bodies. But the girls wear a light coat as ſoon as they can walk.

The father generally gives the child a name, either in its ſixth or ſeventh year, and pretends that it has been ſuggeſted to him in a dream. This is done at a ſacrifice,

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in a ſong, and they call it "praying over the child." The ſame ceremony is performed when an adult perſon receives a name of honour in addition to the former. But if it is left to the mother to give a name, ſhe uſes little ceremony, and calls it after ſome peculiar mark or character in it, for inſtance, *the Beautiful*, or *the Great Eye*. If they do not love it, they chuſe a diſagreeable name for it.

As the girls grow up, the mothers endeavour to inſtruct them in all kinds of work, firſt taking them as aſſiſtants in the houſekeeping, and by degrees making them acquainted with every part of a woman's buſineſs. But the boys are never obliged to do any thing: they loiter about, live as they pleaſe, and follow their own fancies. If they do miſchief to others, they are gently reproved, and the parents will rather pay twice or three times over for the damage done, than puniſh them for it. As they are deſtined for huntſmen and warriors, they exerciſe themſelves very early with bows and arrows, and in ſhooting at a mark. As they grow up, they acquire a remarkable dexterity in ſhooting birds, ſquirrels, and ſmall game. When the boy arrives at a proper age, he receives a fowling-piece or rifle-barrelled gun. The firſt deer he ſhoots, proves the occaſion of a great ſolemnity. If it happens to be a buck, it is given whole to ſome old man, who makes a feaſt of it for all the old men in the town. During this repaſt, they give good counſel to the boy (who is merely a ſpectator), regarding the chaſe and all the circumſtances of his future life, exhorting him above all things to revere old age and grey hairs, and to be obedient to their words. They then join in prayer to God, to grant him long life and happineſs. If he firſt happens to kill a doe, he gives it to ſome old women, who treats the old women in the ſame manner.

Sometimes young boys are prepared in a moſt ſingular manner for the ſtation they are intended to fill in future, with a view to form a judgment of their capacity. They are made to faſt ſo often and ſo long, that their bodies become emaciated, their minds deranged, and their dreams wild and extravagant. Frequent queſtions are put to them on this occaſion, till they have had, or pretended to have had a dream, declared to be ominous. The ſubject being minutely conſidered and interpreted, they are ſolemnly informed what will be their future deſtination. The impreſſion thus made upon their minds is laſting, and the older they grow, the more earneſtly they ſtrive to fulfil their deſtination, conſidering themſelves as men of peculiar gifts, far exceeding all others. By virtue of theſe extraordinary revelations, they become phyſicians, hunters, rich men, ſorcerers, or captains, according to the tenor of the dream, or, in other words, they then willingly conform to the mode of life, planned for them by their parents and relations. In their private life, they live without controul, proud of their liberty, and following their own inclinations. In this the parents delight, and moſt fathers boaſt of

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the independence of their ſons' mind. By their inſtructions and example the young people are taught from their infancy to ſuppreſs their paſſions, and this is done in ſo effectual a manner, that the proofs they exhibit of their command of temper are truly aſtoniſhing.

When the parents ſee their children provided for, or able to provide for themſelves, they no longer care for their ſupport, nor do they even think of ſaving a good inheritance for them. For every Indian knows, that whatever he leaves at his death is divided among his friends.

If a woman becomes a widow, the relations of the deceaſed take every thing belonging to him, and give it to their friends, without keeping a ſingle article. They act thus, becauſe they wiſh to forget death, and are afraid leſt the ſmalleſt part of the property of the deceaſed ſhould remind them of it. Thus the children have no more claim upon any inheritance than the widow and other near relations. But if a dying Indian leaves his gun or any other part of his furniture to a particular friend, the legatee is immediately put in poſſeſſion, and no one diſputes his right. Whatever the huſband has given to his wife during his lifetime, remains her property. Therefore we need not wonder that a married Indian pair ſhould not have their goods in common: for otherwiſe the wife would be left wholly deſtitute after her huſband's death, and the huſband would loſe his all when his wife dies.

According to the ancient rule, a widow ſhould not marry again within a year after the death of her huſband: for the Indians ſay that he does not forſake her before that time, and then his ſoul goes to the manſions of departed ſpirits.

She muſt however endeavour to live by her own induſtry, and commonly ſuffers great want, eſpecially if ſhe has young children. She is not permitted to purchaſe any meat, for the Indians are ſuperſtitiouſly perſuaded, that their guns would fail, and prevent them from ſhooting any more deer, if a widow ſhould eat of the game they have killed. But now and then a kind friend will venture to tranſgreſs the rule, and give her ſome meat. As ſoon as the firſt year of her widowhood is paſt, the friends of her deceaſed huſband clothe and provide for her and her children. They alſo propoſe another huſband, or at leaſt tell her, that ſhe is now at liberty to chuſe for herſelf. But if ſhe has not attended to the preſcribed rule, but married within the year, they never trouble themſelves about her again. The ſame is obſerved, with reſpect to a widower, by the friends of his deceaſed wife; for they ſtill conſider him as belonging to their family.

If he has remained a widower one whole year, they generally propoſe a woman according to their mind, that he may ſoon marry again, and prefer a ſiſter of the departed, if one be living.

I will further obſerve, that the family connections of the Indians are commonly very extenſive, on account of their frequently changing their wives.

The Manner of Hunting and Fishing among the North American Indians.

From La Trobe's *Miſſion.*

HUNTING is the principal and moſt neceſſary employment of the Indians, and, next to war, the moſt honourable. For this reaſon, all Indians, but chiefly the Delawares, are very expert and experienced huntſmen.

The boys learn to climb trees when very young, both to catch birds and to exerciſe their ſight, which by this method is rendered ſo quick, that in hunting they ſee objects at an amazing diſtance. In detecting and purſuing game, they almoſt exceed the beſt-trained dog, in following its courſe with certainty. They run ſo ſwift, that if a deer does not fall upon the firſt ſhot, they throw off their blanket, and ſeldom fail to overtake him.

Their contrivances for decoying and ſecuring the game are innumerable. They ſtudy this from their infancy, and many remain whole years in the woods by way of practice.

Formerly the chief weapons uſed by an Indian hunter were bows and arrows, armed at the point with a longiſh ſharp ſtone of a triangular ſhape. Even to this day, many of the weſt and north-weſt tribes make uſe of no other weapons. They have the advantage of the gun in not making the game ſo ſhy. The Delawares and Iroquois are now very expert in the uſe of rifle-barrelled guns. The Delawares, when at home, practiſe ſhooting at a mark. They are not unacquainted with the uſe of the bow and arrow, but never employ them but to kill ſuch game as are not worth powder and ſhot. In purchaſing fire-arms and powder, a good hunter uſes particular caution, to have both of the very beſt quality.

Before an Indian ſets out for a long hunt, he uſually ſhoots one or more deer, and keeps a feaſt of ſacrifice, inviting the old men to aſſiſt him in praying for ſucceſs. Some bathe and paint before they ſet off, but the moſt ſuperſtitious keep a faſt both before and during the ſeaſon. When they faſt, they taſte nothing, but are neither gloomy nor diſſatisfied. They ſay that faſting peculiarly helps them to dream, and in dreams they pretend to be informed of the haunts of the game, and of the beſt method of appeaſing the wrath of the bad ſpirits, during the time of hunting. If the dreamer fancies that he ſees an Indian, who has been long dead, and hears him ſay, "If thou wilt ſacrifice to me, "thou ſhalt ſhoot deer at pleaſure;" he immediately prepares a ſacrifice, and burns the whole or part of a deer, in honour of the apparition.

Beſides this ceremony, moſt hunters endeavour to procure a hunting *beſon*, to which they aſcribe the power of procuring them ſucceſs. The *beſon* is a preparation made by old men, who are no more able to hunt, conſiſting of roots, herbs, and certain ſeeds, ſold by them at a high price. There are ſeveral ſorts, but every one is deſirous to get the beſt, if it ſhould even coſt him the greater part of his property.

One ſort of *beſon* is taken inwardly, and occaſions a violent vomiting,

vomiting, but this is not in common uſe. According to their opinion the *beſon* will prove miſchievous, unleſs every ceremony annexed to its uſe is attended to with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs. If a huntſman ſhoots nothing for ſeveral days, he ſwallows a ſmall doſe, and obſerves the rules preſcribed to him in the ſtricteſt manner. If another day day paſſes without ſucceſs, without doubting the efficacy of his *beſon*, he aſcribes his ill luck to ſome other cauſe, frequently to the preſence of a miſſionary. Some falſely pretend, that they can deprive the deer of their ſmell, and bring all the game they wiſh for within gun-ſhot.

When a whole party goes out to hunt, they chuſe the moſt expert for their captain, particularly if he is a member of the council. He muſt watch over the due obſervance of the cuſtoms uſual in hunting, for inſtance, that no one leaves the party till the ſeaſon is at an end. If one has ſhot a deer, but another has followed and killed it, the ſkin belongs to the firſt, and either the half or whole of the meat to the latter. If ſeveral take aim at once, but they cannot determine which of them killed the game, the ſkin is given to the oldeſt of the party, even if he did not ſhoot with them, and he is then ſaid to have killed the animal. Old men therefore, though no more able to ſhoot well, generally get their ſhare of ſkins, if they only ſhoot now and then, though they do not hit the mark. The fleſh is always divided into equal ſhares, but the old men are firſt ſerved. They have in general, but the Unamis in particular, a cuſtom, that when a huntſman has ſhot a deer, and another Indian joins him, or only looks at a diſtance, he immediately gives him the whole animal, and goes in purſuit of another.

The Indians commonly ſtay three or four weeks, and often ſeveral months, at their hunting places. During the rainy ſeaſon, the inundations are ſo ſudden, that they are ſometimes obliged inſtantly to take to their boats, and much game periſhes in the low grounds. Some who do not chuſe to join a hunting party, go either alone, or take their wives and children with them, and build bark huts in the wood, as a place of rendezvous. When theſe ſingle huntſmen kill a deer, they take the ſkin and as much of the fleſh as they can carry; the reſt they hang upon a tree for the uſe of ſuch who paſs that way. The meat brought home is either immediately eaten, or roaſted and laid up in ſtore. The prime pieces are cut off and ſtuck on ſkewers into the ground on that ſide of the fire towards which the ſmoke is driven, being frequently turned round. When they are well done, they are taken off, and when cold put into a bag, or ſtrung upon a cord, and hung in the air.

Autumn is the beſt ſeaſon for hunting, comprehending the months between September and January, the game being then fat, and their ſkins in perfection. They chiefly hunt *deer*.

The North American deer (cervus elaphus) are red from May to September; when they caſt their coat, and nature provides them with a grey and very cloſe fur for the winter. They have an acute ſmell,

and ſhed their horns in January. In running, their tail, which is about a foot long, ſtands upright, and the inſide being white, is ſeen at a great diſtance. They generally bring forth in June.

White deer are ſeldom ſeen in theſe parts. Theſe have generally in ſummer ſome red, and in winter ſome grey ſpots. The Indians call a white deer the king of the deer, and believe that the reſt flock about, and follow him.

Further north, eſpecially about Onondago and the great lakes, the deer are much larger than on the Muſkingum; and about two hundred miles to the ſouth-weſt they are much ſmaller.

In former times the Indians killed only as much game as they wanted for food and clothing, as the dreſs both of the men and women was made entirely of ſkins. Theſe animals of courſe were then very numerous every-where. But now, when a large buckſkin fells for a Spaniſh dollar, the game is purſued for the ſake of trade, and a clever huntſman will ſhoot from fifty to one hundred and fifty deer in one autumn, and conſequently they muſt decreaſe very faſt in number.

The Indians prefer hunting deer in large companies. Having ſurrounded a conſiderable tract of country, they ſet the dry leaves and graſs on fire. The poor animals fly towards the middle to eſcape the flames, and the hunters cloſing in upon them, by following the fire, kill them with certainty, ſo that hardly one eſcapes. As the principal object in ſhooting them is their ſkin, the fleſh is left in the foreſt, and devoured by the wild beaſts and carnivorous birds.

The Uſe of Wampom.

From La Trobe's *Miſſion.*

WAMPOM is an Iroquois word, meaning a muſcle. A number of theſe muſcles ſtrung together is called a *ſtring of wampom*, which, when a fathom long, is termed a fathom, or belt of wampom, but the word *ſtring* is commonly uſed, whether it be long or ſhort. Before the Europeans came to North America, the Indians uſed to make their ſtrings of wampom chiefly of ſmall pieces of wood of equal ſize, ſtained either black or white. Few were made of muſcles, which were eſteemed very valuable and difficult to make; for, not having proper tools, they ſpent much time in finiſhing them, and yet their work had a clumſy appearance. But the Europeans ſoon contrived to make ſtrings of wampom, both neat and elegant, and in great abundance. Theſe they bartered with the Indians for other goods, and found this traffic very advantageous. The Indians immediately gave up the uſe of the old wooden ſubſtitutes for wampom, and procured thoſe made of muſcles, which, though fallen in price, were always accounted valuable.

Theſe muſcles are chiefly found on the coaſt of Virginia and Maryland, and are valued according to their colour, which is brown, violet, and white. The former are ſometimes of ſo dark a ſhade that they paſs for black, and are double the price of the white. Having firſt ſawed them into ſquare pieces about a quarter of an inch in length, and an eighth in thickneſs, they grind them round or oval upon a common grindſtone.

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Then a hole being bored lengthways through each, large enough to admit a wire, whipcord, or thin thong, they are ſtrung like beads, and the *ſtring of wampom* is completed. Four or ſix ſtrings joined in one breadth, and faſtened to each other with fine thread, make a *belt of wampoon*, being about three or four inches wide, and three feet long, containing perhaps four, eight, and twelve fathoms of wampom, in proportion to its required length and breadth. This is determined by the importance of the ſubject which theſe belts are intended either to explain or confirm, or by the dignity of the perſons to whom they are to be delivered. Every thing of moment tranſacted at ſolemn councils, either between the Indians themſelves, or with the Europeans, is ratified, and made valid by ſtrings and belts of wampom. Formerly they uſed to give ſanction to their treaties by delivering a wing of ſome large bird; and this cuſtom ſtills prevails among the more weſtern nations, in tranſacting buſineſs with the Delawares. But the Delawares themſelves, the Iroquois, and the nations in league with them, are now ſufficiently provided with handſome and well wrought ſtrings and belts of wampom. Upon the delivery of a ſtring, a long ſpeech may be made, and much ſaid upon the ſubject under conſideration: But, when a belt is given, few words are ſpoken, but they muſt be words of great importance, frequently requiring an explanation. Whenever the ſpeaker has pronounced ſome important ſentence, he delivers a ſtring of wampom, adding, "I give this ſtring of wampom as a confirmation of what I have ſpoken." But the chief ſubject of his diſcourſe he confirms with a belt. The anſwers given to a ſpeech thus delivered muſt alſo be confirmed by ſtrings and belts of wampom of the ſame ſize and number as thoſe received. Neither the colour, nor the other qualities of the wampom are matters of indifference, but have an immediate reference to thoſe things which they are meant to confirm. The brown or deep violet, called black by the Indians, always means ſomething of ſevere and doubtful import; but white is the colour of peace. Thus, if a ſtring or belt of wampom is intended to confirm a warning againſt evil, or an earneſt reproof, it is delivered in black. When a nation is called upon to go to war, or war declared againſt it, the belt is black, or marked with red, called by them the *colour of blood*, having in the middle the figure of an hatchet in white wampom.

The Indian women are very dexterous in weaving the ſtrings of wampom into belts, and marking them with different figures, perfectly agreeing with the different ſubjects contained in the ſpeech. Theſe figures are marked with white wampom upon the black, and with black upon the white belts. For example, in a *belt of peace*, they very dexteroufly repreſent, in black wampom, two hands joined. The belt of peace is white, a fathom long and a hand's breadth. To diſtinguiſh one belt from the other, each has its peculiar mark. No belt, except the war-belt, muſt ſhow any red colour. If they are obliged to uſe black wampom for want of

white, they daub it over with white clay, and though the black may ſhine through, its value and import is conſidered as equal to white. Theſe ſtrings and belts of wampom are alſo documents, by which the Indians remember the chief articles of the treaties made either between themſelves, or with the white people. They refer to them as to public records, carefully preſerving them in a cheſt made for that purpoſe. At certain ſeaſons they meet to ſtudy their meaning, and to renew the ideas, of which they were an emblem and confirmation. On ſuch occaſions they ſit down around the cheſt, take out one ſtring or belt after the other, handing it about to every perſon preſent, and, that they may all comprehend its meaning, repeat the words pronounced on its delivery in their whole connection. By theſe means they are enabled to remember the promiſes reciprocally made by the different parties. And as it is their cuſtom to admit even the young boys, who are related to the chiefs, to theſe aſſemblies, they become early acquainted with all the affairs of the ſtate; and thus the contents of their documents are tranſmitted to poſterity, and cannot eaſily be forgotten.

The following inſtance may ſerve to ſhow how well this mode of communication anſwers the purpoſe of recalling ſubjects to their memory: a friend of mine, at Philadelphia, gave an Indian a ſtring of wampom, adding, "I am "your friend, and will ſerve you "to the utmoſt of my power." Forty years after, the Indian returned the ſtring, ſaying, "Brother, you gave me this ſtring of "wampom, ſaying, 'I am your "friend and will ſerve you to the "utmoſt of my power.' I am now "aged, infirm, and poor; do now "as you promiſed." And he generouſly kept his word.

Conference between ſome North American Indian Converts and ſome Indian Warriors, at Lichtenau.

From La Trobe's *Miſſion.*

ON the very day after their ſetting out, intelligence was received at Lichtenau that two hundred Huron warriors, headed by their ſo-called Half-king, were on their march to that place. This cauſed a general alarm. After mature conſideration the Brethren reſolved to ſhow no ſigns of fear, but to gain theſe ſavages by giving them a kind reception. Oxen and pigs were killed and other food provided, and the liberality of the Indian Brethren and Siſters in contributing to theſe preparations was truly remarkable, for they conſidered it as the only means of ſaving the lives of their beloved teachers. Auguſt the 8th, the warriors arrived in Goſchachguenk, and upon their meeting a number of our Indians from Lichtenau, carrying proviſions for them, their ſurprize and pleaſure were equally great. The good humour which this occaſioned was improved by the aſſiſtants, who ſoon after ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to the half-king and other chiefs of the Hurons, Iſaac Glikkikan being ſpeaker. To give my readers an idea how the Chriſtian Indians addreſs

addreſs warriors on ſuch occaſions, I will inſert his ſpeech as delivered on the ſpot:

"Uncle! we, your couſins, the congregation of believing Indians at Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten, rejoice at this opportunity to ſee and ſpeak with you. We cleanſe your eyes from all the duſt and whatever the wind may have carried into them, that you may ſee your couſin with clear eyes and a ſerene countenance. We cleanſe your ears and hearts from all evil reports which an evil wind may have conveyed into your ears and even into your hearts on the journey, that our words may find entrance into your ears and a place in your hearts." Here he delivered a ſtring of wampom, and proceeded: "Uncle! hear the words of the believing Indians, your couſins, at Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten. We would have you know, that we have received and believed in the word of God for thirty years and upwards, and meet daily to hear it, morning and evening. You muſt alſo know, that we have our teachers dwelling amongſt us, who inſtruct us and our children. By this word of God, preached to us by our teachers, we are taught to keep peace with all men, and to conſider them as friends; for thus God has commanded us, and therefore we are lovers of peace. Theſe our teachers are not only our friends, but we conſider and love them as our own fleſh and blood. Now as we are your couſin, we moſt earneſtly beg of you, uncle, that you alſo would conſider them as your own body, and as your couſin. We and they make but one body, and therefore cannot be ſeparated, and whatever you do unto them you do unto us, whether it be good or evil." Hereupon another ſtring of wampom, ſeveral fathoms in length, was delivered. The Half-king replied, that theſe words had penetrated his heart, and that he would immediately conſult with his warriors about them. This being done, he returned the following anſwer to the deputies: "Couſins! I am very glad and feel great ſatisfaction that you have cleanſed my eyes, ears, and heart from all evil, conveyed into me by the wind on this journey. I am upon an expedition of an unuſual kind: for I am a warrior and am going to war, and therefore many evil things, and evil thoughts enter into my head, and even into my heart. But thanks to my couſin, my eyes are now clear, ſo that I can behold my couſin with a ſerene countenance. I rejoice, that I can hear my couſins with open ears, and take their words to heart." He then delivered a ſtring of wampom, and repeating all the words of the deputies relating to the miſſionaries, he expreſſed his approbation of them, and added, "Go on as hitherto, and ſuffer no one to moleſt you. Obey your teachers, who ſpeak nothing but good unto you, and inſtruct you in the ways of God, and be not afraid that any harm ſhall be done unto them. No creature ſhall hurt them. Attend to your worſhip and never mind other affairs. Indeed you ſee us going to war, but you may remain eaſy and quiet, and need not think much about it."

NATURAL HISTORY.

Generation of the Tænia.

From Tranſactions of the Linnean Society.

ANOTHER mode of increaſe allowed to tæniæ (if we may call it increaſe) is by an addition to the number of their joints. If we conſider the individual joints as diſtinct beings, it is ſo; and when we reflect upon the power of generation given to each joint, it makes this conjecture the more probable. We can hardly ſuppoſe that an ovum of a tænia, which at its full growth is thirty feet long, and compoſed of four hundred joints, contained a young tænia compoſed of this number of pieces; but I have ſeen young tæniæ not half a foot long, and not poſſeſſed of fifty joints, and ſtill were entire worms. We have alſo many reaſons to believe, that when a part of this animal is broken off from the reſt, it is capable of forming a head for itſelf, and becomes an independent being. The ſimple conſtruction of the head makes its regeneration a much more eaſy operation than that of the tails and feet of lizards, which are compoſed of bones and complicated veſſels; but this laſt operation has been proved by the experiments of Spallanzani and many other naturaliſts.

I have ſeen a diſjoined part of a tænia, one of whoſe extremities had begun to put on the appearance of a head; the extreme joint had become rounded, and the broken end had aſſumed the form of a deep cup, of which the margin was platted in a radiated manner, and the ſurface of the torn ſtump was much ſmaller than it muſt have appeared when firſt broken. Theſe circumſtances corroborate the opinion of this ſecond mode of increaſe, and indeed ſomething very analogous is evident both in hydatids and in many vegetables. In Dr. Hunter's collection there are hydatids which are found in cyſts of the liver, on whoſe internal ſurface are viſible a number of ſmall pearl-like veſicles, which are attached to it; this ſeems to be the mode of increaſe peculiar to theſe bodies. Chains of individuals having a mutual connection are very common in the vegetable kingdom; the common mentha has a running root, which ties together a number of plants that are in other reſpects independent of each other: they become perfectly independent, and continue their exiſtence without any inconvenience, after theſe connecting roots are divided; in this circumſtance there appears to be ſome analogy between theſe plants and the tape worm,

worm. In the common potatoe there is a mode of increaſe, by forming a number of bulbs at the root, which is totally independent of ſexual generation; theſe bulbs become ſeparate individual plants after a year, and are then independent of their parent. Something ſimilar takes place in the tulip, and in the *ſempervivum globiferum*, where there is a mode of increaſe by forming cluſters of leaves that in time are puſhed off by ſucceeding leaves; theſe bulbs of leaves, having each a ſmall root, take hold of ſome neighbouring earth, and become diſtinct beings: this natural operation is ſomething like the artificial mode of increaſing vegetables by cuttings.

Objections againſt the Perceptivity of Plants, ſo far as is evinced by their external Motions, in Anſwer to Dr. Percival's *Memoir in the* Manchester *Tranſactions. By* Robert Townſon, *Eſq. F.R.S.* Edinb.

From Tranſactions of the Linnean Society.

HOWEVER ſanguine we may be in our expectations of extending the limits of human knowledge, we cannot avoid perceiving that there are boundaries which it never can exceed. Theſe boundaries are the limited faculties of the human mind, which though fully ſufficient to anſwer all the purpoſes of common life, are an inſuperable barrier to the enquiries of ſpeculative men. None feel more the truth of this obſervation, than thoſe engaged in phyſiological enquiries; the operations of nature being ſo complicated, and at the ſame time carried on in ſo ſecret a manner, as to keep us ignorant of the moſt common phænomena.

If phyſiologiſts have been unſucceſsful in many of their enquiries into the animal œconomy, they have been ſtill more ſo with reſpect to vegetables: for how little do we know at this day of the courſe of their fluids, and of the power by which they are moved? Are we not in the vegetable kingdom where we were near two centuries ago in the animal, when the great Harvey withdrew the veil?

The many beautiful analogies exiſting between the two organized kingdoms of nature, their ſimilar origin from egg or ſeed, their ſubſequent development, and nouriſhment by intus-ſuſception; the power of continuing their ſpecies, the limited time of their exiſtence, and, when not carried off by diſeaſe and premature death, poſſeſſing in themſelves the cauſe of their own deſtruction —have been ſo favourable to the ſuppoſition of the exiſtence of a complete chain of beings, that there appeared to the favourers of this opinion nothing to be wanting to connect them, but the locomotive faculty; for irritability, from phænomena in a few vegetables, had been granted them by ſome. This loco-motive faculty, which is conſidered as a conſequence of volition, which is an attribute of mind, they ſay * is ma-

* Dr. Percival, Manchester Tranſactions.

niſeſted

nifeſted in the direction of the roots towards the ſoil which affords them their moſt proper nouriſhment, and in the direction of the tender ſhoots and leaves towards the light, which is likewiſe neceſſary to their well-being. Theſe facts are admitted, but not the conſequences drawn from them.

It muſt indeed be allowed, that vegetables do, on ſome occaſions, act as though poſſeſſed of volition, avoiding thoſe things that are injurious to them, and turning towards thoſe that are beneficial; thus appearing to act by choice, which muſt be preceded by perceptivity, a favour that nature has granted I think to the animal world alone. The following are brought as examples*:

A plane-tree, twenty feet high, growing upon the top of a wall, ſtraitened for nouriſhment in that barren ſituation, directed its roots down the ſide of the wall, till they reached the ground ten feet below. It has been amply repaid, ſay they, for its trouble ever ſince, by plenty of nouriſhment, and a more vigorous vegetation has been the conſequence. On another occaſion, a plant being placed in a dark room, where light was admitted only through an aperture, put forth its ſhoots towards the aperture, which elongating paſſed through it; and this likewiſe was rewarded for its trouble by plenty of light and free air.

That appearances ſo ſimilar to thoſe that are obſerved in animals ſhould be conſidered as proceeding from the ſame cauſe, viz. volition, is not to be wondered at, when ſo many of the inferior orders of animals hardly poſſeſs ſo much of the loco-motive faculty — particularly by men of warm imaginations, who, prepoſſeſſed in favour of an opinion, were graſping at every diſtant analogy to ſupport it. Though, as I have ſaid, we are by no means acquainted with the courſe of their proper fluids *(ſucci proprii)* or with the power by which they are moved, nor even can ſay by what power it is that the fluids, which are its food, are taken in; yet ſo far we know, that here, as in the animal œconomy, there is a conſtant change and evolution of their fluids, and that a conſtant ſupply is neceſſary, without which they ſoon periſh. This ſupply, ſo neceſſary, muſt be taken in by abſorption; and it is this act of abſorption that I ſhall endeavour to prove to be the efficient cauſe of theſe motions in vegetables, and thus exclude volition from having any cauſation in theſe phænomena; for it is from their not having been explained upon mechanical principles that mind has been reſorted to. Mind is in general our laſt reſource when we fail in explaining natural phænomena. I could wiſh that phyſiologiſts were agreed upon the kind of abſorption which takes place here, whether it be by active open-mouthed veſſels, which in the common opinion takes place in the animal œconomy, or by capillary attraction, which is the moſt general opinion in the vegetable; but the theory I ſhall offer to the conſideration of the Linnean Society will agree with either,

* Manchester Tranſactions.

The

The firſt conſideration is—That an inert fluid is in motion.

Secondly—That, poſſeſſing no motion in itſelf, it owes this motion to the plant.

Thirdly—That as action and re-action are equal, whilſt the plant draws the fluid towards itſelf, it muſt be drawn towards the fluid, and that in the reverſe ratios of their reſpective reſiſtances.

Now whether this abſorption be performed by veſſels acting as in the animal œconomy, or by veſſels of the nature of capillary tubes, is of little moment, provided only that an abſorption be admitted; for it is evident, that if action and re-action be the ſame, the abſorbed fluids, which poſſeſs no motion in themſelves, cannot be put in motion by the open-mouthed active veſſels, without being drawn in the direction of the abſorbed fluids. But ſhould we prefer the theory which explains this abſorption by capillary attraction, which theory I think is the moſt prevalent, we ſhall ſtill find that the abſorbing veſſels are drawn towards the fluid. This is equally true as evident, whether applied to that ſimple hydraulic inſtrument, the ſtraw, through which the ſchool-boy ſucks, or to the moſt complicated machine of the natural philoſopher. Theſe principles will, I think, be ſufficient to explain thoſe appearances in vegetables which have ſerved as a foundation, or have been conſidered as ſigns of their perceptivity and volition, and which, as far as I have learnt, have never been attempted to be explained, viz. the direction of their roots towards the ſoil which affords them the beſt nouriſhment, and the young and tender ſhoots towards the light: for here is an abſorption of water and light. The abſorption of water is eaſily aſcertained; but that of light, by its ſubtleneſs, eludes our experiments, with probably many other fluids of great importance to the healthy ſtate of the vegetable world. But to make the connection more complete between the two organic kingdoms, it has not only been found that plants move towards their food like wiſe and intelligent beings, but they likewiſe turn aſide from thoſe ſoils, &c. which are injurious to them, or at leaſt afford them but a ſcanty nouriſhment. This is a deception: it is only the immediate conſequence of their motion towards their nouriſhment; for when the root of a tree or plant changes its courſe, on account of meeting with a rock, or with a hard, ſtiff, and barren clay, or other object that does not afford it proper nouriſhment, it is owing not to any dereliction of theſe objects, but to no attraction from abſorption acting in that direction, but one from a more favourable ſoil. The ſmallneſs of the reſiſtance of theſe fluids cannot be urged againſt this theory: the motion to be explained is only the tendency of the naſcent ſhoots, no one having pretended that the ſolid wood could alter its direction; and this power, however feeble, is always acting. I am not ignorant that theſe are not the only motions which are thought to announce the perceptivity of plants. The motions obſerved in the ſtamina and other parts at the time of fecundation, the ſpiral direction

rection of the ſtems of ſome *, the uſe of the cirrhi of others, and the burſting of the capſules, have all, with many other powers, been thought to favour this opinion. Theſe are but powers Nature has beſtowed upon them for their preſervation and production, which can no more be conſidered as the conſequence of volition than the fall of their leaves at ſtated periods, their growth and decay, which have never been conſidered as the conſequence of mind, any more than the increaſe or deſtruction of animal bodies, the efficient cauſe of which may for ever remain unknown.

When all is conſidered, I think we ſhall place this opinion amongſt the many ingenious flights of the imagination, and ſoberly follow that blind impulſe which leads us naturally to give ſenſation and perceptivity to animal life, and to deny it to vegetables; and ſo ſtill ſay, with Ariſtotle, and our great maſter Linnæus—*Vegetabilia creſcunt & vivunt; animalia creſcunt, vivunt, & ſentiunt.*

On the Sleep of Plants.

From Stoever's *Life of Linnæus.*

THE vegetable reign remained the favourite branch of the ſtudies of Linnæus. Propitious Nature unravelled to his penetrating eye many ſecrets and latent operations of the empire of Flora. His progreſs in the knowledge of the phyſiology and the properties of the plants extended farther than that of any of his predeceſſors.

The ſimilitude which the plants bore to animals was partly the baſis of his ſyſtem, the truth of which is confirmed in many reſpects. In 1754, he diſcovered that the plants are ſubject to a regular ſleep and repoſe by night like the animals. A plant (lotus ormthopodioides), the ſeed of which had been ſent him by Profeſſor de Sauvages, of Montpelier, occaſioned this new obſervation. It bore two flowers. He recommended the gardener to take the utmoſt care of them. Two days after Linnæus returned late in the evening to ſee how they were thriving. He looked, ſearched, and could diſcover no flowers; the next night he found them as inviſible as before. The following morning he came, and the flowers appeared as uſual; but the gardener thought they were freſh ones, as he had not been able to find any before, after ſo many unſucceſsful ſearches. This circumſtance engroſſed the attention of Linnæus. He viſited again the fugitive flowers on the third evening; they had again vaniſhed, but he found them at laſt deeply

* I have read, and heard it more than once aſſerted, that the lonicera and other plants with the cauhs volubilis, which are twiſted either dextrorſum or ſiniſtrorſum, can change this natural direction; ſo that when two loniceræ, or two branches of the ſame lonicera, meet, the one turns to the right, the other to the left, that they may afford to each other a better ſupport. This is a miſtake, and, if true, would only counteract the intention of nature, which is a mutual ſupport; for this would prevent their uniting ſo firmly together. Some of the cirrhi of the bryonia, &c. turn to the right, others to the left, but not to accommodate one another.

wrapt

wrapt up in and quite covered by ſome leaves. This only ſerved to excite his curioſity more and more. In order to ſurpriſe Nature in her wonders, he perambulated the garden and the hot-houſe, in the dead of ſome night, with a lanthorn in his hand, and there ſaw that the greateſt part of the flowers were contracted and concealed, and found that the vegetable reign was almoſt entirely in a dormant ſtate.

Account of ſome remarkable Caves in the Principality of Bayreuth, *and of the foſſil Bones found therein. Extracted from a Paper ſent, with Specimens of the Bones, as a Preſent to the Royal Society, by his moſt Serene Highneſs the Margrave of* Anſpach, *&c.*

A RIDGE of primeval mountains runs almoſt through Germany, in a direction nearly from weſt to eaſt; the Hartz, the mountains of Thuringia, the Fichtelberg in Franconia, are different parts of it, which in their farther extent conſtitute the Rieſenberg, and join the Carpathian mountains; the higheſt parts of this ridge are granite, and are flanked by alluvial and ſtratified mountains, conſiſting chiefly of limeſtone, marl, and ſandſtone; ſuch at leaſt is the tract of hills in which the caves to be ſpoken of are ſituated, and over theſe hills the main road leads from Bayreuth to Erlang, or Nurenberg. Half way to this town lies Streitberg, where there is a poſt, and but three or four Engliſh miles diſtant from thence are the caves mentioned, near Gailenreuth and Klausſtein, two ſmall villages, inſignificant in themſelves, but become famous for the diſcoveries made in their neighbourhood.

The tract of hills is there broken off by many ſmall and narrow vallies, confined moſtly by ſteep and high rocks, here and there overhanging, and threatening, as it were, to fall and cruſh all beneath; and every where thereabouts are to be met with objects which ſuggeſt the idea of their being evident veſtiges of ſome general and mighty cataſtrophe which happened in the primeval times of the globe.

The ſtrata of theſe hills conſiſt chiefly of limeſtone of various colour and texture, or of marl and ſandſtones. The tract of limeſtone hills abounds with petrifactions of various kinds.

The main entrance to the caves at Gailenreuth opens near the ſummit of a limeſtone hill towards the eaſt. An arch, near ſeven feet high, leads into a kind of antichamber, 80 feet in length, and 300 feet in circumference, which conſtitutes the veſtibule of four other caves. This antichamber is lofty and airy, but has no light except what enters by its open arch; its bottom is level, and covered with black mould; although the common ſoil of the environs is loam and marl.

By ſeveral circumſtances it appears, that it has been made uſe of in turbulent times as a place of refuge.

From this veſtibule, or *firſt cave*, a dark and narrow alley opens in the corner at the ſouth end, and leads into the *ſecond cave*, which is about 60 feet long, 18 high,

18 high, and 40 broad. Its ſides and roof are covered, in a wild and rough manner, with ſtalactites, columns of which are hanging from the roof, others riſing from the bottom, meeting the firſt in many whimſical ſhapes.

The air of this cave, as well as of all the reſt, is always cool, and has, even in the height of ſummer, been found below temperate. Caution is therefore neceſſary to its viſitors; for it is remarkable, that people having ſpent any time in this or the other caverns, always on their coming out again appear pale, which in part may be owing to the coolneſs of the air, and in part likewiſe to the particular exhalations within the caves. A very narrow, winding, and troubleſome paſſage opens farther into a

Third cave, or chamber of a roundiſh form, and about 30 feet diameter, covered all over with ſtalactites. Very near its entrance there is a perpendicular deſcent of about 20 feet, into a dark and frightful abyſs; a ladder muſt be brought to deſcend into it, and caution is neceſſary in uſing it, on account of the rough and ſlippery ſtalactites. When you are down, you enter into a gloomy cave of about 15 feet diameter, and 30 feet high, making properly but a ſegment of the third cave.

In the paſſage to this third cave, ſome teeth and fragments of bones are found; but coming down to the pit of the cave, you are every way ſurrounded by a vaſt heap of animal remains. The bottom of this cave is paved with a ſtalactical cruſt of near a foot in thickneſs; large and ſmall fragments of all ſorts of bones are ſcattered every where on the ſurface of the ground, or are eaſily drawn out of the mouldering rubbiſh. The very walls ſeemed filled with various and innumerable teeth and broken bones. The ſtalactical covering of the uneven ſides of the cave does not reach quite down to its bottom, whereby it plainly appears that this vaſt collection of animal rubbiſh ſome time ago filled a higher ſpace in the cave, before the bulk of it ſunk by mouldering.

This place is in appearance very like a large quarry of ſandſtones; and indeed the largeſt and fineſt blocks of oſteolithical concretes might be hewn out in any number, if there was but room enough to come to them, and to carry them out. This bony rock has been dug into different places, and every where undoubted proofs have been met with, that its bed, or this oſteolithical ſtratum, extends every way far beneath and through the limeſtone rock, into which and through which theſe caverns have been made, ſo that the queries ſuggeſting themſelves about the aſtoniſhing numbers of animals buried here confound all ſpeculation.

Along the ſides of this third cavern there are ſome narrower openings, leading into different ſmaller chambers, of which it cannot be ſaid how deep they go. In ſome of them, bones of ſmaller animals have been found, ſuch as jaw-bones, vertebræ, and tibiæ, in large heaps. The bottom of this cave ſlopes toward a paſſage ſeven feet high, and about as wide, being the entrance to a

Fourth cave, 20 feet high, and 15 wide, lined all round with a ſtalactical

ſtalactical cruſt, and gradually ſloping to another ſteep deſcent, where the ladder is wanted a ſecond time, and muſt be uſed with caution as before, in order to get into a cave 40 feet high, and about half as wide. In thoſe deep and ſpacious hollows, worked out through the moſt ſolid maſs of rock, you again perceive, with aſtoniſhment, immenſe numbers of bony fragments of all kinds and ſizes, ſticking every where in the ſides of the cave, or lying on the bottom. This cave alſo is ſurrounded by ſeveral ſmaller ones; in one of them riſes a ſtalactite of uncommon bigneſs, being four feet high, and eight feet diameter, in the form of a truncated cone. In another of thoſe ſide grottoes, a very neat ſtalactical pillar preſents itſelf, five feet in height, and eight inches in diameter.

The bottom of all theſe grottoes is covered with true animal mould, out of which may be dug fragments of bones.

Beſides the ſmaller hollows, ſpoken of before, round this fourth cave, a very narrow opening has been diſcovered in one of its corners. It is of very difficult acceſs, as it can be entered only in a crawling poſture. This diſmal and dangerous paſſage leads into a *fifth cave*, of near 30 feet high, 43 long, and of unequal breadth. To the depth of ſix feet this cave has been dug, and nothing has been found but fragments of bones, and animal mould: the ſides are finely decorated with ſtalactites of different forms and colours; but even this ſtalactical cruſt is filled with fragments of bones ſticking in it, up to the very roof.

From this remarkable cave, another very low and narrow avenue leads into the laſt diſcovered, or the

Sixth cave, not very large, and merely covered with a ſtalactical cruſt, in which, however, here and there bones are ſeen ſticking. And here ends this connected ſeries of moſt remarkable oſteolithical caverns, as far as they have been hitherto explored; many more may for what we know exiſt, hidden, in the ſame tract of hills.

Mr. Eſper has written a hiſtory in German of theſe caves; and given deſcriptions and plates of a great number of the foſſil bones which have been found there. To this work we muſt refer for a more particular account of them.

Account of the Chameleon.

From Dr. Ruſſel's *Aleppo.*

THE chameleon is common enough in the gardens, as well as in the neighbouring rocky hills. It is uſually of a green colour when found on the graſs; or of the colour of the earth where it happens to reſt; and, if perched upon a branch, or trunk of a tree, its colour is nearly that of the bark.

When removed from its place, it does not immediately change colour, nor does it conſtantly in changing aſſume that of the ground upon which it is laid. Thus, if put into a box lined with white, or with black, it will ſometimes in the black become of a lighter colour than before, and vice verſa; and ſometimes will aſſume a brimſtone colour. When the experiment was made upon a cloth

cloth of various colours, but where the animal had a larger field to move about the event was the ſame.

It frequently goes through a ſucceſſion of colours before taking on that of the body neareſt it. When laid on the graſs, it will perhaps, from a light earthy colour, firſt become darker, then black, yellow, again darkiſh, and laſt of all green. At other times, it becomes green at once; and ſo of other colours when laid on other grounds: whence it was haſtily believed that the tranſition was always ſudden. But, notwithſtanding this irregularity in its change, eſpecially when hurried or diſturbed, its moſt permanent colour in a ſtate of repoſe, was that of the ground on which it lay, providing the ground was not of one of the colours which it never does aſſume, as red, or blue. Little material difference was obſervable, whether the experiments were made in the ſhade, or in the ſun; but the animal appears duller at ſometimes than at others, and captivity ſeems to abate his alacrity in changing.

AMPHIBIA SERPENTES.

Coluber.

C. Vipera? Linn. Syſt. Nat. p. 375.
C. Catenatus. 230. 150. 80. Coluber nigricans, faſciis albis medio catenatis, abdomine albido. Solander.
C.

INSECTA.

Lampyris.

L. Noctiluca. Linn. Syſt. Nat. p. 643.

Meloe.

M. Veſicatorius. Linn. S. N. p. 679.
M. Syriacus. Linn. S. N. p. 680.

Staphylinus.

S. Maxilloſus. Linn. S. N. p. 683.

Forficula.

F. Auricularia. Linn. S. N. p. 686.

Mantis.

M. Religioſa. Linn. S. N. p. 690.

Of numbers examined in the field, none were obſerved to dart out their tongues, however allured by flies; and of ſeveral kept for ſometime in the houſe, none were ever ſeen catching their prey. Though this might probably be owing to negligence in watching them, or to their not being kept long enough, it may in ſome meaſure account for the popular prejudice of their living ſolely on air, which ſtill is prevalent in the Eaſt.

"The chameleon, according to "Leo Africanus. (Purch. Pilgrims, "page 840), is nouriſhed by the "element of ayre and the ſun "beams, at the riſing whereof it "gapeth, and turneth itſelf up and "down." This is believed in Syria; but the fable of its killing ſerpents by dropping ſpittle upon them, I never heard there.

That the chameleon can ſubſiſt a long while without food, is certain; having been kept for months under

under a glaſs bell where no flies could have acceſs; but it was owing to want of proper watching that they were not in other circumſtances obſerved to catch their prey. They were not kept in cages, but permitted to crawl about a room, and being leſs tame than when confined, they were not diſpoſed to feed when handled or diſturbed: thoſe kept under the glaſs were not tempted to eat by offering them flies.

Inſtances of the Sagacity of Animals.

From Darwin's *Zoonomia.*

INSTANCES of the ſagacity and knowledge of animals are very numerous to every obſerver, and their docility in learning various arts from mankind, evinces that they may learn ſimilar arts from their own ſpecies, and thus be poſſeſſed of much acquired and traditional knowledge.

A dog whoſe natural prey is ſheep, is taught by mankind, not only to leave them unmoleſted, but to guard them; and to hunt, to ſet, or to deſtroy other kinds of animals, as birds, or vermin; and in ſome countries to catch fiſh, in others to find truffles, and to practiſe a great variety of tricks; is it more ſurpriſing that the crows ſhould teach each other, that the hawk can catch leſs birds, by the ſuperior ſwiftneſs of his wing, and if two of them follow him, till he ſucceeds in his deſign, that they can by force ſhare a part of the capture? This I have formerly obſerved with attention and aſtoniſhment.

There is one kind of pelican mentioned by Mr. Oſbeck, one of Linnæus's travelling pupils (the pelicanus aquilus), whoſe food is fiſh; and which it takes from other birds, becauſe it is not formed to catch them itſelf; hence it is called by the Engliſh a Man-of-war bird, Voyage to China, p. 88. There are many other intereſting anecdotes of the pelican and cormorant, collected from authors of the beſt authority, in a well-managed Natural Hiſtory for Children, publiſhed by Mr. Galton.

And the following narration from the very accurate Monſ. Adanſon, in his voyage to Senegal, may gain credit with the reader: as his employment in this country was ſolely to make obſervations in natural hiſtory. On the river Niger, in his road to the iſland Griel, he ſaw a great number of pelicans, or wide throats. "They moved with great ſtate like ſwans upon the water, and are the largeſt bird next to the oſtrich; the bill of the one I killed was upwards of a foot and half long, and the bag faſtened underneath it held two-and-twenty pints of water. They ſwim in flocks, and form a large circle, which they contract afterwards, driving the fiſh before them with their legs: when they ſee the fiſh in ſufficient number confined in this ſpace, they plunge their bill wide open into the water, and ſhut it again with great quickneſs. They thus get fiſh into their throat-bag, which they eat afterwards on ſhore at their leiſure." P. 247.

Another curious effort of deſign, or uſe of means in animals, is related by Abbe Groſier, in his

Deſcription of China, vol. I. p. 562. A kind of tiger is ſeen in China, which has a body like a dog, but no tail, and is remarkably ſwift and ferocious. If any one meets this animal, and to eſcape from his fury climbs up a tree, the tiger immediately ſends forth a loud yell, and ſeveral other tigers arrive; which altogether dig up the earth round the roots of the tree, and overturning it, ſeize their prey.

The rattleſnake and black ſerpent of America alſo ſhould here be mentioned, which are ſuppoſed to poſſeſs an inſtinctive power of faſcinating birds; as many birds have been ſeen repeatedly to run to them, and to retreat from them with piteous ſcreams, till the ſnake has ſeized and devoured them. I formerly ſuſpected, that this ſerpent had hid himſelf in the buſhes, and had ſecretly wounded the bird, and followed it with his ſteady eye, till the poiſon inſtilled into the wound had time to take effect; and that the bird then fell from the tree into his mouth. But from an ingenious paper, which Dr. B. S. Barton, Profeſſor of Natural Hiſtory in Pennſylvania, has favoured me with, and which will be publiſhed in their Philoſophical Tranſactions, it is clearly ſhewn, that this piteous cry, and approach, and retreat, of the bird ſuppoſed to be faſcinated, is ſimply an attack made by the female bird on the ſerpent in defence of her young; which credulity and the love of admiration has converted into a prodigy of faſcination, which is ſtill credited by the multitude in America. This circumſtance of the mother bird daring to defend her young from a ſerpent, till ſhe was devoured by him, and her ſcreaming around him, is deſcribed by that great obſerver of nature, the immortal Homer, above 2000 years ago. Iliad. Lib. 2. l. 310.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Report of the Committee of Common Council, on Improvements propoſed at Temple Bar *and* Snow Hill.

" To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council aſſembled.

" WE, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, of your Committee, appointed on the 17th day of January laſt, to conſider on the proper means to bring about a commodious weſt entrance into the City and Temple Bar, and alſo to conſider if any, and what, improvement can be made in the paſſage on Snow Hill, do certify, that we have taken into our ſerious conſideration the almoſt perpetual obſtruction of both thoſe avenues, as well as the great inconvenience and danger, and the frequent accidents occaſioned thereby; and, being ſatisfied that the widening and improving the ſaid ſtreets will be of the greateſt advantage to the public, we have ſeveral times viewed the premiſes, and cauſed different plans to be prepared for effecting the ſame.

" The improvement beyond Temple Bar, of the great communication between London and Weſtminſter, may be accompliſhed by taking down the gate, and ſetting back all the houſes of the ſouth ſide of the Strand, from Thanet Place to Milford-lane, ſo as to make the ſtreet fifty feet wide in a ſtraight line, except oppoſite St. Clement's church, where it will be neceſſary to make a circular bend to the ſouthward, in order to preſerve the width in that part: or it may be made in a more extenſive and complete manner, by taking down the gate, the church, and all the houſes on the north ſide of the Strand, and the ſouth and north ſides of the Butcher Bow and Wych-ſtreet, as far as the weſt-end of the church-yard, and building a row of handſome houſes to form the north-ſide of a triangle, in the baſe whereof the church may be rebuilt, and encloſed with iron rails, ſo as to become a beautiful object to paſſengers: and, if this deſign ſhould be adopted, we apprehend a conſiderable improvement may be grafted thereon without much additional expence, by a ſtreet from the north ſide of this triangle, in a direct line through Serle-ſtreet to Lincoln's Inn Fields.

" The improvement of the paſſage at Snow Hill, being the other great communication between London and the new ſquares and buildings north-weſt of the city,

may be effected by erecting an arch croſs the north-end of the Fleet-market, raiſing the ground at the eaſt and weſt ends of ſuch arch, and making a new ſtreet upon a level from Newgate-ſtreet to the top of Holborn Hill, without obſtructing the preſent avenue to the market, or the paſſages up Holborn or Snow Hill, as propoſed in the year 1790, to the committee of city lands, by the Rev. Mr. Pridden, who has ſeveral times attended us, and ſuggeſted various improvements on his original deſign, for which we think the public much indebted to him; but as it will be attended with a very large expence, and be liable to objections from the owners of contiguous property, we are not inclined to propoſe the raiſing the bottom to a level with the tops of the hills, however deſirable ſuch an improvement might be, and although we are ſatisfied ſuch would be the plan if the whole ground were vacant.

"We therefore turned our thoughts to the beſt improvement of the paſſage with as much eaſe in the declivity as may be produced by an alteration of the pavement, and that we may think very conſiderable; and for this purpoſe two methods preſent themſelves, one to rebuild and ſet back, in a direction nearly circular, all the houſes on the weſt and ſouth ſides of Snow-hill, from Turnagain-lane to the corner of Fleet-market, ſo as to front a large triangular opening, nearly ſimilar to the upper end of the Old Bailey; and the other to leave the houſes on Snow-hill, and the ſtreet before them, in their preſent ſtate, and make a new ſtreet forty feet wide behind thoſe houſes, in a direct line from the corner of Turnagain-lane to the bottom of Holborn-hill.

"We are aware that the expence of theſe improvements will far exceed the funds of the corporation, which are at this time overcharged in conſequence of the New Compter, and other buildings and improvements lately made at their expence, within their own peculiar diſtrict: but when we conſider the magnitude of the objects, and their advantages to the members of both houſes of parliament, and to all who have buſineſs in parliament or the courts of Weſtminſter-hall, the Bank, the Eaſt-India-houſe, or any of the public offices, as well as to the inhabitants of London, Weſtminſter, &c. in general, we were not diſcouraged from proceeding to the eſtimates.

"We thereupon cauſed particulars to be prepared of the freeholders and occupiers of all the houſes affected by either of the propoſed alterations, and were deſirous of knowing the derivative claims of all parties intereſted therein; but we found it impoſſible, without an act of parliament, to trace the ſeveral tenancies and ſub-tenancies, which are varying every day, and even the enquiry has a tendency to multiply them, and thereby increaſe the general expence; we therefore contented ourſelves with the rents at which the premiſes are charged to the poors-rate and houſe tax (taking the higheſt rate where the premiſes are charged to thoſe taxes at different rents), and, although we are aware that theſe rates are below the rents actually paid, we think

think that an eſtimate of the whole at thirty years purchaſe, upon the rents charged, may afford reaſonable compenſation for all claims, many of the houſes being nearly worn out; and taking it for granted, that, in the act of parliament to be obtained, proper clauſes will be inſerted, that, in caſes where juries may become neceſſary for want of agreement, the expence of ſuch jury ſhall fall on the claimant, if he does not recover more than ſhall be previouſly offered: and all clauſes that thoſe claimants, who ſhall retain the part of their property, ſhall, in eſtimating the value of the part to be purchaſed, make a reaſonable allowance for the melioration of the remainder, in conſequence of the propoſed improvement, as was provided in the acts for re-building the city after the great fire in 1666.

Temple-bar—South-ſide.

The 28 houſes, neceſſary to be purchaſed for making the improvement on the ſouth-ſide the Strand, are rated at per annum - - - - £. 1,146

Which, at thirty years purchaſe, amount to - £.34,380

Deduct for 400 feet of ground to be lett for building, at 20*s.* per foot, 400*l.* which at 30 years purchaſe - - - - - 12.000

Expence of the improvement of the ſouth-ſide of the Strand - - - - £.22,380

North-ſide.

The 42 houſes on the north-ſide of the Strand, the eaſt end of St. Clement's Church-yard, and the ſouth-ſide of the Butcher-row, neceſſary to be purchaſed if the improvement be made on the extended plan, are rated at per annum - - - - - - - £.1,129

Forty houſes on the north-ſide of the Butcher-row and Wych-ſtreet, ditto 1,201

Twelve houſes on the north-ſide of St. Clement's Church-yard, and ſouth-ſide of Wych-ſtreet, ditto - 561

£.2,891

Which, at 30 years purchaſe, amount to - - 86,730

Taking down and re-building the church - 10,000

£.96,730

Deduct for 500 feet of ground to be lett for building, at 40*s.* per foot, 1,000*l.*, which, at 30 years purchaſe, is - - - - - 30,000

Expence of improvement, if made on the north-ſide of the Strand - - - 66,730

Snow-hill.

The 51 houſes forming the weſt and ſouth ſide of the Fleet-market to Turnagain-lane, and the north-ſide of that lane, are rated at per annum - - - - 1,273

Which, at 30 years purchaſe, amounts to - - 38,190

Deduct for 630 feet of ground to be lett for building, which, at 30 years purchaſe, is valued at - - 14,550

Expence of the improvement on the circular line £.23,640

New-ſtreet.

In order to make the new ſtreet from the corner of Turnagain-lane to the bottom of Holborn-hill, the property, neceſſary to be purchaſed according to the report of the Surveyor, is rated at 358*l.* a year, which, at 30 years purchaſe, makes the expence of that improvement - £.10,590

" Your Committee are of opinion, that the improvements recommended in this Report (the one in the city of Weſtminſter, the other in the city of London) ought not to be conſidered as partial or local benefits to either city, but as great and public accommodations to all ranks and deſcriptions of perſons; and conſequently that the expence ſhould fall upon the public.

" They cannot but expreſs their wiſh that the larger plan may be adopted at Temple Bar, as being a more noble, extenſive, and permanent improvement, and more congenial with the dignity and conſequence of this country.

" They are likewiſe of opinion, that a new ſtreet, from the corner of Turnagain-lane to the bottom of Holborn-hill, will be a more beneficial accommodation to the public than any alteration that can be made on Snow-hill.

" On theſe grounds they earneſtly recommend that an application to parliament be made as ſoon as poſſible, ſubmitting the ſeveral plans and calculations, and praying for ſuch powers and parliamentary aid as may be neceſſary to carry the plans, that ſhall be adopted, into execution: and that the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, and the members of this court, who are in parliament, may be deſired to give the meaſure their utmoſt ſupport.

" All which we ſubmit to this honourable court, this 17th day of December, 1793.

WILLIAM PICKETT,
JOHN BOYDELL,
THOMAS SKINNER,
RICHARD BREWER,
JOHN NICHOLS,
JOHN BAILEY,
MIDFORD YOUNG,
JAMES RENAT SYMS,
SAM. GOODBEHERE,
JOHN MOFFATT,
WM. SUTHERLAND,
JAMES BREWER.

On the Improvement of Coppices, by the Biſhop of Llandaffe; *from* Pringle's *General View of the Agriculture of the County of* Weſtmoreland.

IN ſome parts of Weſtmoreland, conſiderable portions of land are covered with coppices, conſiſting principally of oak, aſh, elder, birch, and hazel. Theſe underwoods are uſually cut down every ſixteenth year; the uſes to which they are applied are chiefly two—hoops and charcoal. The hoops are ſold in the wood at 5*l.* a thouſand; they are generally manufactured in the country, and ſent by ſea to Liverpool; the charcoal is ſent to the iron-furnaces in the neighbourhood. The value of a ſtatute-acre of coppice-wood, of ſixteen years growth, is variable from 10*l.* to 15*l.*; and if it conſiſts altogether of oak, its price may amount to twenty guineas; 6*l.* for the charcoal, and 15*l.* for the bark; it being the

cuſtom

cuſtom here to peel the bolls, and all the branches of the oak, which are equal to the thickneſs of a man's thumb.

It is an extraordinary thing to ſee any trees left to ſtand for timber in theſe underwoods; the high price of bark is a temptation to cut the whole down. Fine ſaplings, from nine to twelve inches in circumference, at five feet from the ground, and with bark as ſplendid as poliſhed ſilver, are felled by the unfeeling proprietor with as little regret, as if they were thorns or briars. Of late, indeed, ſome few owners of underwoods have left ſtandards, and if they conſult their intereſt, the practice will become general. As this is a point denied by many proprietors of coppices, it may be of uſe to explain the principles on which the obſervation is founded.

Suppoſe a ſtatute-acre of underwood to be in the ſpring of 1794, ſixteen years old, and that the whole is then cut down and ſold for 14*l*. This ſum will, in ſixty-four years (reckoning compound intereſt at 4*l*. per cent.), amount to 172*l*. In 1810, another fall of underwood of the ſame value, will be made; the 14*l*. then ariſing, improved from forty-eight years, in the ſame way, will produce 91*l*. In 1826, another 14*l*. will ariſe from another fall of the underwood, this ſum improved for thirty-two years, will amount to 49*l*. In 1842, another fall will produce 14*l*. which, in ſixteen years, will become 26*l*. And, laſtly, in 1858, or in ſixty-four years from 1794, another fall will produce 14*l*. The amount of the value of the five falls, thus eſtimated and improved, will be 352*l*. Let us now calculate the profits which would reſult, in the ſame time, from the ſame acre of underwood, if it was managed in a different way. Inſtead of cutting the whole down in 1794, let us ſuppoſe that 150 of the beſt young oaks are left to ſtand for timber; the then value of theſe, at 2*d*. a tree, is 25*s*., this being ſubducted from 14*l*. the value of the whole coppice, leaves 12*l*. 15*s*. This ſum, improved as before, will amount in ſixty-four years, to 156*l*. (ſhillings and pence in theſe calculations being neglected). The next fall in 1810, ought not to be valued at more than 10*l*. as 150 trees, then of thirty-two years growth, will do ſome injury to the underwood; 10*l*. in forty-eight years, will amount to 65*l*. The next fall in 1826, may be valued at 8*l*., and at that time ſeventy-five trees ſhould be taken down; theſe trees will then be forty-eight years old, and worth 15*s*. a tree, or 56*l*. in the whole; this added to 8*l*. the value of the then underwood, makes 64*l*. which, in thirty-two years, will produce 224*l*. Without eſtimating the underwood in 1842, and in 1858, at any thing, or the value of the paſturage for thirty-two years at any thing, let us ſuppoſe the ſeventy-five remaining trees to be cut down in 1858, being then eighty years old, and that they would, one with another, be worth 4*l*. a piece, or 300*l*. in the whole. The ſum of the profits, thus ariſing, is 745*l*. or more than double the other amount.

It is a general opinion in this, and, I believe, in other countries, that it is more profitable to fell oakwood at fifty or ſixty years growth, than to let it ſtand for navy-timber to 80 or a 100. Ac-

cording to the price which is now paid for that commodity, either by the navy-board or the East-India company, I believe the opinion to be founded in truth. The following obſervations contain the reaſon for this belief.

If profit is conſidered, every tree of every kind ought to be cut down and ſold, when the annual increaſe in value of the tree by its growth, is leſs than the annual intereſt of the money it would fell for: this being admitted, we have only to inquire into the annual increaſe of the value of oaks of different ages.

In the Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1759, there are ſome uſeful tables reſpecting the growth of trees, by Mr. Marſham; from theſe tables, the two following inferences may be drawn.

1. That it is highly profitable to let young thriving oaks, which are not worth above 30*s.* a tree, continue ſtanding.

2. That it is not profitable to let oaks of 80 or 100 years growth continue ſtanding.

Three oaks marked in the tables, No. 8. 11, 12, in April, 1743, before they began to ſhoot, contained eleven and one-half feet of wood, and were altogether worth, at 18*d.* a foot, bark included, 17*s.* and 3*d.* The ſame trees, ſixteen years afterwards, contained thirty-four and one-half feet, and were worth 2*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.* Now, if 17*s.* and 3*d.* had been improved at the rate of 7 per cent. at compound intereſt for ſixteen years, it would not have amounted to 2*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.*, and of conſequence the proprietor, by letting ſuch oak ſtand, improves his property in as high a degree, as if he put his money to intereſt, at near ſeven and a half per cent.

Three oaks, No. 2, 3, 5. in 1743, contained 100½ feet of timber, and were worth 7*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* The ſame trees, ſixteen years afterwards, contained 132½ feet, and were worth 9*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* Now, 7*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* the value of the trees in 1743, improved at the low rate of intereſt at two per cent. would in ſixteen years amount to a ſum exceeding 9*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* The proprietor then, by letting ſuch trees ſtand, does not improve his property at the rate of 2*l.* per cent.

The oak, No. 1, in the third table, was worth 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* in 1757, it gained in one year one foot, or 1*s.* 6*d.* in value; if it has been worth 30*s.* and had gained one foot, there would have been no profit in letting it ſtand, as the intereſt of 30*s.* at 5 per cent. would have produced 1*s.* 6*d.* in the year; and it is for this reaſon that I have fixed upon 30*s.* as the value of trees which ſhould be cut down; if they are cut ſooner or later, the proprietor will be a loſer. It muſt not be ſuppoſed, however, that great preciſion can attend this obſervation; ſince particular ſoils, or the greater or leſs thriving condition of the wood, may render it uſeful to cut down trees before they are worth 30*s.*, or to let them ſtand a while longer. It ought to be remarked alſo, that large trees fell for more per foot than ſmall ones do, yet the uſual increaſe of price is not a compenſation to the proprietor for letting his timber ſtand to a great age. This may be made out from the following experiment.

On the 27th of October, 1792, I meaſured, at ſix feet from the ground, the circumference of a very

very fine oak of eighty-two years growth, from the time of its being planted, and found it to be 107 inches; on the ſame day of the month, in 1793, it meaſured 108 inches. There is not one oak in fifty (at the age of this) which gains an inch circumference in one year. The length of the boll of this tree was about eighteen feet, it contained about eighty-four feet of timber, and was worth, at 3*s.* a foot, 12*l.* 12*s.* It gained in one year very little more than one foot and a half of timber, or 4*s.* 6*d.* in value; but the intereſt of 12*l.* 12*s.* at 4 per cent. amounts in one year, to above twice the value of the increaſe, even of this tree, which is a ſingularly thriving one.

I have been the more particular on this ſubject from a public conſideration. Many men are alarmed, leſt our poſterity ſhould experience a ſcarcity of oak-timber for the uſe of the navy; and various means of increaſing its quantity have been recommended with great judgment. In addition to theſe means, the making a much greater than the ordinary increaſe of price on timber of a large ſcantling, might be not improperly ſubmitted to the conſideration of thoſe who are concerned in the buſineſs. If the navy-board would give 8*l.* or 9*l.* a load for timber trees containing 100 cubic feet or upwards, inſtead of 4*l.* or 5*l.* every man in the kingdom would have a reaſonable motive for letting his timber ſtand till it became of a ſize fit for the uſe of the navy; whereas, according to the preſent price, it is every man's intereſt to cut it down ſooner.

In the neighbourhood of Ambleſide, there is found a ſtratum of grey lime-ſtone, which, though it contains a little clay, might be as ſerviceable as the pureſt ſort for agricultural purpoſes; but, unfortunately, for the improvement of this part of the country, coal is ſo dear, that very little of this lime-ſtone is burned. The lime which is uſed in the culture of the lands being either fetched from Kendal, or brought up Windermere-lake at a great expence. As there is great plenty of coppice-wood in the diſtrict here ſpoken of, it may be uſeful for the farmers and land-owners to conſider, whether the burning of lime with faggots in a flame-kiln, as is practiſed in Suſſex, may not be a more beneficial application of the underwoods, than the converting them into charcoal. Even the ſpray-wood, here called chats, which is too ſmall to be made into charcoal, and which is now ſold for ſixpence a cart, or more generally left on the ground, might be made into faggots, and mixed with wood of a larger ſize, ſo that no part of the coppice would be loſt. In Suſſex, they uſe 600 faggots, cut in the winter, and weighing, when dry in the ſpring, thirty-ſix pounds each, for the burning of 480 Wincheſter buſhels of lime.

Obſervations relative to the Pruning of Orchards, by Thomas Skipp Dyot Bucknall, *Eſq. of* Conduit-ſtreet.

From the Tranſactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

THE bark of trees, properly conſidered, conſiſts of three diviſions;

ſions; the outer, rough; the middle, ſoft and ſpongy; the inner, a whitiſh rind, being that which joins the bark to the wood; and this laſt is ſuppoſed to contain the liquid ſap. It is conſtantly obſerved, that when the ſtem of the tree grows too faſt for the bark, it cauſes blotches and lacerations; which evil is properly avoided by ſcoring the bark with a ſharp knife: but care ſhould be taken not to cut through the whitiſh rind before-mentioned; for that heals very difficultly, generally ulcerates, and, by being cut through, gives the inſects * an opportunity of getting between the wood and the bark, where they are very deſtructive.

Any ſurgeon knows, that a wound extending to the fine membrane, covering the bones of the human body, requires much more ſkill to cure than a fleſh wound, and the caſe is ſimilar.

Pruning is an important article with regard to the health of trees, and their bearing; and, if judiciouſly done, they will come into bearing ſooner, and continue in vigour for nearly double their common age: but the ſyſtems of pruning are ſo wordy, that the common farmer cannot underſtand them; and the gardener thinks the orchard beneath his care, for which reaſon it is left to nature and the winds; for, the farmer, afraid of doing wrong, never troubles himſelf about it, unleſs, ſeeing a branch half-broken, he takes his bill, and knocks it off, perhaps four or five inches from the trunk, leaving an unſightly ſtump. Do not imagine this is intended as any reproach; for there are no men who ſpend their time more judiciouſly in their vocation, but they cannot run into ſpeculations; if they did, little rent would be paid. I give no attention to fruit-branches and wood-branches, as being unneceſſary in the preſent inſtance; and beg, once for all, that no branch ſhall ever be ſhortened, unleſs for the figure of the tree, and then conſtantly taken off cloſe at the ſeparation, by which means the wound ſoon heals. The more the range of the branches ſhoots circularly, a little inclining upwards, the more equally will the ſap be diſtributed, and the better will the tree bear; for, from that circumſtance, the ſap is more evenly impelled to every part. Do not let the ranges of branches be too near each other; for remember, all the fruit and the leaves ſhould have their full ſhare of the ſun; and, where it ſuits, let the middle of the tree be free from wood, ſo that no branch ſhall ever croſs another, but all the extreme ends point outwards.

The beſt compliment your neighbour can make is, that your trees are handſome, but too thin of wood: be it ſo; and you may ſay, "True, farmer; but I have the beſt price at market, and that will always be the ſure teſt of perfection."

My tenant, Mr. Boulding, planted an orchard in 1772: being on a rich ſoil, it throve ſurpriſingly. That vigorous growth occaſioned the after-decay of the trees; for,

* Inſects, ſuch as ants, earwigs, and many ſpecies of millepedes, with numerous microſcopic creatures, of which I know no name; but all of which obſtruct the healing of the wounds, by their conſtant eating and fretting the tender bark.

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the wind, having great power over them, ſplit them down; the ladders, in gathering, broke them; the wood being ſoft, many cauſes concurred to injure them; and the injudicious manner in which the lacerations were taken off added to the evil; for, there generally follows gum from a wound, which being ſweet in fruit-bearing trees, the wound becomes filled with vermin, which obſtruct the healing by their conſtantly eating and fretting the young bark.

Being informed of the ſituation the orchard was in, I went down in the ſpring of 1790, and found the branches ſo intermixed and entangled together, that in many places they had cut each other nearly half through, cauſing wounds and blotches; which, on the return of the ſap in the ſpring, always affect the leaves, by inclining them to curl, and is a proof that the ſap is vitiated.

Having examined the circumſtances, I told the tenant I would come down in the autumn, when proper perſons muſt be found to execute the buſineſs, and we would reinſtate the orchard, and bring it to its former ſplendor; for, it ſhould be obſerved, the orchard uſed to be much admired. Accordingly, I went the firſt Tueſday in November, and for two hours walked over the ground with the men, inſtructing them what I would have done, that we might begin the next morning, work with ſpirit, and loſe no time. We had ſaws, bills, and knives, prepared on purpoſe; and, though I am a good hand myſelf, I ſoon perceived neither of us could cut true enough with a bill to take off the branch, without leaving a ſtump, or improper wound; for it is eſſentially neceſſary, that every branch ſhould be cut perfectly ſmooth and cloſe; for which reaſon we took the ſaws, and afterwards ſmoothed the place with a knife. My ſervant's buſineſs was, with a painter's bruſh, to ſmear over the wounds with a medicated tar hereafter deſcribed.

It is impoſſible the bark can grow over a ſtump, becauſe there is no power to draw the ſap that way; for which reaſon always cut a little within the wood. I was conſtantly directing to cut quick, cloſe, and ſmooth. We kept together, firſt walked round the tree; then I pointed out every branch that came near to the ground, or had received any material injury, or where the leaves were much curled; for where the leaves curl, the fruit is always ſpecky; and every branch which had the leaſt tendency to croſs the tree, or run inwards, was taken off. Then we gave a little attention to the beauty of the head, leaving all the branches as nearly equidiſtant as poſſible: next, we examined if there were any remaining blotches, opening or ſcoring them with a knife, and, where the back was ragged from any laceration, paring it gently down till we came to the live wood. Each of theſe was touched over with the medicated tar.

Having gone thus far, we ſhould have rubbed off the moſs, and ſcored the trees, but I had not time for that part of the buſineſs; I only wiſh I had ſecured a perſon on purpoſe. In the cutting we followed the ſurgeon's rule; go to the

the quick, but do not wantonly make any wound larger than neceſſary.

We ſometimes had our doubts whether a particular branch ſhould be taken off. The idea I brought it under was this; conſider whether it will be in the way three years hence; if it will, the ſooner it is off the better.

When trees are much thinned, they are ſubject to throw out a great quantity of young ſhoots in the ſpring, which I requeſted the tenants to be particularly careful to rub off. It is neceſſary that they be rubbed, and not cut; for cutting increaſes the number.

As our work drew near a concluſion, one of the tenants ſaid, "we underſtand our buſineſs ſo well, that I wiſh we had another job;" upon which my ſervant obſerved, "you had better keep in your own pariſh, for the people are much diſſatisfied." The truth is, we had no comforters, for the country was againſt us. If the land had been under my own culture, I ſhould have taken off half as much more; but I did not chooſe to offend the perſon whom I wiſhed to inſtruct.

I went down again, in the ſpring of 1791, to ſee the effect, and found the tenants much pleaſed with the operation; I did not find one wound in an hundred but what was in a clear healing ſtate, and the healing of the wounds is the buſineſs; for nothing but prejudice can make a perſon think that a tree overloaded with wood will produce good fruit. You may as well expect a crop of turneps without hoeing, and I am in great hopes that pruning will become as general as hoeing; I am ſure it is as neceſſary.

The medicated tar above mentioned, as uſed in the foregoing experiments, was compoſed of one quarter of an ounce of corroſive ſublimate, reduced to fine powder, by beating with a wooden hammer, and then put into a three-pint earthen pipkin, with about a glaſs full of gin, or other ſpirit, ſtirred well together, and the ſublimate thus diſſolved. The pipkin was then filled, by degrees, with vegetable or common tar, and conſtantly ſtirred, till the mixture was blended together as intimately as poſſible; and this quantity will, at any time, be ſufficient for two hundred trees.

To prevent danger, let the corroſive ſublimate be mixed with the tar as quickly as poſſible after it is purchaſed; for, being of a very poiſonous nature to all animals, it ſhould not be ſuffered to lie about a houſe, for fear of miſchief to ſome part of the family.

Method of curing the Diſorder of Sheep, called the Scab; communicated by Sir Joſeph Banks, *Bart. Preſident of the Royal Society, to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.*

TAKE one pound of quickſilver, half a pound of Venice turpentine, half a pint of oil of turpentine, four pounds of hog's lard; let them be rubbed in a mortar, till the quickſilver is thoroughly incorporated with the other ingredients; for the proper mode of doing which, it may be neceſſary

to

to take the advice, or even the aſſiſtance, of ſome apothecary, or other perſons uſed to make ſuch mixtures *.

The method of uſing the ointment is thus. Beginning at the head of the ſheep, and proceeding from between the ears along the back to the end of the tail, the wool is to be divided in a furrow till the ſkin can be touched; and, as the furrow is made, the finger ſlightly dipped in the ointment is to be drawn along the bottom of it, where it will leave a blue ſtain on the ſkin and adjoining wool: from this furrow, ſimilar ones muſt be drawn down the ſhoulders and thighs to the legs, as far as they are woolly; and, if the animal is much infected, two more ſhould be drawn along each ſide, parallel to that on the back; and one down each ſide, between the fore and hind legs †.

Immediately after being dreſſed, it is usual to turn the ſheep among other ſtock, without any fear of the infection being communicated; and there is ſcarce an inſtance of a ſheep ſuffering any injury from the application. In a few days the blotches dry up, the itching ceaſes, and the animal is completely cured; it is generally, however, thought proper not to delay the operation beyond Michaelmas.

The *hippobosca ovina*, called in Lincolnſhire *ſheep-fagg*, an animal well known to all ſhepherds, which lives among the wool and is hurtful to thriving of ſheep, both by the pain its bite occaſions, and the blood it ſucks, is radically deſtroyed by this application; and the wool is not at all injured. Our wool-buyers purchaſe the fleeces on which the ſtain of the ointment is viſible rather in preference to others, from an opinion that the uſe of it having preſerved the animal from being vexed either with the ſcab or faggs, the wool is leſs liable to the defects of joints or knots; a fault obſerved to proceed from every ſudden ſtop in the thriving of the animal, either from want of food, or from diſeaſe.

This mode of curing was brought into that part of Lincolnſhire where my property is ſituated, about twelve years ago, by Mr. Stephenſon, of Mareham, and is now ſo generally received, that the ſcab, which uſed to be the terror of the farmers, and which frequently deterred the more careful of them from taking the advantage of paſturing their ſheep in the fertile and extenſive commons with which their diſtrict abounds, is no longer regarded with any apprehenſion; by far the moſt of them have their flock anointed in autumn, when they return from the common, whether they ſhew any ſymptoms of the ſcab, or not; and, having done ſo, conclude them ſafe for ſome time from either giving or receiving infec-

* Though there does not appear to be any difference between this ointment and the *unguentum cæruleum* of the ſhops, I have choſen to give the receipt exactly as it was given to me.

† Some of our graziers begin to uſe it, by rubbing it into the naked part of the thigh and fore-leg; a practice much leſs troubleſome, but which requires much more judgment than the above.

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tion. There are people who employ themſelves in the buſineſs, and contract to anoint our large ſheep at five ſhillings a ſcore, inſuring for that price the ſucceſs of the operation; that is, agreeing, in caſe many of the ſheep break out afreſh, to repeat the operation gratis, even ſome months afterwards.

I beg to have it underſtood that, in communicating this information to the ſociety, I do not offer myſelf as a candidate for the medal propoſed by them as a reward: having been neither the diſcoverer nor the introducer of the remedy I can lay no claim to it. Reſpect to the patriotic views which have ever guided their conduct, and the hope of being uſeful to the breeders of ſheep, are the motives which have induced me to lay this paper before them.

An Improvement on Metallic Conductors or Lightning Rods; by Robert Patterſon, *of* Philadelphia.

From the Tranſactions of the American *Philoſophical Society.*

FROM the inſtances which now and then occur of houſes being ſtruck with lighting, that are furniſhed with metallic conductors, and the frequent inſtances of theſe conductors having their tops melted off by a ſtroke of lightning, it appears that this admirable contrivance for guarding houſes againſt the dangerous effects of lightning is, in ſome degree, ſtill imperfect. Some improvement ſeems yet to be wanting at both extremities of the rod; at the upper extremity, to ſecure it againſt the accident of being melted, which renders it afterwards unfit to anſwer its original intention, viz. drawing off the electric fluid, or lightning, from the paſſing cloud, in a ſilent, imperceptible, manner; for, it is only *pointed* conductors that poſſeſs this property; and at the lower extremity, to afford a more ready paſſage for the fluid into the ſurrounding earth.

The firſt of theſe intentions would, I am perſuaded, be effectually anſwered, by inſerting in the top of the rod a piece of black lead, of about two inches long, taken out of a good pencil, and terminating in a fine point, projecting but a very little above the end of its metallic ſocket; ſo that, if the black-lead point ſhould happen to be broken off by any accident (of which, however, I think there can be but little danger), ſtill the point of the rod would be left ſharp enough to anſwer the purpoſe of a metallic conductor.

This ſubſtance is well known to be infuſible by the greateſt heat, and hence its uſe in making crucibles; nor is it evaporable, as remarked by Cronſtedt, in his Mineralogy (ſect. 231.), except in a ſlow calcining heat, to which it could never be expoſed on the top of a lightning rod.

At the ſame time its power, as a conductor of electricity, is perhaps equal, or but little inferior, to that of any of the metals. A line drawn on a piece of paper by a black-lead pencil will, as I have often experienced, conduct an electric exploſion, ſeemingly as well

well as a similar line of gilding would do, and that without ever losing its conducting power, which is not the case with gilding.

The second intention is, to facilitate the escape of the electric fluid from the lower part of the rod into the surrounding earth. It is in many cases impracticable, from the interruption of rocks, or other articles, to sink the rod so deep as to reach moist earth, or any other substance which is a tolerably good conductor of electricity. Nor, even if this were practicable, would it I presume be alone sufficient to answer the desired intention. Iron buried in the earth, and especially in moist earth, will presently contract a coat of rust, which will continually increase till the whole is converted into rust; but rust of iron, and indeed the calx of all metals is a *non-conductor*, or at most but a very imperfect conductor, of the electric fluid. Hence it is easy to see, that, in a few years after a lightning rod has been erected, that part of it which is under ground will contribute little or nothing towards the safety of the building. Besides, the surface of this part of the rod is too small to afford an easy and copious discharge of the electric fluid into the surrounding earth, when this is but an imperfect conductor.

As a remedy for these defects, I would propose that a part of the rod under ground be made of tin, or copper, which are far less liable to corrosion, or rust, by lying under ground, than iron. Or, which perhaps would answer the purpose better, let this part of the rod, of whatever metal it be made, be coated over with a thick crust of black lead, previously formed into the consistence of paste, by being pulverized and mixed with melted sulphur (as in the manufacture of the ordinary kind of black-lead pencils), and then applied to the rod while hot. By this means, the lower part of the rod would, I apprehend, retain its conducting power for ages, without any diminution.

In order to increase the surface of the lower part of the conductor, let a hole or pit of sufficient extent be dug as deep as convenient, and into this pit let there be put a quantity of charcoal, round the lower extremity of the rod. Charcoal possesses two properties, which in a peculiar manner fit it for answering the purpose here in view. First, it is a very good conductor of electricity; and secondly, it will undergo little or no change of property by lying ever so long in the earth. Thus might the surface of that part of the conductor in contact with the earth be increased, with little trouble or expence, to any extent at pleasure; a circumstance which every one acquainted with electrical experiments must acknowledge to be of great importance to the end here proposed.

Method of curing Butter, practised in the Parish of Udny, *and its Neighbourhood.*

From the general View of the Agriculture of the County of Aberdeen; *drawn up, for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture, by* James Anderson, *LL. D.*

THE following mode of curing butter is practised by some in the parish

parish of Udny, and that neighbourhood, which gives to their butter a great superiority above that of others.

Take two parts of the best common salt, one part of sugar, and one part of saltpetre; beat them up together, and blend the whole completely. Take one ounce of this composition for every sixteen ounces of butter, work it well into the mass, and close it up for use.

I know of no simple improvement in œconomies greater than this is, when compared with the usual mode of curing butter by means of common salt alone. I have seen the experiment fairly made, of one part of the butter made at one time being thus cured, and the other part cured with salt alone; the difference was inconceivable; I should suppose that, in any open market, the one would sell for thirty per cent. more than the other. The butter cured with the mixture appears of a rich marrowy consistence, and fine colour, and never acquires a brittle hardness, nor tastes salt; the other is comparatively hard and brittle, approaching more nearly to the appearance of tallow, and is much salter to the taste. I have eat butter cured with the above composition, that had been kept three years, and it was as sweet as at first; but it must be noted, that butter thus cured requires to stand three weeks or a month, before it is begun to be used. If it be sooner opened, the salts are not sufficiently blended with it; and sometimes the coolness of the nitre will then be perceived, which totally disappears afterwards.

The pernicious practice of keeping milk in leaden vessels, and salting butter in stone jars, begins to gain ground among some of the fine ladies in this county, as well as elsewhere, from an idea of cleanliness. The fact is, it is just the reverse of cleanliness; for, in the hands of a careful person, nothing can be more cleanly than wooden dishes, but, under the management of a slattern, they discover the secret, which stone dishes indeed do not.

In return, these latter communicate to the butter, and the milk, which has been kept in them, a poisonous quality, which inevitably proves destructive to the human constitution. To the prevalence of this practice, I have no doubt, we must attribute the frequency of palsies, which begin to prevail so much in this kingdom; for, the well known effect of the poison of lead is, bodily debility, palsy,—death!

ANTIQUITIES.

Account of a rich illuminated Miſſal executed for John *Duke of* Bedford, *Regent of* France *under* Henry VI. *and afterward in the poſſeſſion of the late Ducheſs of* Portland.

THIS beautiful and rich miſſal, or (as it might from its contents enumerated in the record of the gift at the back of the Duke of Bedford's portrait, more properly be called) Book of Offices, contains fifty-nine large miniatures, which nearly occupy the whole page; and above a thouſand ſmall ones in circles of about an inch and an half diameter, diſplayed in brilliant borders of golden foliage, with variegated flowers, &c. At the bottom of every page are two lines in blue and gold letters, which explain the ſubject of each miniature; a circumſtance perhaps only to be found in this expenſive performance.

Though all the miniatures are in a good ſtate for the time, yet we plainly diſcover the hand of various artiſts, probably French or Flemiſh.

At the beginning of this MS. is the Calendar, wonderfully rich, adorned with the ſymbols of the twelve months, accompanied with the ſigns of the zodiac, two on the back of the page, and to each month three other miniatures, ſome of which give the ceremonies and cuſtoms of the age. *January* is repreſented by a three faced figure ſitting at a well-ſpread table covered with fine diaper linen, carouſing and drinking with one mouth and eating with another; and in the borders three miniatures, one of which contains a Janus dreſt in the habit of a porter, with keys, opening the gates of the new year; on his left hand is the motto: *J'ai veu l'an paſſé;* and on his right, *Je regarde l'an qui commence*—a figure of a monk kneeling, ſays, *Je pleurs les pechez de l'an.* The ſecond miniature is an aſſemblage of naked figures in two companies: one ſays, *Salve feſta dies;* and the other *bon an bon an.* The third miniature is an aſtrologer, with a ſphere in one hand and ſomething like a quadrant in the other; and the explanation at the bottom of the page ſays, *Com't par aſtrologe jan enſercle les p'prietes de l'an ſelonc le cours des Etoiles; coment on ſe ſouloit ſaluer le primer jour de l'an.*

January has the ſign Aquarius, a naked female emptying two pitchers.

February is repreſented by a man cloſely clad, pulling off his boot before a good fire; of the three miniatures the firſt is a woman with a noſegay, explained at the bottom to be the mother of Mars, named *Februa*, who conceived the god of war by kiſſing and ſmelling a flower.

The ſecond is a proceſſion of men, women, and children, with torches round the walls of a town; and the third, men in fool's caps drinking on a tomb-ſtone.

March is repreſented by a man pruning trees.

Mars, with a bifid beard in full armour and holding a battle axe.

Round of trees and flowers by a brook; another of ſtorms:

April is repreſented by a man planting, bearing a branch in full leaf on his ſhoulders, in a red gown furred with white, blue ſtockings, black half boots, blue hood, ſword, and whittle. *Faunus.* A woman with a child on her knee, like the Virgin Mary.

Neptune, in a coat of blue, with gold ſcales and cap, in a car with two boys, drawn by a white and black horſe, carrying off Proſerpine.

Men and women in gowns and hoods, looking up to a female in a flowered gown.

May by a man hunting on horſeback with a hawk on his fiſt.

Gemini, two figures embracing, the lower half hid by a ſhield, Or.

Maya playing on a harp, and ſix girls dancing holding a cord in their hands.

An old king ſaluting and raiſing up a young queen, four men kneeling behind her.

Soldiers, horſe and foot, and magiſtrates, in a fortified tower.

June by a man mowing, his whetſtone before him in a caſe.

Hercules in the lion's ſkin taking Hebe by her right hand. Their names over them.

Two kings joining right hands, hold branches in left, among nobles.

Juno crowned, ſitting between three trunks of money, one ſhut and two open; over her head *ie ioing et acable richeſſes et puiſance.*

July by one reaping.

Cæſar armed and crowned among his troops, a drawn ſword in his right hand, ſhield on his left.

A dog with a ſtar in his mouth.

A king ſtabbed on his throne in the ſenate.

Auguſt by one threſhing.

Auguſtus ſitting under a canopy, his ſceptre ſword and globe bearers at his ſide, and men kneeling; one ſays, *C'eſt le augmenteur du bien publique.*

Soldiers fighting and flying: a general ſtanding in front. On a banner S. 3 annulets O. the ſame on a heater ſhield, ground diapered.

A man bareheaded on a white horſe, with three trumpeters, from whoſe trumpets hangs *par.*

A king ſitting on a curule chair, an angel holds over his head an open book, with,

ie en	*ſeigne*
les VII	*ars*
liber	*auv*

September by one treading grapes in a vat.

A man like a ſavage with a red cap and white beard, holding a branch loaded with fruit in his right hand, gathers fruit with his left from trees in an incloſure.

A woman in blue and gold, long

ſleeves

ſleeves over cloſe ones, a dove flying at her heart, a palm branch in her right hand.

A king with bifid beard holding a ſcroll inſcribed,

Soit roi du a . . . . lecyn.

The foremoſt of ſix men kneeling ſays,

Droit et raiſun.

October by one ſowing.

A woman in hanging ſleeves cutting off her hair with a knife.

A man ſitting under a canopy, ſeveral kneeling round him: others ſtanding under a porch.

November by one beating down acorns to feed a pig.

The nine muſes at a ſquare ciſtern, which receives water from a rock and diſcharges it.

Perſeus on Pegaſus, who puts his off foreleg into the ſquare ciſtern. Two women in the reticulated head-dreſs and mantles come to the ciſtern, at the ſides of which are the nine women.

December by one killing a pig.

A king with globe and ſword; *ie ſuis monarche du monde.*

A man in blue, with a white apron, knocking down a hog with a beetle.

A tilting and caroufal.

A philoſopher in a hood teaching men, among others one in a long red furred coat, ſtockings and ſhoes of one piece, green hood over his left ſhoulder furred round the cap and at breaſt, a king and others: *vivez ſobrem'et honeſtem'et.*

After the calendar follow four very large paintings, which have no particular reference to the book.

The firſt contains, in a whole page, the hiſtory of the garden of Eden from the creation of man to his expulſion out of it, and the principal events in the life of Adam: his naming the beaſts, Eve taken out of his ſide, brought to him with a charge of obedience; tempting him; the ſerpent twined round the tree, with a human face; God curſing the man, woman, and ſerpent now like a goofe, with feet, wings, and a curled tail; an angel driving out the pair; Eve ſpinning; Adam digging; the Deity with angels beholds Adam dead, and conveys him away. Abel kneeling at an altar, a hand from heaven points to the ſacrificed lamb: while the other offering appears unnoticed, and Cain retires frowning, and then breaks his brother's head with a club. In the centre of the garden is a fountain over the four ſtreams, that part at the four corners of the incloſure. The Deity is triple-faced, and the two outer figures of him are ſurrounded with winged heads. In the midſt of Paradiſe is a moſt elegant Gothic ſtructure; and the garden fenced off from the country behind with baſket-work; a ſtone wall with a magnificent tower at one end for the entrance guards the front.

The ſubject of the ſecond, conſiſting of larger figures, is Noah directing the building of the ark, which is ſimply a ſquare houſe of timber, with three heights of apartments; it is very curious, as exhibiting the different utenſils and manner of working in carpentry. Behind it is an anachroniſm not extraordinary in the painting of thoſe times, of a large ſea, with ſeveral ſhips upon it. A city behind the hills. Noah driving the

beasts before him. The Deity in a groupe of cherubs superintending.

The third is the coming out of the ark, Noah's sacrifice, the planting of the vineyard and its consequences to Noah; the state of the earth after the flood expressed by spires appearing above ground, and dead bodies naked and clothed floating a prey to birds.

The fourth represents the building the tower of Babel, in which the different instruments and operations point out to us their progress in the mechanism of masonry, as the second does in the carpentry of the ark; at the top of the tower are two angels undoing all that the workmen have executed.

On the back of the painting of Noah's ark is a drawing of a later period, of a tree on which are suspended two shields; the left shield has three fleurs de lis Or on a field Azure, surrounded with crescents Argent, for *Diana* of *Poictiers*, duchess of Valentinois, mistress of Francis I. The right shield has the same arms of France, joined with those of the house of Medici, for his wife Catharine of Medici; and four scrolls Sable and Argent twisted in the tree, with Henry the Second's motto, *Dum totum compleat orbem.*

The portraits of the duke and duchess of Bedford follow immediately after the four large paintings.

The services that next follow are bordered, if we may use the expression, with histories of the Old and New Testament in rondeaux, one of the former at the side, and one of the latter at the bottom of each page, and under all are two lines explanatory; of the first, in blue, of the second, in gold, letters.

At the beginning of certain lessons are the figures of the four Evangelists, the history of our Saviour's passion, from his apprehension to his crucifixion; these last sided by martyrdoms of various saints.

When the Old and New Testament history are gone through we come to the histories of the Apocalypse, disposed in the same manner at the side, and an illustration or moral subject at the bottom of the page, with a suitable verse for each.

Then follow the gifts and effects of the Holy Spirit in rounds, disposed in like manner, with lines explanatory of each.

But what enhances the value of this MS in this country is, that it has preserved the only portraits remaining of the noble pair, who formerly possessed it; John of Lancaster duke of Bedford, and Anne of Bretagne his duchess, who presented it to her husband's nephew Henry VI. two years before her death.

Nothing can exceed the strength of character and high finishing of the portrait of the duke: it is among the finest examples of art at that time.

Nor can any thing be more happily designed to convey a compliment to the noble owners of this book than the paintings round their respective portraits, as well as all the rest that follow.

Another drawing in this missal represents a female saint crowned, in a mantle, surcot of ermine,

and kirtle, her train ſupported by a lady in the reticulated and mitred head-dreſs richly ſtudded with pearls, her mantle girded round her waiſt, and behind her another lady in the veil head-dreſs, delivering a ſhield Az. charged with three fleurs de lis O. held by a man in armour with a ſingular cap, to a king ſtanding in complete armour. Behind the king is a man in armour, with mail gorget and a ſurcot; and at the king's feet kneels, as if buckling on his right ſpur, a herald in a tabard charged with O. a feſs between three mullets G. quartering Arg. Over the building in which this tranſaction paſſes is the figure of the Deity encircled by cherubim delivering the firſt deſcribed ſhield to an angel. Another angel hovers behind, over the right corner of the picture, where the ſame female ſaint, with her attendants, and the addition of an old man, is repreſented in a foreſt among wild beaſts meeting an old man with a beard and nimbus, who, kneeling, preſents to her the ſame arms on a mantle: in the back ground is ſeen a church. This is the legend of the changing the arms of France from three toads to three fleurs de lis, in the reign of Clovis, A. D. 500, as repreſented in tapeſtry in one of the halls, at the marriage of Charles the Bold duke of Burgundy and Margaret of York, as deſcribed by John de Haymis, knight, lord of Louvegnyes, in his account of that ceremony; "Item comment un "hermite apporta a la ditte royne "un drap d'azur à trois fleurs de "lis d'or que l'ange luy avoit "donné, et le delivrà la ditte "royne a ſon mary le roy Clovis "pour le porter comme ſes armes "en lieu qu'il les portoit d'or a "trois crapaux de ſable." The queen here referred to was Clotildis, daughter of Chilperic king of Burgundy, and neice of Gondebaud his ſucceſſor, on whoſe deceaſe, A. D. 511. ſhe lived in holy retirement at Tours, and was canonized after her death, which happened A. D. 545. On this account ſhe is here repreſented with the nimbus. Fauchet adds, it was pretended, that the abbey of Joye en val, in the foreſt of Laye near the royal caſtle of St. Germain, near Poiſſy, was founded on this occaſion, becauſe they ſhewed there a fountain, where this eſcucheon was revealed to a hermit; whereas this abbey was not founded till 1222, and the whole ſtory is of no older date than the reign of Charles VI. The anachroniſm was not detected in the duke of Bedford's time; but the legend has ſupplied a handſome compliment.

Philip Auguſtus king of France firſt introduced the fleurs de lis into the arms of France in the cruſade of 1190.

The next particular in this beautiful manuſcript is this atteſtation of its being preſented by gift of the ducheſs and by order of the duke to king Henry VI. by one of the king's ſervants, who appears to have been his phyſician.

It appears in Holinſhed and Hall that Henry the Sixth having gone over to France, 1431, and viſited Paris, went to ſpend his Chriſtmas at Rouen.

Monſtrelet, as well as Fabian, date the voyage to France 1430, which agrees with the miſſal; but Holinſhed and Hall erroneouſly date it 1431.

It may be fairly presumed that Henry did not take this book with him at his return to England; but might leave it in the palace at Rouen; and that (with other of his jewels) it fell into the hands of Charles VI. at the taking of Rouen. It is plain that Henry II. of France afterwards possessed it; and being incited to a love and encouragement of literature by Diana of Poictiers, gratified himself in affixing his arms above noticed.

The page immediately following the portraits exhibits St. John writing at his desk, his eagle on the top of his reading desk. Underneath he is in Patmos among wild beasts, a demon holding his inkhorn and pencase. In the surrounding rondeaux he is represented leaning on Jesus' breast; the crucifixion, Christ bearing the cross, St. John, comforting the Virgin, and in a burning barrel oil poured over him; the lower line is craft.

The next page has GOD appearing to Abraham, and promising him a child by his wife, who was $\frac{xx}{iiii}$ and x years, and was *brahaigne*; and a long series follows representing passages in the holy scriptures, and lives of the saints.

This missal, eleven inches, by seven and a half wide, and two and a half thick, bound in crimson velvet, with gold clasps, on which are engraved the arms of Harley, Cavendish, and Hollis, quarterly, was the property of Edward Harley second earl of Oxford, who, when he was lord Harley, bought it of lady Worsley, whose mother was lady Frances Finch daughter of Mary wife of Heneage second earl of Winchelsea, who was third daughter to William Seymour earl and marquis of Hertford and second duke of Somerset, who was appointed by king Charles I. governor to the prince of Wales. This lady Frances Finch was married to Thomas Thynne first viscount Weymouth, by whom she had an ony daughter Frances married to Sir Robert Worsley, baronet, of Appledorcombe in the isle of Wight.

Lord Oxford had two leaves at the beginning, which contain the arms of Harley and Holles, with seventy-four quarterings; a shield of pretence, and five crests.

It descended to the earl of Oxford's daughter, the late dutchess of Portland. At the sale of her effects, May 24, 1786, it was purchased by Mr. Edwards, bookseller, of Pall Mall, for 213*l.* 3*s.*

A breviary of nearly the same size was begun for the duke of Bedford; but was not finished by almost a third: nor were the small miniatures in so good a style, or with any explanations to them. The preservation is greatly inferior to this, having the margins cut almost close to the illuminations; notwithstanding this, at the sale of the library of the duke de la Valliere, 1783, it was purchased for the Bibliotheque du Roi at 5000 livres.

On the Origin of News-papers.

From Chalmers's *Life of* Ruddiman.

THE origin of news-papers, those pleasant vehicles of instruction, those entertaining companions

nions of our mornings, has not yet been inveſtigated with the preciſion, which is undoubtedly due to what has been emphatically called one of the ſafe-guards of our privileges. We are ſtill unacquainted with the name of our firſt newspaper, and we are ſtill ignorant of the epoch of its original publication.

The intelligent Editor of Dodſley's Old Plays has, indeed, told the Engliſh world, though with leſs certainty than confidence, "that Gallo-Belgicus was the name "of the firſt news-paper, publiſhed "in England:" and he maintains his poſition from *ancient plays*, and draws his proofs from *obſolete poetry*: May's comedy of the Heir, which was firſt acted, in 1620, opens in the following manner:

Polymetes.

Haſt thou divulged the news,
That my ſon died at Athens?

Roſcio.

Yes; my Lord,
With every circumſtance, the time, the place,
And manner of his death; that 'tis believed,
And told for news, with as much confidence,
As if 'twere writ in Gallo-Belgicus*.

Inquiring for the certainty of facts, rather than the fictions of poetry, I went to the Britiſh Muſeum, where I ſaw, and handled, Gallo-Belgicus. This collection, which had once belonged to the King's Library, ſhows plainly, though it is not complete, the nature of the work. It may be called, The State of Europe; or, The Annual Regiſter; or it may be entitled more truly, The Hiſtory of his own Times: but it is not a news-paper †

Gallo-Belgicus ſeems to have been the firſt contemporary author, who, in modern times, detailed events, as they aroſe. He appears to have been well received, the firſt volume, which was printed for the widow of Godfred Karpenſis, having run through a ſecond edition, before the year 1603, with additions, and

* To the above text is ſubjoined the following note:—
"Cleveland, in his character of a London Diurnal, ſays: The original ſinner of this "kind was Dutch, Gallo Belgicus, the Protoplaſt, and the Modern Mercuries, but "Hanſen-Kelders. The exact time, when they were printed, I am unable to diſcover; "but, they certainly were, as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth; ſome intelligence "given by Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus being mentioned in Carew's Survey of Cornwall, "page 126, which was originally publiſhed in 1602: Doctor Donne, in his verſes on "Thom. Coryate's Crudities, 1611, ſays:

"——— To Gallo-Belgicus appear
"As deep a ſtateſman as a Gazetteer.

"Beaumont and Fletcher mention Gallo-Belgicus in the Fair Maid of the Inn. "Act 4; Ben Jonſon, in the Poetaſter, Act 5. S. 3; and Clapthorne alſo, in his Wit in "a Conſtable."

† Gallo-Belgicus was written in the Latin language; and had the following title: "Mercurij Gallo Belgici five, rerum in Gallia, et Belgio potiſſimum: Hiſpania quo- "que, Italia, Anglia, Germania, Polonia, Vicinisque locis ab anno 1588, ad Martium "anni 1594. geſtarum, Nuncij." The firſt compiler of Gallo-Belgicus was M. Janſen, a Friſian. And the firſt volume in 8vo. containing ſix hundred and fifty pages, was printed at Cologne, in 1598. It was ornamented with a wooden cut, repreſenting Mercury ſtanding on a globe, with his uſual attributes.

amendments. The fourth volume, which was publiſhed, in 1603, was compiled by Gaſpar Lorchan, for William Lutzenkirch. Succeſs ſoon gave riſe to rivalſhip. The fifth volume appears to have been collected by Gotard Arthus, for Sigiſmond Latom, and to have been printed at Frankfort, in 1605. This was plainly a rival work. Gallo-Belgicus was now publiſhed half-yearly with a title-page and index to every volume; and was now, for the firſt time, uſefully ornamented with maps. It was written, as late as the year 1605, by John Philip Abel, and was printed, for the heirs of Latom, with the Emperor's ſpecial privilege *. I flatter myſelf, the inquiſitive reader is now ſufficiently acquainted with the parentage, and performances of Gallo-Belgicus, of whom the poets, and the editor of poets, ſeem only from

"Rumour's tongue to have idly heard."

When Paul came to Athens he perceived, that the Athenians, and the ſtrangers, reſiding there, ſpent their time in little more than "either to tell, or to hear "ſome new thing †." At a period more early, perhaps, than the time of Paul, the government of China diſtributed, through that moſt extenſive empire, a written paper, containing a liſt of the Mandarins, who were appointed to rule in every province. Yet, this Chineſe Red Book, which was afterwards printed, and is ſtill diſtributed, can ſcarcely be deemed a news-paper.

Venice is entitled to the honour of having produced the firſt Gazetta, as early as the year 1536. It was compiled upon the plan, which was afterwards adopted by Gallo-Belgicus, and contained much intelligence, both of Italy, and even of the reſt of Europe. Yet, a jealous government did not allow a *printed* news-paper. And, the Venetian Gazetta continued long after the invention of printing, to the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, and even to our own days, to be diſtributed in manuſcript ‡.

After inquiring, in various countries, for the origin of news-papers, I had the ſatisfaction to find what I ſought for in England. It may gratify our national pride to be told, that mankind are indebted to the wiſdom of Elizabeth, and the prudence of Burleigh, for the firſt news-paper. The epoch of the Spaniſh Armada is alſo the epoch of a genuine news-paper. In the Britiſh Muſeum, there are ſeveral news-papers, which had been printed while the Spaniſh

* The 15th tome carries Gallo-Belgicus down to the year 1630. How long it continued I know not. About that epoch aroſe in other countries various competitors for the public favour.

† Acts xvii. 21.

‡ In the Magliabechian library at Florence, there are thirty volumes of Venetian Gazettas, which commenced in 1536, and which are all in manuſcript. In the frontiſpiece of each paper, it is called the Gazetta of ſuch a year. But, thoſe curious papers were not all written at Venice, many of them being compoſed at Rome, and at other places in Italy. Lord Burghly, writing to Lord Talbot, on the 23d of October 1590, ſays, "I pray your lordſhip eſteem my news as thoſe, which, in Venice, are fraught in the Gazetta." [Lodge's Illuſtrations of Hiſtory.] "I pray you, in your next," ſays James Howell to Mr. Leat, "ſend me the Venetian Gazetta." [Letters, 9th July 1627.]

fleet

fleet was in the Engliſh Channel, during the year 1558 *. It was a wiſe policy, to prevent, during a moment of general anxiety, the danger of falſe reports, by publiſhing real information. And, the earlieſt news-paper is entitled, The Engliſh Mercurie, which, by *authority*, "was imprinted, at Lon-" don, by Chriſtopher Barker, her " highneſſes printer, 1588 †."

Burleigh's news-papers were all Extraordinary Gazettes, which were publiſhed from time to time, as that profound ſtateſman wiſhed, either to inform, or to terrify the people. The Mercuries were probably firſt printed, in April 1588, when the Armada approached the ſhores of England. After the Spaniſh ſhips had been diſperſed by a wonderful exertion of prudence, and ſpirit, theſe Extraordinary Gazettes very ſeldom appeared. The Mercurie, No. 54, which is dated, on Monday, November the 24th 1588, informed the public, that the ſolemn thankſgiving for the ſucceſſes, which had been obtained againſt the Spaniſh Armada, was this day ſtrictly obſerved. This number contains alſo an article of news from Madrid, which ſpeaks of putting the Queen to death, and of the inſtruments of torture, that were on board the Spaniſh fleet. We may ſuppoſe, that ſuch paragraphs were deſigned by the policy of Burleigh, who underſtood all the artifices of printing, to excite the terrors of the Engliſh people, to point their reſentment againſt Spain, and to inflame their love for Elizabeth.

Yet, are we told, that poſts gave riſe to weekly news-papers, *which are likewiſe a French invention.* The inventor was Theophraſt Renaudot, a phyſician, who, laying his ſcheme before Cardinal Richlieu, obtained from him a patent for The Paris Gazette, which was firſt publiſhed, in April 1631. Thus, would confident ignorance transfer this invention, which is ſo uſefully advantageous to the governors, and the governed, from the Engliſh Burleigh to the French Richlieu. The dates demonſtrate, that the pleaſures and the benefits of a news-paper were enjoyed in England, more than forty years, before the eſtabliſhment of the Paris Gazette, by Renaudot, in France. And the Engliſh Mercurie will remain an inconteſtible proof of the exiſtence of a printed news-paper in England, at an epoch, when no other nation can

* Sloan MSS. No. 4106.

† The firſt news-paper, which is preſerved, in this collection is, No. 50, and is in Roman, not in black, letter. It contains the uſual articles of news, like the London Gazette of the preſent day. In that curious paper there are news, dated from Whitehall, on the 23d of July 1588. Under the date of July the 26th, there is the following notice: "Yeſterday the Scots Ambaſſador, being introduced by Sir Francis Walſingham, " had a private audience of her Majeſty, to whom he delivered a letter from the King " his maſter; containing the moſt cordial aſſurances of his reſolution to adhere to her " Majeſty's intereſts, and to thoſe of the Proteſtant religion. And it may not here be " improper to take notice of a wiſe and ſpirited ſaying of this young prince [he was " twenty-two] to the Queen's miniſter at his court, viz. That all the favour he did " expect from the Spaniards was the courteſy of Polypheme to Ulyſſes, *to be the laſt " devoured.*"——I defy the Gazetteer of the preſent day to give a more decorous account of the introduction of a foreign miniſter. The aptneſs of King James's claſſical ſaying, carried it from the news-paper into hiſtory.

boaſt

boaſt a vehicle of news of a ſimilar kind.

The Engliſh Mercurie no longer proclaimed his news, when Elizabeth, ſpeaking of the Armada, had ſaid, *Flavit Deus et diſſipantur*. A news-paper had now gratified the curioſity of the people; and the curioſity of the people would be no longer ſatisfied without a news-paper. Burton complains, in his Anatomy of Melancholy, which was firſt publiſhed, in 1614, "that "if any read now-a-days it is a play-"book, or a pamphlet of *newes*." The news-papers were at firſt *occaſional*; and afterwards *weekly*. Nathaniel Butter, at the Pyde-Bull, St. Auſtin's gate, eſtabliſhed a weekly paper, in Auguſt 1622, entitled, The certain Newes of this preſent Week. How long Butter, who was a great publiſher of *newes*, continued his hebdomadal intelligences, I am unable to tell. He laid little before his readers, which could enlarge knowledge, or excite riſibility; though his battles may have ſurprized and elevated, and his ſieges may have alternately agitated the hopes and fears of his countrymen.

Whatever may have been his ſucceſs, he certainly had competitors, and imitators. In February 1625-6, was firſt publiſhed a freſh paper of Weekly Newes. The foreign intelligence of May the 23d, was conveyed in Number 13. This too was a ſmall quarto of fourteen pages. And it was *printed*, at London, for Mercurius Britannicus, in 1626. This proves ſufficiently, that the well-known title of Mercurius Britannicus had a more early origin, than has generally been ſuppoſed. Similar papers were continued, though they aſſumed different names. In the preface to the Swediſh Intelligencer, which was publiſhed in 1632, "now the third time re-"viſed, corrected, and augment-"ed," we are aſſured, that, "very "good uſe have alſo been made of "the Weekly Currantoes, which, "if a man of judgment read, he "ſhall find very true and very "punctual: whoſoever will be "cunning in the places and per-"ſons of Germany, and would "underſtand her wars, let him "not deſpiſe Currantoes *."

Butter, the active news-monger of the times, was influenced by his intereſt to tell—

"News, old news, and ſuch news as you never heard of."

He was thus induced to convert his Weekly News into half-yearly news. And he publiſhed the German Intelligencer, in 1630; and the Swediſh Intelligencer, in 1631. He had for his compiler, William Watts, of Caius college, of whom it may be ſaid, that he was educated for other labours; and of whom Voſſius ſpeaks as *doctiſſimus et clariſſimus Watſius, qui optime de Hiſtoria meruit*. He was born near Lynn in Norfolk of I know not what parentage. After being tranſplanted from the banks of the Cam to the groves of Oxford, he travelled into ſeveral countries, ſays Anthony Wood, and became maſter of divers languages. He

* In the famous collection of pamphlets, which was compiled by Mr. Charles Tooker, there were news-papers from 1621 to 1640; there was a paper entitled The Weekly Account, from 1634 to 1655.—Theſe facts evince, what has been hitherto little underſtood, that we had regular news-papers, in England, long before the civil wars began.

was,

was, on his return, after the acceſſion of Charles I. made one of the king's chaplains, and was preferred, ſucceſſively, to livings, and dignities, in the church; and adhering manfully to the king's cauſe, he was ſequeſtered, plundered, and left without a ſhelter for his wife and children. He was carried by his courage, and reſentment, into the field, with Prince Rupert, during the hardieſt of his exploits; and died, in 1649, on board his fleet, in the harbour of Kinſale. He had an eſpecial hand, ſays Wood, in Sir Henry Spelman's gloſſary; he edited Matthew Paris; and, excluſive of other treatiſes, he publiſhed, before the civil wars of England began, ſeveral numbers of *news books*, in the Engliſh tongue (more than forty), containing the occurrences, done in the wars between the king of Sweden, and the Germans. William Watts may, therefore, be deemed the Gallo Belgicus of England.

We are now come, by a regular progreſs, to that memorable epoch, in Engliſh hiſtory,

"When civil dudgeon firſt grew high."

Each party, whether political, or religious, now hoped to gain their object, by ſpreading their pretenſions. From this ſource, the nation was ſoon over-run with tracts of every ſize, and of various denominations*; hence, the Diurnal, which continued its hebdomadal round, notwithſtanding the ridicule of Cleveland, from 1640 to 1660: and hence too the different Mercuries, which were ſent abroad, to inflame by their vehemence, or to conciliate by their wit; to convince by their argument, or to delude by their ſophiſtry. Many of them were written with extraordinary talents, and publiſhed with uncommon courage. The great writer of Mercuries was Marchmont Needham, who was born in 1620, and was educated at Oxford; who aſſumed all the colours of the chameleon, during thoſe contentious times: and being diſcharged from writing public intelligence by the council of ſtate, in March 1660, he was allowed to live at the Reſtoration, till at length ſays Anthony Wood, *this moſt ſeditious, mutable, and railing author*, died ſuddenly, in Devereux Court, in November 1678.

When hoſtilities commenced, every event, during a moſt eventful period, had its own hiſtorian, who communicated News from Hull, Truths from York, Warranted Tidings from Ireland, and Special Paſſages from ſeveral Places. Theſe were all occaſional papers. Impatient, however, as a diſtracted people were for information, the news were never diſtributed daily. The various news-papers were publiſhed weekly at firſt; but, in the progreſs of events, and in the ardour of curioſity, they were diſtributed twice, or thrice, in every week. Such

* Of thoſe tracts, his preſent Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to give a very fine collection to the Britiſh Muſeum, for the uſe of the public. From the curious ſpecimens, which it contains, I am enabled to ſtate, that previous to the ſad epoch of the murder of Charles I. there had been publiſhed more than a hundred news-papers with different titles; and from that period to the Reſtoration, there were upwards of eighty other news-papers; all which were written with various purpoſes of good, or of miſchief.

were

were the "French Intelligencer," the "Dutch Spye," the "Iriſh "Mercury," and the Scots "Dove;" the Parliament Kite," and the "Secret Owl." Mercurius Acheronticus brought them hebdomadal news from Hell, Mercurius Democritus communicated wonderful news from the World in the Moon, the Laughing Mercury gave perfect news from the Antipodes, and Mercurius Maſtix faithfully laſhed all Scouts, Mercuries, Poſts, Spies, and other Intelligencers.

Amid this clamour of contradiction, this activity of ridicule, this tumult of laughter, Scotland was not neglected. As early as 1642, there were publiſhed at London, The Scots Scout's Diſcoveries. On the 30th of September 1643, appeared The Scots Intelligencer, or the Weekly News from Scotland and the Court. On the ſame day, flew abroad The Scots Dove;

"Our Dove tells newſes from the King's,
"And of harmonious letters ſings."

In 1644, arrived weekly, Intelligence from the South Borders of Scotland. Mercurius Scoticus appeared in 1651. And, in the ſubſequent year, was given out The Theme, or Scoto Preſbyter, which, with admirable ridicule, inquires, "Whether it be not as little dif-"honourable for the Scots to be "conquered by the Engliſh, in 1652, "as to have been theſe twelve "years paſt ſlaves to the cove-"nant." All theſe papers were aſſuredly publiſhed at London, either to gratify private intereſt, or to promote public meaſures, though ſome of them are miſtakingly ſuppoſed to have been printed at Edinburgh.

It is a remarkable fact, which hiſtory was either too idle to aſcertain, or too much aſhamed to relate, that the arms of Cromwell communicated to Scotland, with other benefits, the firſt news-paper, which had ever illuminated the gloom, or diſpelled the fanaticiſm, of the North. Each army carried its own printer with it; expecting either to convince by its reaſoning, or to delude by its falſehood. King Charles carried Robert Barker with him to Newcaſtle, in 1639. And General Cromwell conveyed Chriſtopher Higgins to Leith, in 1652. When Cromwell had here eſtabliſhed a citadel, Higgins reprinted, in November 1652, what had been already publiſhed at London, a Diurnal of ſome Paſſages and Affairs, for the information of the Engliſh ſoldiers. Mercurius Politicus was firſt reprinted, at Leith, on the 26th of October 1653. The reprinting of it was transferred to Edinburgh, in November, 1654; where it continued to be publiſhed, till the 11th of April 1660: and was then reprinted, under the name of Mercurius Publicus.

The time was, however, at hand, when Scotland was to enjoy the luxury of a news-paper, which was of a Scottiſh manufacture. On the 31ſt of December, 1660, appeared, at Edinburgh, Mercurius Caledonius: Compriſing the Affairs in Agitation, in Scotland, with a Survey of foreign Intelligence *. It was a ſon of the Bi-

* The Mercurius Caledonius, No. 1. was dated from Monday the 31ſt of December 1660 to Tueſday the 8th of January, 1661. It was a ſmall 4to. of eight pages, which was printed by a Society of Stationers, at Edinburgh, and was publiſhed once a week.—The laſt paper, No. 10, was dated from March 22d, to March 28, 1661.

ſhop

ſhop of Orkney, Thomas Sydſerfe, who now thought he had the wit to amuſe, the knowledge to inſtruct, and the addreſs to captivate, the lovers of news, in Scotland. But he was only able, with all his powers, to extend his publication to ten numbers, which were very loyal, very illiterate, and very affected.

Even after the Reſtoration, the news-papers, which were publiſhed, by authority at London, continued to be reprinted at Edinburgh, though not by the hand of Higgins. The Mercurius Publicus was here republiſhed, till it was ſuperſeded by The Kingdom's Intelligencer, which ſtill retailed the news of London to the people of Scotland, at the time, that Ruddiman was born.

In the annals of our literature, and our freedom, it is a memorable fact, that there was not a news-paper printed in Scotland, at the æra of the Revolution. The few had doubtleſs inſtructed themſelves, during ſeveral years, from the London Gazette. And the many had been too buſy, during the late times, with the affairs of the other world, to be very anxious about the events of this. Yet, were the eſtates of Scotland, who aſſembled at Edinburgh, on the 14th of March, 1689, and the mobs, which outraged, on that occaſion, both law and religion, ſufficiently inflamed, without the agency of a news-paper *.

Whatever freedom, either of thought, or of printing, may have been eſtabliſhed, in Scotland, by the Revolution, ten years elapſed, before it was deemed ſafe by the public, or advantageous by an individual, to print a news-paper. The Edinburgh Gazette was at length publiſhed, by authority, in February 1699, by James Watſon, who is ſtill remembered for his Hiſtory of the Art of Printing †. Having publiſhed only forty-one numbers, he transferred, in July 1699, while Ruddiman was ſtill the ſchoolmaſter of Lawrence Kirk, the Edinburgh Gazette to John Reid, on whoſe death, it became the property of John Reid, his ſon, who continued to print the Edinburgh Gazette, even after the Union. Watſon was, for ſeveral years, the great news-monger of Scotland, as Butter had been of England, during the prior age. In February 1705, he eſtabliſhed the Edinburgh Courant, which, after he had printed fifty-five numbers, he relinquiſhed to the heirs and ſucceſſors of Andrew Anderſon, the printer to the Queen, to

* In order to ſupply that deficiency, at Edinburgh, there was publiſhed, at London, in a folio half ſheet, "An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Eſtates of "Scotland, with Licence, by Richard Chiſwell, at the Roſe and Crown, in St. Paul's "Church Yard." This paper was licenſed on the 25th of March 1689, and was continued by Richard Baldwin, till October 1690. Together with the proceedings of the convention, this paper contained news and advertiſements; and when the Revolution had been accompliſhed, in Scotland, it ſeems to have ceaſed, in England. My copy, which had belonged to the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, ends with No. 147, and is dated from Tueſday October 14th to Saturday October 18th, 1690.

† The firſt number of the Edinburgh Gazette was dated from Tueſday, February 28th, to Thurſday, March 2d, 1699; and was of courſe publiſhed every Tueſday and Thurſday, in a whole ſheet folio, with two columns in each page.

the

the city, and to the college*. Yet, Watſon ſtill hoped for profit, or honour, from printing a news-paper. And, in September 1705, he publiſhed the Scots Courant, which he continued to print, beyond the year 1718†. At the epoch of the Union, Scotland had thus ſucceſſively acquired three news-papers, which were all publiſhed at Edinburgh; but neither promoted that meaſure by their facts, nor retarded it by their declamations.

To the Gazette, the Edinburgh Courant, and the Scots Courant, were added, in October 1708, the Edinburgh Flying Poſt; in Auguſt 1709, the Scots Poſtman, which was printed by John Moncur for David Fearne; and in March 1710, the North Tatler, which was printed by John Reid for Samuel Colvil‡.

The year 1715, when Ruddiman began to print, is alſo the epoch, when the commercial city of Glaſgow firſt enjoyed the advantages of a news-paper||. The Glaſgow Courant alone was then equal to her wants. Her traffic, her opulence, and her knowledge, give circulation, at preſent, to a Journal, a Mercury, an Advertiſer, and a Courier.

The printing of a news-paper at Glaſgow did not prevent the eſtabliſhment of other news-papers at Edinburgh. In March 1714, Robert Brown began to print the Edinburgh Gazette, or Scots Poſtman, on Tueſday and Thurſday, in every week. On the 24th of December 1718, the town-council gave an excluſive privilege to James M'Ewen, ſtationer-burgeſs, to publiſh three times a week, The Edinburgh Evening Courant; "the "ſaid James being obliged, before "publication, to give ane coppie of "his print to the magiſtrates §." This paper continues to be publiſhed by David Ramſay, though I am unable to tell, whether he comply with the original condition, of giving *ane coppie of his print to the preſent magiſtrates.*

* The firſt number of the Edinburgh Courant was dated from Wedneſday the 14th to Monday the 19th of February 1705, and was publiſhed twice a week, on the Mondays and Wedneſdays. On the 1ſt of February 1710, the town-council authoriſed Mr. Daniel De-Foe to print this paper, in the place of the deceaſed Adam Bog, and prohibited any other perſon to print news under the name of the Edinburgh Courant. Yet, was this paper certainly printed by John Reid, junior, in 1709, and in 1710, after the 1ſt of February.

† The Scots Courant was alſo publiſhed twice a week, on the Mondays and Wedneſdays, in a folio half ſheet, and ſold at the Exchange Coffee-houſe.

‡ The Flying Poſt was printed by John Reids, elder and younger, three times a week, in a folio half-ſheet.—The Scots Poſtman was eſtabliſhed by permiſſion from the town-council on the 17th of Auguſt 1709; and continued to be publiſhed on Tueſdays, Thurſdays, and Saturdays.—The Tatler, No. 1, was dated from the 27th of March to the 1ſt of April 1710, and was publiſhed every Monday and Friday.

|| The Glaſgow Courant, containing the occurrences both at home and abroad, No. 1., was dated from Friday, November 11th, to Monday, November 14th, 1715. Glaſgow, printed for R. T. and ſold at the printing-houſe, in the college, and at the poſt-office. It was a ſmall 4to printed on bad paper, in one column, three times a week, for the benefit of the country, price three halfpence. The title was changed in No. 3, to The Weſt Country Intelligence; containing the news both at home and abroad. I ſaw a collection of theſe news-papers, in the College Library, at Glaſgow.

§ See the council regiſters of that date.

Manners

Manners of the Anglo-Saxons.

From Andrews's *Hiſtory of* Great Britain.

THE cuſtoms of the Anglo-Saxons (and indeed of all the Northern nations) have ſomewhat particularly worth notice in them, as far as they relate to matrimony.

A woman unmarried was always ſuppoſed to have a "mund-"bora," a guardian or owner; the virgin belonged to her father, brother, uncle, or neareſt male relation; the widow claimed the ſame protection of her dead huſband's male relatives; the lover was obliged to buy his miſtreſs of her "mund-bora" by a "mede" or gift, the amount of which was ſettled by a law, that ſet a higher price on the maid by one-half, than on the relict.

If unadviſedly the wooer wedded the lady without the mund-bora's conſent, her perſon and goods were ſtill the property of her guardian; and an injury offered to her was to be atoned for, not to the ſpouſe but to the mund-bora.

At the wedding* the mund-bora delivered up his ward to the ſpouſe, a friend of whom had previouſly avowed himſelf the guarantee of a proper and ſteady proviſion for the bride in caſe of her huſband's death. At the feaſt which followed, the uſual and large preſents of gold, arms, cloths, houſehold ſtuff, &c. made by the invited relations, formed the portion of the bride, who had beſides, from cuſtom immemorial, a right to aſk of her mate on the next fun-riſing after her nuptials a "morgæn-giſe," or morning's gift, to ſerve her as pin-money †.

We know little as to the divorces of the Anglo-Saxons, although they ſometimes appear: but the Welch laws allowed the huſband to put away his wife for behaviour tending towards adultery; while on her part ſhe might on very ſlight accounts ſeparate her concerns from his; it was a ſufficient cauſe if ſhe diſcovered that he had an ill-ſcented breath.

With reſpect to conjugal authority, our neighbours of Wales allotted deciſively, that, if the wife called her huſband opprobrious names, pulled him by the beard, ſquandered away his goods, or laſtly, if he found her in bed with another man, the injured ſpouſe might give her three blows with a ſtick on any part of her except her head. But if he ſhould beat her more ſeverely or for a leſs cauſe, he was liable to pay a conſiderable fine.

In the education of their children the Anglo-Saxons only ſought to render them dauntleſs and apt for the two moſt important occupations of their future lives, war and the chace ‡. It was a uſual

* The nuptial benediction was frequently given to the bride while ſtanding under a kind of veil, held over her head by four tall men that her bluſhes might be concealed. To a widow this ceremony was always omitted.

† We may eaſily trace here the truſtees to ſettlement; and the giving away the bride ſtill in uſe with us. To explain the morgæn-giſe, we muſt perhaps look to the cuſtoms of the Eaſt.

‡ Aſſer, the biographer of Alfred, mentions with amazement that the king made his youngeſt ſon Ethelward be taught to read, before he made him acquainted with hunting.

trial

trial of a child's courage, to place him on the ſloping roof of a building, and if without ſcreaming or terror he held faſt, he was ſtyled "a ſtout-herce" or brave boy.

Much more joyous was the ceremony of ſepulture among the Anglo-Saxons than that of marriage. The houſe, in which the body lay till its burial, was a perpetual ſcene of feaſting, ſinging, dancing, and every ſpecies of riot; this was very expenſive to the family of the deceaſed; and in the North it was carried ſo far that the corpſe was forcibly kept unburied by the viſiting friends, until they were certain that they had conſumed all the wealth the deceaſed had left behind him, in games and feſtivity. In vain did the church exert itſelf againſt ſuch enormities. The cuſtom had prevailed during the times of Paganiſm, and was much too pleaſant to be abandoned by the half-Chriſtians of the early centuries.

In private life the Anglo-Saxons were devout to the extreme of credulity; and hoſpitable to drunken extravagance; their manners were rough, but ſocial; when married, each ſide reſpected the nuptial tye, and moſt of the ladies ſuckled their own children.

Their boards were plainly but plentifully ſerved. Large joints of roaſted meat ſeem to have had the preference; ſalted victuals were much in uſe.

At table, the rank of the gueſts was ſtrictly obſerved; and by the laws of Canute, a perſon ſitting above his proper ſtation was to be pelted out of his place by bones, at the diſcretion of the company, without the privilege of taking offence.

The lady (or as the Saxons named her, "leaf-dien" the bread-giver) ſate, as now, at the upper end of the board, and diſtributed the proviſions to her gueſts.

The liquors uſed at genteel tables among the Anglo-Saxons, were wine, ale and ſpiced ale, pigment (a compoſition of wine, ſpice, and honey) morat (honey diluted with mulberry juice) and mead.

The dreſs of the Anglo-Saxon gentleman was a looſe cloak which reached down to the ancles; and over that a long robe faſtened over both ſhoulders on the middle of the breaſt, by a claſp or buckle. Theſe cloaks and robes were frequently* lined with rich furs and bordered with gold or embroidery. The ſoldiers and common people wore cloſe coats only reaching to the knee; and ſhort cloaks hanging over the left ſhoulder and buckled on the right. Theſe had ſometimes an edging of gold.

They wore caps that came to a point in front, which were probably made of the ſkins of beaſts.

The women wore a long looſe robe reaching to the ground. On their heads hung a veil which, falling down before, was gathered up at the corners, and folded round their necks and over their boſoms. The robe was uſually ornamented with a broad border, coloured or embroidered. Slippers were worn

* Wulſtan, biſhop of Worceſter, was mocked by the biſhop of Conſtance for wearing a mantle lined with the fur of lambs, and adviſed at leaſt, to adorn his cloak with cat-ſkins. "Alas! my brother," replied Wulſtan, "I have often heard of the Lamb of "God, but never of his cat." This piece of wit turned the laugh againſt the German prelate.

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by men and women of fashion; and the men had a crossed bandage in lieu of a stocking.

The hair of the men was worn long and flowing, and the beard was permitted to grow on the upper lip. 'These are not soldiers but monks,' said one of Harold's spies who had watched the Normans, and observed with surprize that they had no mustachos, and bitter were the invectives of the Anglo-Saxons against the conqueror for forcing them to abandon these favourite appendages.

Gold chains and bracelets were favourite ornaments of both sexes.

In England every free man was a soldier; and the county-meetings were stiled 'Wapontacks', from the custom of going armed to the assembly, and of touching the spear of the magistrate, to show the readiness of each man for action. Slaves were not suffered to carry arms about them; the very gift of a weapon conferred freedom.

On the other hand, the free man never stirred abroad without his spear; and laws were actually made to guard against the damages occasioned by the careless bearer.

In battle, the ceorles who formed the infantry, besides a broad-sword, and sometimes a club, bore only a round shield with an offensive pointed weapon in the center. The cavalry being composed of thanes, huscarles, and the richer ceorles, who could afford to keep horses, was better provided with defensive armour. The swords of the horsemen were long and broad; and they bore a spear in a kind of rest.

The character of the Anglo-Saxons as to personal courage, varied according to the behaviour of their leaders. Under Egbert, Alfred, and his immediate successors, they maintained the credit which their German ancestors had gained in battle. Cowed by the unmanly bigotry of Edgar and Ethelred the Unready, they shrunk into the meanest degree of cowardice and treachery; but when headed by Edmund Ironside and Harold II., they fought, although not with success, with the most undaunted bravery.

An Account of the Game of Chess, as played by the Chinese; *in a Letter from* Eyles Irwin, *Esq. to the Right Hon. the Earl of* Charlemont, *P. R. I. A. from the Irish Transactions.*

My Lord,

I consider no apology necessary for this intrusion on the public situation in which your talents and reputation have placed you. Whatever tends to the accession of knowledge, or the illustration of antiquity, cannot prove unacceptable to your lordship, when adding a mite to the Transactions of the academy which is distinguished by your superintendence.

Why I have addressed a subject of this nature to the Irish academy, when there is a society existing, who seems to have a title to it from its name—or why the first offering of my researches should proceed from the remote empire of China, are, I trust, questions that are not necessary for me to resolve. If a patriotic wish to promote the spirit of investigation in my country, by the exertion of my mean abilities, be not denied me, I am indifferent to censure or praise on this occasion.

I muſt premiſe to your lordſhip, that, during a long reſidence in the Eaſt Indies, where the game of Cheſs is generally ſuppoſed to have originated, I had often heard of its exiſtence in China, though on a different footing, as well in reſpect to the powers of the king, as to the aſpect of the field of battle. The Bramins, who excel in this game, and with whom I uſed frequently to play for improvement, had a tradition of this nature, which is a farther argument in behalf of what I am about to advance. But, with all my enquiries from perſons who had been there, and from the publications relative to China, I could never obtain any confirmation of the game being ever known in the country, except that Chambers, in his Dictionary, mentions it to be the favourite paſtime of the ladies, but quotes no authority for the aſſertion.

Some unlooked-for circumſtances in the courſe of the laſt year at length brought me to the quarter, which I had once wiſhed, but never expected, to viſit. I need not ſay, that among other objects of curioſity, I was eager to aſcertain the reality of the Bramins ſtory. And if the difficulty of acquiring information here, not more from the want of interpreters, than the jealouſy of the government, were not well known in Europe, I ſhould be aſhamed to tell your lordſhip that I deſpaired of ſucceſs for ſome time. A young Mandarin, however, of the profeſſion of arms, having an inquiſitive turn, was my frequent viſitor; and, what no queſtions could have drawn from him, the accidental ſight of an Engliſh cheſs-board effected. He told me, that the Chineſe had a game of the ſame nature; and, on his ſpecifying a difference in the pieces and board, I perceived, with joy, that I had diſcovered the deſideratum of which I had been ſo long in ſearch. The very next day my Mandarin brought me the board and equipage; and I found, that the Bramins were neither miſtaken touching the board, which has a river in the middle to divide the contending parties, nor in the powers of the king, who is entrenched in a fort, and moves only in that ſpace, in every direction. But what I did not before hear, nor do I believe is known out of this country, there are two pieces, whoſe movements are diſtinct from any in the Indian or European game. The Mandarin, which anſwers to our biſhop, in his ſtation and ſidelong courſe, cannot, through age, croſs the river; and a rocket-boy, ſtill uſed in the Indian armies, who is ſtationed between the lines of each party, acts literally with the motion of the rocket, by vaulting over a man, and taking his adverſary at the other end of the board. Except that the king has his two ſons to ſupport him, inſtead of a queen, the game, in other reſpects, is like ours.

As the young man who had diſcovered this to me was of a communicative and obliging diſpoſition, and was at this time purſuing his ſtudies in the college of Canton, I requeſted the favour of him to conſult ſuch ancient books as might give ſome inſight into the period of the introduction of Cheſs into China; to confirm, if poſſible, the idea that ſtruck me of its having originated here. The acknowledged antiquity of this empire, the unchangeable ſtate of her cuſ-

toms and manners, beyond that of any other nation in the world; and more efpecially the fimplicity of the game itfelf, when compared to its compafs and variety in other parts, appeared to give a colour to my belief. That I was not difappointed in the event, I have no doubt will be allowed, on the perufal of the tranflation of a manufcript extract, which my friend Tinqua brought me, in compliance with my defire; and which, accompanied by the Chinefe manufcript, goes under cover to your lordfhip. As the Mandarin folemnly affured me that he took it from the work quoted, and the tranflation has been as accurately made as poffible, I have no hefitatation to deliver the papers as authentic.

In the purfuit of one curiofity I flatter myfelf that I have ftumbled by accident on another, and have gone fome length to reftore to the Chinefe the invention of gunpowder, fo long difputed with them by the Europeans; but which the evidence on their chefs-board, in the action of the rocket, feems to eftablifh beyond a doubt. The inftitution of the game is likewife difcovered to form the principal æra in the Chinefe hiftory; fince, by the conqueft of Shenfi, the kingdom was firft connected in its prefent form, and the monarch aflumed the title of emperor, as may be feen in the extract which I have obtained from their annals.

From thefe premifes I have therefore ventured to make the following inferences:—That the game of Chefs is probably of Chinefe origin. That the confined fituation and powers of the king, refembling thofe of a monarch in the earlier parts of the world, countenance this fuppofition; and that, as it travelled weftward, and defcended to later times, the fovereign prerogative extended itfelf, until it became unlimited, as in our ftate of the game. That the agency of the princes, in lieu of the queen, befpeaks forcibly the nature of the Chinefe cuftoms, which exclude females from all power or influence whatever; which princes, in its paffage through Perfia, were changed into a fingle vizier, or minifter of ftate, with the enlarged portion of delegated authority that exifts there; inftead of whom, the European nations, with their ufual gallantry, adopted a queen on their board*. That the river between the parties is expreffive of the general face of this country, where a battle could hardly be fought without encountering an interruption of this kind, which the foldier was here taught to overcome; but that, on the introduction of the game into Perfia, the board changed with the dry nature of the region, and the conteft was decided on *terra firma*. And, laftly, that in no account of the origin of Chefs, that I have read, has the tale been fo characteriftic or conliftent as that which I have the honour to offer to the Irifh academy. With the Indians, it was defigned by a Bramin, to cure the melancholy of the daughter of a Rajah. With the Perfians, my memory does not affift me to trace the fable; though, if it

* That on the acquifition of fo ftrong a piece as the vizier, the Paõ were fuppreffed, this as poffeffing powers unintelligible, at that time, to other nations; and three pawns added, in conlequence, to make up the number of men: and that as difcipline improved, the lines, which are ftraggling on the Chinefe board, might have been clofed on ours.

were more to the purpoſe, I think I ſhould have retained it. But, with the Chineſe, it was invented by an experienced ſoldier, on the principles of war. Not to diſpel love-ſick vapours, or inſtruct a female in a ſcience that could neither benefit nor inform her; but to quiet the murmurs of a diſcontented ſoldiery; to employ their vacant hours in leſſons on the military art, and to cheriſh the ſpirit of conqueſt in the boſom of winter quarters. Its age is traced by them on record near two centuries before the Chriſtian æra; and among the numerous claims for this noble invention, that of the Chineſe, who call it, by way of diſtinction, Chong Kè, or, The Royal Game, appears alone to be indiſputable.

I have the honour to remain,
My lord,
Your lordſhip's obedient
Humble ſervant,
EYLES IRWIN.

Canton, March 14, 1793.

Tranſlation of an Extract from the Concum, or Chineſe *Annals, reſpecting the Invention of the Game of Cheſs, delivered to me by* Tinqua, *a Soldier Mandarin, of the Province of* Fokien.

THREE hundred and ſeventy-nine years after the time of Confucius, or one thouſand nine hundred and ſixty-five years ago, Hung Cochu, king of Kiangnan, ſent an expedition into the Shenſi country, under the command of a Mandarin, called Hanſing, to conquer it. After one ſucceſsful campaign, the ſoldiers were put into winter-quarters; where finding the weather much colder than what they had been accuſtomed to, and being alſo deprived of their wives and families, the army, in general, became impatient of their ſituation, and clamorous to return home. Hanſing, upon this, revolved in his mind the bad conſequences of complying with their wiſhes. The neceſſity of ſoothing his troops, and reconciling them to their poſition, appeared urgent, in order to finiſh his operations in the enſuing year. He was a man of genius, as well as a good ſcholar; and having contemplated ſome time on the ſubject, he invented the game of Cheſs, as well for an amuſement to his men in their vacant hours, as to inflame their military ardour, the game being wholly founded on the principles of war. The ſtratagem ſucceeded to his wiſh. The ſoldiery were delighted with the game; and forgot, in their daily conteſts for victory, the inconveniencies of their poſt. In the ſpring the general took the field again; and, in a few months, added the rich country of Shenſi to the kingdom of Kiangnan, by the defeat and capture of its king, Choupayuen *, a famous warrior among the Chineſe. On this conqueſt Hung Cochu aſſumed the title of emperor, and Choupayuen put an end to his own life in deſpair.

* The ſame romantic tales are circulated of the proweſs of Choupayuen as of our celebrated Guy Earl of Warwick.

Explanation

Explanation of the Position, Powers, and Motives of the Pieces on the Chinese *Chess-board, or Chong Kè (royal game).*

AS there are nine pieces instead of eight, to occupy the rear rank, they stand on the lines between, and not within, the squares. The game is consequently played on the lines.

The King, or Chong, stands in the middle line of this row. His moves resemble those of our king, but are confined to the fortress marked out for him.

The two Princes, or Sou, stand on each side of him, and have equal powers and limits.

The Mandarins, or Tchong, answer to our bishops, and have the same moves, except that they cannot cross the water or white space in the middle of the board to annoy the enemy, but stand on the defensive.

The Knights, or rather Horses, called Mãã, stand and move like ours in every respect.

The War-chariots, or Tchè, resemble our rooks or castles.

The Rocket-boys, or Paö, are pieces whose motions and powers were unknown to us. They act with the direction of a rocket, and can take none of their adversary's men that have not a piece or pawn intervening. To defend your men from this attack it is necessary to open the line between, either to take off the check on the King, or to save a man from being captured by the Paö. Their operation is, otherwise, like that of the rook. Their stations are marked between the pieces and pawns.

The five Pawns, or Ping, make up the number of the men equal to that of our board. Instead of taking sideways, like ours, they have the rook's motion, except that it is limited to one step, and is not retrograde. Another important point, in which the Ping differs from ours, is, that they continue in *statu quo*, after reaching their adversary's head-quarters. It will appear, however, that the Chinese pieces far exceed the proportion of ours; which occasions the whole force of the contest to fall on them, and thereby precludes the beauty and variety of our game, when reduced to a struggle between the pawns, who are capable of the highest promotion, and often change the fortune of the day. The posts of the Ping are marked in front.

EYLES IRWIN.

The History of Signs.

From the Looker-on.

THOUGH I am well convinced that sign-posts are no modern invention, but of considerable antiquity, yet I believe that the Bush, which still keeps its place at country wakes, and which used to be hung up at the door of almost every cottage, to signify that the owner had tapped a fresh barrel of beer, was the indication generally adopted in very early times. I have never read the Greek or Roman writings in a view to this object, but have no doubt of their existence among them. I have somewhere seen *ad bubula capita* at the sign of the bull's head; and I recollect a passage in Quintilian to this purpose, *Tabernæ erant circa forum. ac scutum illud signi gratiâ positum*—'There were shops about

'the market-place, and that ſhield 'was put up by way of ſign.' Your extenſive reading may perhaps furniſh you with many more paſſages that bear this way. I ſhall engage no further in this deep part of the enquiry, but ſhall begin with the creation of thoſe monſtrous productions which ſign-poſt painters have been accuſed of introducing, but which in reality are to be charged to the account of the heralds. The Golden Griffin, the Green Lion, the Black Swan, and the Blue Boar, are nothing more than a griffin, or; a lion, vert; a ſwan, ſable; and a boar, azure; the ſimple heraldic diſtinction of the neighbouring Lord Paramount in the feudal times, and adopted as a ſign by ſuch of his tenants as opened houſes for the reception of the public. The ſame ſyſtem ſtill prevails in every part of the kingdom; and an attentive traveller, who is converſant with heraldry, may know what families are the principal proprietors of the eſtates over which he paſſes, without aſking the queſtion. Thus, in North Wales, the Upright Hand, and the Eagles, will inform him whether he is upon the territories of the Middeltons or the Wynnes. The Eagle and Child, commonly called, in Lancaſhire, the Bird and Baby, ſerves in like manner to point out the eſtates of the Earl of Derby, who bears that device for his creſt.

When there is occaſion to paint over again an heraldic ſign, the ſcientific part being little attended to, it frequently happens, that only the principal component parts of the arms are retained upon the new board; to which circumſtance we owe the Three Tuns, the Three Goats, the Three Swans, the Three Pretty Pigs, and innumerable trios of the ſame kind. The moſt reſpectable claſs of ſigns is that of ſuch as relate to hiſtorical ſubjects; ſome of theſe record minute facts which might otherwiſe have been loſt to poſterity. I remember to have ſeen at Sherſton in Wiltſhire, a ſign called the Rattlebones: upon making enquiry into the ſignification of ſo obſcure a name, which was not at all explained by a half-obliterated painting on the ſign-poſt, I learned that it was intended to commemorate a Britiſh hero, who, in fighting againſt the Danes, received a dreadful wound in the abdomen, and who, in this critical ſituation, by holding a tile againſt the wound, preſerved his own life till he found means to take away that of his enemy. The claſſical ſign of the Pick-my-toe relates to the well-known ſtory of the Roman, who would not ſtop to pick a thorn out of his foot before he had delivered his meſſage. The Roſe and Crown ſtill reminds us of the badges of the Houſes of York and Lancaſter. The William of Walworth, repreſented in the act of arreſting Wat Tyler, is very properly choſen as a ſign at the place whence he took his name. The reſtoration of Charles the Second introduced among us the common ſign of the Royal Oak; and to the Houſe of Hanover we owe the troops of White Horſes which pranced upon the ſign-poſts of our Whig inn-keepers. I ſuſpect that the Hole in the Wall alludes to ſome obſcure hiſtorical fact.

Sacred ſtory has not been neglected by theſe hiſtorical ſign-painters; nor have they forgotten the myſterious character of the original in their unintelligible mode

of

of repreſentation. In Chandos-ſtreet, a dragon ſupporting a bell, inſinuates the ſtory of Bell and the Dragon. The Two Spies, the Baptiſt's Head, the Noah's Ark, and the Jacob's Well, ſtill beſpeak a certain orthodoxy in the landlord, which, by an eaſy tranſition, we carry to his Ale and October. Among the few ſigns which propriety has ſuggeſted, I have remarked a portrait of Simon the Tanner of Joppa, at Bermondſey, and Eliſha's Raven at a butcher's ſhop in the Borough, with a mutton-chop in its mouth. The King or Queen's head, on the ſign-poſt of an inn, affords a pretty ſure criterion by which we may gueſs the date of its original eſtabliſhment, as the reigning monarch always *lends his countenance* upon theſe occaſions. Sometimes indeed, on freſh painting the ſign, the old king is depoſed, and a new monarch reigns in his ſtead; but no landlord that feels for the antiquity of his houſe will ſuffer this revolution to take place. Henry the Eighth is ſtill to be ſeen at Lambeth; and conſidering his hoſt-like appearance, I wonder more freedoms have not been taken with his perſon in this way. A Queen Elizabeth is as ſcarce as an Otho. There are but few Charles's, perhaps becauſe the head of a Stuart was thought an uncertain tenure: a greater proportion of King Williams, who is properly enough exhibited where the liquor of his country is ſold; more of Queen Anne than of George the Firſt; and ſeveral of the late King. A royal progreſs produces a number of new king's heads; on theſe occaſions the painters work faſter than the horſes travel; and I have known his Majeſty's noſe and chin get the ſtart of him by a full quarter of a mile. Biographical ſigns frequently occur in the cities of London and Weſtminſter; and they are generally placed with due regard to the reſidence or place of reſort of the perſons whom they repreſent—as the Eſſex Head, the Sir John Falſtaff, the Sir Paul Pindar, the Whittington and his Cat, and many more of the ſame kind. A practice that will enable our Engliſh biographers to decide between contending cities, in naming the birth-place of an illuſtrious character.

The devices of our tradeſmen might in general bear a much ſtronger relation than they do to their ſeveral occupations: ſome indeed are leſs unhappy than others. The peacock under a rainbow, is well enough choſen for a ſilk-dyer; the wheat-ſheaf is a good emblem for a corn-chandler; and the ham and chicken are not much amiſs for a cook's ſhop. The naked boy with a pair of breeches in his hand, in Monmouth-ſtreet, makes a more forcible appeal to us than the unwearied courteſy of the bowing beggar-prince himſelf, ſtriding from one frontier to the other of his ragged empire. The head of Sir Walter Raleigh very properly overlooks the door of a dealer in tobacco, as we owe the introduction of the plant to that illuſtrious Admiral. Many tradeſmen are contented with the repreſentation of the article in which they deal; and this would be perfectly unexceptionable, were it not that the mercantile principle of turning every thing to money had induced them to cover their ſigns with gold. Every object is ſeen by them through this jaundiced me-

dium; and we have golden boots, golden periwigs, golden razors, golden hams, and golden fugar-loaves. As for the fifh, they all look as if they came out of Pactolus's ftream. The cook in Rag-fair who hangs out every morning a piece of raw beef, has hit upon a very natural mode of announcing his occupation; while the Great A and the Bouncing B, at a printer's door, is perfectly in *character*.

The Bee-hive, as emblematical of induftry, might be adopted by any trade; but I obferve it is moft frequently ufed by the linen-drapers. The Adam and Eve too is a favourite with them, being intended to exhibit the contraft between the vegetable drapery of our firft anceftors, and the varied decorations of a modern drawing-room. The ingenuity of the fifterhood, in the fabrication of lace, and the ornamental articles of female attire, may account for the fign of the Three Nuns at a milliner's fhop; and I find great fault with Nun and Crucifix Milliners in York-ftreet, Covent-garden, for fuffering a device fo fuited to their names and profeffions to efcape them. If thefe ladies, on a matter of fuch moment, thought it neceffary to be furnifhed with a precedent, I could have fupplied them with one on the grave authority of Batt. Pigeon, of famous memory; who, in the adoption of three pigeons for his fign, fhewed it to be his opinion that a coincidence of name was a fufficient apology. Why a haberdafher fhould live at the Hen and Chickens, I cannot imagine, or a tea-dealer at the fign of the Grafshopper; unlefs we fuppofe a change of tenants, and a tranfition from one bufinefs to another in the fame fhop, without regard to the confequent anomaly of the figns: indeed, unlefs for this way of accounting for it, the adoption of figns has fometimes fuch little foundation, that it would look almoft like Egyptian idolatry.

We fhould be at a lofs to guefs at the meaning of the leathern doublet at a great iron foundery in the Borough, were we not informed that it was placed there by the firft inftitutor of the manufacture, who, from a very humble beginning, rofe to diftinguifhed opulence, as a repreſentation of the identical doublet which he wore when he firft came up to the metropolis. The Z's, an ancient fign at grocers fhops, look very enigmatical; but I am told they allude to the word zinziber, or ginger, and intimated the fale of that article. Many have been the conjectures about the fign of the Good Woman, which is ufed by the colour-men; and very undeferved jokes have been paffed upon the fair fex on this occafion. Were I to hazard an opinion upon fo delicate a fubject, it would be, that at the time when every trade and occupation had its patron-faint, male or female, the colour-men fixed upon fome good woman who had loft her head by an accident not uncommon in the days of fainthip. The origin and meaning of the barber's pole has afforded alfo a great field for conjecture: it is generally, however, fuppofed to allude to the joint occupation which they formerly profeffed; and its twifted ornament has been thought to repreſent the fillet which they ufed in bleeding.

I cannot quit thefe gentlemen, without beftowing upon them the praife they fo richly deferve for the moderation of their terms, and

their ſtedfaſt adherence to their original price, while the charges for every other article in life are ſo faſt improving upon us. This moderation is particularly commendable in men of genius and literature; and under this head I introduce to your notice Mr. Puff, who has inſcribed the following couplet over the entrance of an alley in Shoreditch:

Up this Court lives A. Puff,
Shaves for a penny, and thinks it A. Nuff.

The junction of many animals, utenſils, &c. upon the ſame ſign, may be accounted for in different ways. Some appear to be put together merely for the ſake of *alliteration*, as the Lamb and Lark, and the Gooſe and Gridiron; a figure ſo degraded by the abuſe of it in modern poetry, that at preſent it can hardly be diſhonoured by any application. Others have a ſort of connection, as the Fox and Gooſe, the Dog and Duck, and the Ship and Star. The Bolt and Tun I take to have been a rebus upon the owner's name; and many others, it is probable, may be accounted for in the ſame manner. The Cock and the Bottle has, I imagine, ſome connection with the tranſactions of the Cockpit. The Cat and Wheel is a corruption of Catherine Wheel. The Bull and Mouth, and the Bull and Gate, are well known to be corrupted from Boulogne Gate and Mouth, very faſhionable ſigns at the time of taking that city from the French. Many of theſe junctions, otherwiſe very unaccountable, have been occaſioned by the removal of landlords from one inn to another, who, unable to forget their local attachments, have frequently incorporated their new ſign with that of their old habitation, however monſtrous the union might be. Some ſuch idea as this will help us to account for the good underſtanding that ſubſiſts in this new creation between beings which have ſeldom or never met in any other; as, the Lamb and Dolphin, the George and Blue Boar, the Cock and Roſe, the Black Lion and Three Bee-hives, and the Blue Mare and Magpie. Of this ſort likewiſe is the celebrated Bell Savage inn on Ludgate-hill, the moſt ancient perhaps in the city of London. This ſign has been the ſubject of various conjectures, many of them ingenious, but all erroneous. By ſome it is attributed to a lady of the name of Arabella Savage; others ſuppoſe it to allude to an old romance, and to be a corruption of *La Belle Sauvage*. The ſign formerly repreſented a ſavage man ſtanding by a bell; and the truth is, that it aroſe from an union of two inns which bore theſe reſpective ſigns. This piece of information I gained from an ancient record, in which it is deſcribed as the Savage Inn, *alias* the Bell upon the Hoop. There is reaſon for ſuppoſing that moſt ſigns conſiſted formerly of carved repreſentations fixed upon a hoop; and ſeveral old books mention the Crown upon the Hoop, the Bunch of Grapes upon the Hoop, the Mitre upon the Hoop, and the Angel upon the Hoop. A ſign of this nature is ſtill preſerved in Newport-ſtreet, and is a carved repreſentation of a bunch of grapes hanging within a hoop. The Cock on the Hoop may be ſeen alſo in Holborn, painted on a board, to which perhaps it was tranſferred on the removal of ſign-poſts. It is probable alſo, that this ſign

ſign may have given riſe to the phraſe of 'Cock a Hoop.' The Mitre near the Temple is ſtill called according to the old manner of ſpelling, 'The Hope and Mitre;' though ſome of your readers will be diſpoſed to put a more literal conſtruction upon this ſign, and judge the connection to be by no means unnatural.

When a tradeſman abandons his original calling, and enters into what is termed the public line, he frequently engrafts on the ſign ſome alluſion to his old occupation; a circumſtance which has likewiſe proved a ſource of many ill-ſorted couples, as the Magpie and Horſeſhoe, the Angel and Sugar-loaf, the Ship and Artichoke.

A ſign is ſometimes an indication of the favourite purſuits and amuſements of the landlord, or of the prevalent ſports for many miles round: thus the Ring of Bells, the Cricket-players, and ſuch like diverſions, are very common upon every road. The Hand and Flower prevails among florifts; though I have ſeen this idea greatly improved upon, in the late King's reign, by an eminent gardener, who, being poſſeſſed of a beautiful carnation called after the Queen, procured an accurate portrait of it, and placing it at his door as a ſign, wrote underneath, 'My Queen Caroline.'

Among ſigns diſtinguiſhed by their ſingularity, may be reckoned the Tumble-down-Dick, in the Borough; the Old Taberd Inn, in the ſame place, celebrated in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales; the Two Sneezing Cats, in Houndſditch; and the Four Winds. The Bag of Nails, at Pimlico, formerly called the Devil and Bag of Nails, has been ſuppoſed to have been a repreſentation of Pan and the Bacchanalians. 'I have ſeen a book, however, wherein it is called the Blackamoor and the Woolpack, *alias* the Devil and Bag of Nails. The Labour-in-vain, or the Devil in a Tub, at Canterbury, alludes to the old fable of waſhing the Blackamoor white. The celebrated Devil Tavern, near Temple-bar, now no more, was an inſtance of a remarkable miſnomer: the ſign, properly ſpeaking, was that of St. Dunſtan, the patron of the neighbouring church, and repreſented him in the act of performing that ſignal exploit of pulling the Devil by the noſe with a huge pair of tongs. Notwithſtanding this humiliating condition of his infernal Majeſty, by a natural obliquity in our minds, the ſign was unhandſomely transferred from the Saint to the Devil, from whom the tavern has been called time out of mind.

The Checquer, ſo common at the door of a public-houſe, is ſaid to have been intended formerly as an intimation that draught-boards were kept within for the entertainment of the cuſtomers. The colours of the Checquer uſed to be red and white, whence the houſes ſo diſtinguiſhed were called red houſes; and they were at length ſo numerous, that a red houſe became a general name for a tavern, and is uſed as ſuch in many of the old plays. I muſt diſagree with thoſe who ſuppoſe the Checquer to refer to the arms of a Duke of Norfolk, who had formerly the profits of a duty upon ale-houſes; for the arms alluded to, are thoſe of Maltravers, quartered only by the Dukes of Norfolk, which are checquers *or* and *azure*, or blue and gold, colours

colours which do not occur at the checquer inn.

The ſolemn myſtical ſign of the World's End is variouſly adumbrated. Sometimes the emblem is a man and a woman walking arm-in-arm, with the following lines underneath:

> I'll go with my friend
> To the world's end.

Sometimes it is the figure of a globe on fire, as at Chelſea. The various ſigns of the Salutation exhibit divers ſpecimens of dreſs and manners, according to their dates. Sometimes we behold two fine gentlemen, of the laſt century, equipped *en cavalier*, and exchanging moſt courteous ſalutes, to the effect of which their horſes conſpire by their caperings and curvettings. Sometimes two antiquated beaux, with long buckramed accoutrements and flowing perukes, joining hands, and bowing almoſt to the ground. The 'Welcome Rodney to the Prince of Wales,' at Lambeth, is the only modern ſalutation I recollect.

We are put in mind of a ſtriking period of our hiſtory by the Saracen's Head. The rough manner in which that people treated our cruſaders, and the ſounding tales that were told of them by thoſe who returned from engaging with them to their own country, gave this ſign the formidable appearance it wears to this day.

The local hiſtory which ſigns afford us is not to be deſpiſed. The Mitre at Lambeth, and the Hop-Pole at Worceſter, are ſpecimens of this ſort. Biſhop Blaiſe, the patron of the wool-combers, adorns a ſign in moſt towns which have any connection with the woollen manufacture. The Dog and Bear, in the Borough, perpetuates the memory of the Bear-Garden there; and Simon the Tanner, as I have ſaid before, juſtly holds a place among the brethren of that myſtery at Bermondſey.

It is pleaſant enough to remark the conteſts about the point of originality between neighbouring ſigns of the ſame deſcription. Some years ago the diſputes ran very high between the Magpies on the Windſor road; and the pride of antiquity had nearly carried back their claims to the Ark itſelf. We had accordingly the Magpie, the Old Magpie, and the Old Original Magpie.

Sign-poſt poetry is much too extenſive a field for me to enter upon in this place; but I almoſt wonder that the prevailing taſte for ſcraps and collections of all ſorts, has not ſet ſome of my worthy contemporaries to work upon theſe ſpecimens. I think admirers in this age might be found for them; and it is evident how fruitful ſuch a compilation would be in ſubjects for the painters and engravers of the day, who are graſping at every thing that can be embodied and repreſented, and laying the whole world under contribution to their arts. The young ſtudent, who ſets out from the Bull Inn, in Holborn, to travel to Oxford, may remark his approach to the ſeat of the Muſes, in the following models of alehouſe poetry.

> Fine purl rare o,
> Fit for a hero.
> If not in haſte,
> Step in and taſte.

> I am a Fox, you plainly ſee;
> There is no harm can come of me;
> My Maſter he has plac'd me here,
> To let you know he ſells good beer.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

On the Fallacy of the pretended Miracles oppoſed by Mr. Hume *to thoſe related in the New Teſtament.*

[*From* Paley's *View of the Evidences of Chriſtianity.*]

BUT they, with whom we argue, have undoubtedly a right to ſelect their own examples. The inſtances with which Mr. Hume has choſen to confront the miracles of the New Teſtament, and which, therefore, we are entitled to regard as the ſtrongeſt which the hiſtory of the world could ſupply to the enquiries of a very acute and learned adverſary, are the three following:

I. The cure of a blind and of a lame man at Alexandria, by the emperor Veſpaſian, as related by Tacitus;

II. The reſtoration of the limb of an attendant in a Spaniſh church, as told by Cardinal de Retz; and,

III. The cures ſaid to be performed at the tomb of the abbé Paris, in the early part of the preſent century.

I. The narrative of Tacitus is delivered in theſe terms: "One of the common people of Alexandria, known to be diſeaſed in his eyes, by the admonition of the god Serapis, whom that ſuperſtitious nation worſhip above all other gods, proſtrated himſelf before the emperor, earneſtly imploring from him a remedy for his blindneſs, and entreating that he would deign to anoint with his ſpittle his cheeks and the balls of his eyes. Another, diſeaſed in his hand, requeſted, by the admonition of the ſame god, that he might be touched by the foot of the emperor. Veſpaſian at firſt derided and deſpiſed their application; afterwards, when they continued to urge their petitions, he ſometimes appeared to dread the imputation of vanity; at other times, by the earneſt ſupplication of the patients, and the perſuaſion of his flatterers, to be induced to hope for ſucceſs. At length he commanded an enquiry to be made by the phyſicians, whether ſuch a blindneſs and debility were vincible by human aid. The report of the phyſicians contained various points; that in the one the power of viſion was not deſtroyed, but would return if the obſtacles were removed; that in the other, the diſeaſed joints might be reſtored, if a healing power were applied; that it was, perhaps, agreeable to the gods to do this; that the emperor was elected by divine aſſiſtance; laſtly, that the credit

credit of the ſucceſs would be the emperor's, the ridicule of the diſappointment would fall upon the patients. Veſpaſian, believing that every thing was in the power of his fortune, and that nothing was any longer incredible, whilſt the multitude, which ſtood by, eagerly expected the event, with a countenance expreſſive of joy, executed what he was deſired to do. Immediately the hand was reſtored to its uſe, and light returned to the blind man. They who were preſent, relate both theſe cures, even at this time, when there is nothing to be gained by lying *."

Now, though Tacitus wrote this account twenty-ſeven years after the miracle is ſaid to have been performed, and wrote at Rome of what paſſed at Alexandria, and wrote alſo from report: and although it does not appear that he had examined the ſtory, or that he believed it but rather the contrary), yet I think his teſtimony ſufficient to prove that ſuch a tranſaction took place; by which I mean, that the two men in queſtion did apply to Veſpaſian; that Veſpaſian did touch the diſeaſed in the manner related; and that a cure was reported to have followed the operation. But the affair labours under a ſtrong and juſt ſuſpicion, that the whole of it was a concerted impoſture brought about by colluſion between the patients, the phyſician, and the emperor. This ſolution is probable, becauſe there was every thing to ſuggeſt, and every thing to facilitate ſuch a ſcheme. The miracle was calculated to confer honour upon the emperor, and upon the god Serapis. It was achieved in the midſt of the emperor's flatterers and followers; in a city, and amongſt a populace, beforehand devoted to his intereſt, and to the worſhip of the god; where it would have been treaſon and blaſphemy together, to have contradicted the fame of the cure, or even to have queſtioned it. And what is very obſervable in the account is, that the report of the phyſicians is juſt ſuch a report as would have been made of a caſe, in which no external marks of the diſeaſe exiſted, and which, conſequently, was capable of being eaſily counterfeited, viz. that in the firſt of the patients the organs of viſion were not deſtroyed, that the weakneſs of the ſecond was in his joints. The ſtrongeſt circumſtance in Tacitus's narration is, that the firſt patient was "*notus* tabe oculorum," remarked or notorious for the diſeaſe in his eyes. But this was a circumſtance which might have found its way into the ſtory in its progreſs from a diſtant country, and during an interval of thirty years; or it might be true that the malady of the eyes was notorious, yet that the nature and degree of the diſeaſe had never been aſcertained; a caſe by no means uncommon. The emperor's reſerve was eaſily affected; or it is poſſible he might not be in the ſecret. There does not ſeem to be much weight in the obſervation of Tacitus, that they who were preſent, continued even then to relate the ſtory when there was nothing to be gained by the lie. It only proves, that thoſe

* Tacit. Hiſt. lib. iv.

who

who had told the ſtory for many years, perſiſted in it. The ſtate of mind of the witneſſes and ſpectators *at the time*, is the point to be attended to. Still leſs is there of pertinency in Mr. Hume's eulogium on the cautious and penetrating genius of the hiſtorian; for, it does not appear that the hiſtorian believed it. The terms in which he ſpeaks of Serapis, the deity to whoſe interpoſition the miracle was attributed, ſcarcely ſuffer us to ſuppoſe that Tacitus thought the miracle to be real, "by the "admonition of the god Serapis, "whom that ſuperſtitious nation "(dedita ſuperſtitionibus gens) "worſhip above all other gods." To have brought this ſuppoſed miracle within the limits of compariſon with the miracles of Chriſt, it ought te have appeared, that a perſon of a low and private ſtation, in the midſt of enemies, with the whole power of the country oppoſing him, with every one around him prejudiced or intereſted againſt his claims and character, pretended to perform theſe cures; and required the ſpectators, upon the ſtrength of what they ſaw, to give up their firmeſt hopes and opinions, and follow *him* through a life of trial and danger; that many were ſo moved, as to obey his call, at the expence, both of every notion in which they had been brought up, and of their eaſe, ſafety, and reputation; and that by theſe beginnings, a change was produced in the world, the effects of which remain to this day; a caſe, both in its circumſtances and conſequences, very unlike any thing we find in Tacitus's relation.

2. The ſtory taken from the Memoirs of Cardinal de Retz, which is the ſecond example alleged by Mr. Hume, is this: "In "the church of Saragoſſa in Spain, "the canons ſhewed me a man "whoſe buſineſs it was to light the "lamps; telling me, that he had "been ſeveral years at the gate "with one leg only. I ſaw him "with two *."

It is ſtated by Mr. Hume, that the Cardinal, who relates this ſtory, did not believe it: and it no where appears that he either examined the limb, or aſked the patient, or indeed any one, a ſingle queſtion about the matter. An artificial leg, wrought with art, would be ſufficient, in a place where no ſuch contrivance had ever before been heard of, to give origin and currency to the report. The eccleſiaſtics of the place would, it is probable, favour the ſtory, inaſmuch as it advanced the honour of their image and church. And if *they* patronized it, no other perſon at Saragoſſa, in the middle of the laſt century, would care to diſpute it. The ſtory likewiſe coincided, not leſs with the wiſhes and preconceptions of the people, than with the intereſts of their eccleſiaſtical rulers: ſo that there was prejudice backed by authority, and both operating upon extreme ignorance, to account for the ſucceſs of the impoſture. If, as I have ſuggeſted, the contrivance of an artificial limb was then new, it would not occur to the Cardinal himſelf to ſuſpect it; eſpecially under the careleſsneſs of

* Liv. iv. A. D. 1654.

mind

mind with which he heard the tale, and the little inclination he felt to ſcrutinize or expoſe its fallacy.

3. The miracles related to have been wrought at the tomb of the abbé Paris, admit in general of this ſolution. The patients who frequented the tomb, were ſo affected by their devotion, their expectation, the place, the ſolemnity, and, above all, by the ſympathy of the ſurrounding multitude, that many of them were thrown into violent convulſions, which convulſions in certain inſtances, produced a removal of diſorders depending upon obſtruction. We ſhall, at this day, have the leſs difficulty in admitting the above account, becauſe it is the very ſame thing as hath lately been experienced in the operations of animal magnetiſm; and the report of the French phyſicians upon that myſterious remedy is very applicable to the preſent conſideration, viz. that the pretenders to the art, by working upon the imaginations of their patients, were frequently able to produce convulſions; that convulſions ſo produced, are amongſt the moſt powerful, but, at the ſame time, moſt uncertain and unmanageable applications to the human frame, which can be employed.

Circumſtances, which indicate this explication in the caſe of the Pariſian miracles, are the following:

1. They were *tentative*. Out of many thouſand ſick, infirm, and diſeaſed perſons, who reſorted to the tomb, the profeſſed hiſtory of the miracles contains only nine cures.

2. The convulſions at the tomb are admitted.

3. The diſeaſes were, for the moſt part, of that ſort which depends upon inaction and obſtruction, as dropſies, palſies, and ſome tumours.

4. The cures were gradual; ſome patients attending many days, ſome ſeveral weeks, and ſome ſeveral months.

5. The cures were many of them incomplete.

6. Others were temporary *.

So that all the wonder we are called upon to account for is, that, out of an almoſt innumerable multitude which reſorted to the tomb for the cure of their complaints, and many of whom were there agitated by ſtrong convulſions, a very ſmall proportion experienced a beneficial change in their conſtitution, eſpecially in the action of the nerves and glands.

Some of the caſes alledged, do not require that we ſhould have recourſe to this ſolution. The firſt caſe in the catalogue is ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable from the progreſs of a natural recovery. It was that of a young man, who laboured under an inflammation of one eye, and had loſt the ſight of the other. The inflamed eye was relieved, but the blindneſs of the other remained. The inflammation had before been abated by medicine: and the young man, at the time of his attendance at the tomb, was uſing a lotion of laudanum. And, what is a ſtill more material part of the caſe, the inflammation after ſome interval returned. Another caſe was that of a young man who had loſt his

* The reader will find theſe particulars verified in the detail, by the accurate enquiries of the preſent biſhop of Sarum, in his Criterion of Miracles, p. 132, et ſeq.

ſight

ſight by the puncture of an awl, and the diſcharge of the aqueous humour through the wound. The ſight, which had been gradually returning, was much improved during his viſit to the tomb, that is probably, in the ſame degree in which the diſcharged humour was replaced by freſh ſecretions. And it is obſervable, that theſe two are the only caſes, which, from their nature, ſhould ſeem unlikely to be affected by convulſions.

In one material reſpect I allow, that the Pariſian miracles, were different from thoſe related by Tacitus, and from the Spaniſh miracle of the Cardinal de Retz. They had not, like them, all the power and all the prejudice of the country on their ſide to begin with. They were alledged by one party againſt another, by the Janſeniſts againſt the Jeſuits. Theſe were of courſe oppoſed and examined by their adverſaries. The conſequence of which examination was, that many falſehoods were detected, that with ſomething really extraordinary much fraud appeared to be mixed. And if ſome of the caſes upon which deſigned miſrepreſentation could not be charged, were not at the time ſatisfactorily accounted for, it was becauſe the efficacy of ſtrong ſpaſmodic affections was not then ſufficiently known. Finally, the cauſe of Janſeniſm did not riſe by the miracles, but ſunk, although the miracles had the anterior perſuaſion of all the numerous adherents of that cauſe to ſet out with.

Theſe, let us remember, are the ſtrongeſt examples, which the hiſtory of ages ſupplies. In none of them, was the miracle *unequivocal*; by none of them, were eſtabliſhed prejudices and perſuaſions overthrown; of none of them, did the credit make its way, in oppoſition to authority and power; by none of them, were many induced to commit themſelves, and that in contradiction to prior opinions, to a life of mortification, danger, and ſufferings; none were called upon to atteſt them, at the expence of their fortunes and ſafety.

It may be thought that the hiſtorian of the Pariſian miracles, M. Montgeron, forms an exception to this laſt aſſertion. He preſented his book (with a ſuſpicion, as it ſhould ſeem, of the danger of what he was doing) to the king; and was ſhortly afterwards committed to priſon; from which he never came out. Had the miracles been unequivocal, and had M. Montgeron been originally convinced by them, I ſhould have allowed this exception. It would have ſtood, I think, alone, in the argument of our adverſaries. But beſide what has been obſerved of the dubious nature of the miracles, the account which M. Montgeron has himſelf left of his converſion, ſhews both the ſtate of his mind, and *that his perſuaſion was not built upon external miracles.*—"Scarcely "had he entered the church-yard, "when he was ſtruck," he tells us, "with awe and reverence, having "never before heard prayers pro- "nounced with ſo much ardour "and tranſport as he obſerved "amongſt the ſupplicants at the "tomb. Upon this, throwing him- "ſelf on his knees, reſting his elbows "on the tomb-ſtone, and covering "his face with his hands, he ſpake "the following prayer: *O thou, by "whoſe interceſſion ſo many mi-*

"*racles*

" *racles are ſaid to be performed,* " *if it be true that a part of thee* " *ſurviveth the grave, and that thou* " *haſt influence with the Almighty,* " *have pity on the darkneſs of my* " *underſtanding, and through his* " *mercy obtain the removal of it.*" Having prayed thus, " many " thoughts," as he ſayeth, " began to open themſelves to his " mind; and ſo profound was his " attention, that he continued on " his knees four hours, not in the " leaſt diſturbed by the vaſt crowd " of ſurrounding ſupplicants. During this time, all the arguments " which he had ever heard or read " in favour of Chriſtianity, occurred to him with ſo much " force, and ſeemed ſo ſtrong and " convincing, that he went home " fully ſatisfied of the truth of " religion in general, and of the " holineſs and power of that perſon, who," as he ſuppoſed, " had " engaged the Divine goodneſs to " enlighten his underſtanding ſo " ſuddenly." Douglas, Crit. of Mir. p. 214.

Sale of the Linnæan *Collections.*

[*From a Letter of* James Edward Smith, *M.D. F.R.S. Preſident of the* Linnæan *Society of* London, *and Proprietor of the* Linnæan *Collections, to Dr.* Stoever.]

IN the firſt place I ſhall give you, Sir, an hiſtorical account of the Linnæan Collections, with as much accuracy as I can:

On the death of the younger Linnæus, in the autumn of 1783, his majeſty the king of Sweden was, I believe, in France. The mother and ſiſters of the deceaſed were anxious to make as large a profit as they could of his muſeum; and therefore, within a few weeks after his death, employed Dr. John Guſtavus Acrel, profeſſor of medicine at Upſal, to offer the whole collection of books, manuſcripts, and natural hiſtory, to Sir Joſeph Banks, for the ſum of 1000 guineas (1050 pounds ſterling).

Dr. Acrel wrote to Dr. Englehart the younger, now profeſſor at Gottenburgh, and who was then in London, to make this offer to Sir Joſeph Banks. It happened that I breakfaſted at Sir Joſeph's that very day, which was December 23, 1783; and he told me of the offer he had, ſaying he ſhould decline it, and adviſing me ſtrongly to make the purchaſe, as a thing ſuitable to my taſte, and which would do me honour.

At that time we knew very little of what the collections conſiſted. When the catalogue of the books and other particulars were afterwards ſent, they proved much richer than either Sir Joſeph Banks or myſelf had any idea of; but I ought not to omit, that Sir Joſeph acted throughout the affair with the utmoſt honour and liberality (for which indeed he is very remarkable), always encouraging me in every difficulty with his advice and aſſiſtance. On the 23d of December I made my deſire known to my friend Dr. Englehart, with whom I had been intimately acquainted at Edinburgh; and we both wrote the ſame day to profeſſor Acrel, deſiring a catalogue of the whole; and, ſaying, that, if it anſwered my expectations, I would be the purchaſer at the price fixed.

In this affair I truſted to the honour of profeſſor Acrel alone; nor did I apply to any body elſe to take care of my intereſt in the matter. I never was in Sweden at any time of my life. In due time the profeſſor ſent an accurate catalogue of books, and a general account of the other articles. But by this time the mother and ſiſters of Linnæus began to think they had been too precipitate. They had been in great haſte to ſell the collection before the return of the king of Sweden, perhaps leſt ſhe might be obliged ſo ſell it to the univerſity of Upſal at a cheap rate; and they had pitched upon Sir Joſeph Banks, as the moſt opulent and zealous naturaliſt in Europe, thinking he would give more for it than any body elſe; and, at the ſame time, they fixed 1000 guineas, as probably the largeſt ſum that could be thought of.

But while they were in treaty with me, enquiries were made which gave them an higher idea of the value of the collection, and they had unlimited offers from Ruſſia. They therefore wanted to break off their negociation with me; but profeſſor Acrel would not conſent to that, and inſiſted on their waiting for my refuſal. For this honourable conduct he has unfortunately incurred their cenſure; and all ſorts of falſe reports have been raiſed againſt him, ſuch as, that I had bribed him with 100 guineas, which, however, is ſo far from being the caſe, that he never had a preſent from me, except a few Engliſh books out of the Linnæan library (worth about ſix or eight guineas), which he deſired to purchaſe of me as he could not get them in Sweden, and which I prevailed on him with ſome difficulty to accept. I thought this a very ſmall and inadequate return for the trouble he had on my account; and it ſurely could not be conſidered as a bribe.

At this time baron Alſtroomer claimed of the heirs of Linnæus a debt which the younger Linnæus owed him, and for which they agreed to give him a ſmall herbarium, made by the ſaid Linnæus during his father's life, containing only duplicates of the great collection, and not any of the plants he afterwards collected on his travels. On conſideration of this they agreed to abate one hundred guineas of my purchaſe money. To all this I conſented. I paid half the money down, and the reſt in three months; and, in October 1784, received the collection in *twenty-ſix great boxes* perfectly ſafe. I paid eighty guineas to the captain for freight, which was too much by half; but I was careful to avoid all delay. For the ſhip had juſt failed when the king of Sweden returned; and hearing the ſtory, he ſent a veſſel after the ſhip to bring it back; but happily for me it was too late. The Engliſh government, in conſequence of the application of my friend Sir John Jervis, was very indulgent to me in ſuffering the whole collection to paſs the Cuſtom-houſe without any examination or expence except a ſlight duty on the books.

This is a true ſtatement of the purchaſe. As to what Dr. Dahl has mentioned, in his Obſervationes Botanicæ, about a Mr. Mauhle, I have authority to ſay it is altogether falſe; and if it had

been

been true, it could not have prevented the collection coming away, unleſs the heirs had acted diſhonourably towards me. I do not wonder the Swedes are angry at loſing ſuch a treaſure; but they ought to ſtick to truth; and I can, at any time, juſtify Dr. Acrel and myſelf by publiſhing our whole correſpondence. I have endeavoured to do him ſome juſtice in the dedication of my Reliquiæ Rudbeckianæ.

The collection conſiſts of every thing poſſeſſed by the two Linnæi, relating to natural hiſtory or medicine. The library may contain about 2500 volumes, or many more, if all the diſſertations were reckoned ſeparately. The old herbarium of Linnæus contains all the plants deſcribed in the ſpecies Plantarum, except, perhaps, about 500 ſpecies (Fungi and Palmæ excepted); and it has perhaps more than 500 undeſcribed. The herbarium of young Linnæus is more ſplendid, and on better paper. It contains more of the plants of his Supplementum, except what are in his father's herbarium; and has beſides about 1500 very fine ſpecimens from Commorſon's collection, moſt of them new; beſides vaſt collections from Dombey, La Mark, Pourret Guan, Smeathman, Maſſon, &c.; and, above all, a prodigious quantity from Sir Joſeph Banks, who gave him duplicates of almoſt every one of Aublet's ſpecimens, as well as of his own Weſt India plants, with a few of thoſe collected in his own voyages round the world; of which laſt, however, he has not yet given many away to any body."

Young Linnæus, alſo made ample collections from the gardens of Holland, France, and England; made his collection a duplicate one, independent of his father's, and ſeparate from it, as I ſtill keep it, and have added many things to it, collected by myſelf in England, France, Italy, and the Alps. I am alſo enriching it daily by the kindneſs of my friends, and have lately had a fine addition from the Eaſt Indies. The inſects are not ſo numerous; but they conſiſt of moſt of thoſe that are deſcribed by Linnæus, and many new ones. The ſhells are about thrice as many as are mentioned in Syſtema Naturæ, and many of them very valuable, as young Linnæus had encreaſed that part of the collection very much. The foſſils are numerous, but moſtly bad ſpecimens and in a bad condition. I have alſo many birds from the South Seas, with ſome Indian dreſſes and weapons, a number of dried fiſh, particularly all thoſe ſent by Dr. Garden from Carolina; ſome ſeeds of plants, and an herbarium ſurinamenſe in ſpirits of wine, and ſeveral other things.

The manuſcripts are very numerous. All his own works are interleaved with abundance of notes, eſpecially the Syſtema Naturæ, Species Plantarum, Materia Medica, Philoſophica Botanicæ, Clair's Medicinæ, &c. &c. I have not yet found the Nemeſis Divina; but I have a vaſt number of papers I have not yet peruſed. I have Iter Laponicum, Iter Dalecarlicum, and ſome others; alſo a Diary of the Life of Linnæus, in his own hand, for about the 30 firſt years of his life. I have alſo Deſcriptiones Liliorum et Palmarum, and Syſtema Mammalium,

by Linnæus the ſon; the firſt of which I ſhall probably publiſh ſoon. The letters to Linnæus are about three thouſand. Young Linnæus left all his things in ſuch diſorder, that I have the utmoſt difficulty in arranging them; and I every day diſcover ſomething I did not before know.

Imitations of different Authors.

[*From the Looker-on.*]

The Tour of Sentiment.—(Sterne).

AND ſo! ſaid I, on entering the famed town of Brentford—and ſo!—I could bear it no longer—I guſhed into a flood of tears.—An unfeeling butcher who ſtood near, and who had no joy above the fruitleſs ſtruggles of the ox who tottered under his axe, pointed me out to the ridicule of his hardened comrades—A glow of ſhame, which by the bye human nature cannot always ſuppreſs, ſuffuſed my cheek—This, ſaid I, is the dark ſide of things.—My horſe (who perhaps felt the force of the appeal—'tis a pliant beaſt) went onward, as if grateful that I had ſpared the ſpur. Before I knew that I was out of the reach of the butcher's taunts, my faithful ſteed ſtopped, as if unwilling to interrupt my reverie, at Mr. March's great inn at Salt-hill. And in what, ſaid I, am I ſuperior to the labouring wretches that herd in the meaner houſes which are open to their more circumſcribed neceſſities? A conviction of ſelf-applauſe invigorated my whole frame. In my life I never experienced a more tranquil glow of animated ſenſibility. A chequered window-ſhutter ſoon caught my eye—'Good entertainment for man and horſe'—Aye, aye, ſaid I—for my late triumph over pride ſtill made my blood dance in milder meanders through my veins—Aye, aye, ſaid I, and I patted the meek neck of my faithful companion—aye, aye, ſaid I, and I hope we may reverſe the motto, and ſay, 'Good man and horſe for entertainment'—and ſo ſaying, I gave my horſe to honeſt Will the oſtler; and walking briſkly into the *worſt* room I could find, I fared ſumptuouſly on a cruſt of brown bread, half mouldy with age, and a glaſs of water which I drew from the pail in which my ſteed had been drinking. The worldling will ſmile at my mortification—but let it be remembered that I am writing a language which the worldling cannot underſtand.

'Tis ſtrange! ſaid I—paſſing ſtrange, that French cooks ſhould be called in, when ſentiment can give ſo keen a zeſt to the homelieſt fare!—[A tear filled each eye as I ſpoke—I know not how they came there—and as the heart is not made for ſcrutinies, I did not ſtay to enquire.] Thou, hapleſs animal, ſaid I to my faithful ſteed, art unacquainted with this luxury.'—Eſopus knew it not, or peacocks tongues would not have been in his bill of fare. I ſpoke with vehemence; and I fear my quiet companion ſuffered by the enthuſiaſm of his maſter—for he ſtopped ſuddenly, hung his head, and preſented an attitude ſo moving, and ſo pregnant with ſilent reproach, that Bulaam's aſs, with all his loquacity, would have ſuffered by the compariſon. 'Pardon me,' ſaid I, 'moſt uſeful and harmleſs creature,

if

if I have unwarily drawn innocent blood.' My tones, as I ſpoke, were ſweet and flexible—partaking of the melting philanthropy of the ſoul that gave them utterance. His gentle nature was appeaſed—he recovered his pace--'Kind Heaven,' ſaid I, 'for once reverſe thy decrees, and grant my excellent beaſt the immortality he merits, by virtues his rider would be proud to poſſeſs.' Whether my imagination was warmed by a train of reflections, each of which would put the tyrant conqueror to ſhame, or whether merit, though in a quadruped, is never unnoticed—but it matters not—the effect was the ſame; (we are ever prone to judge by events; ſo it was, that he reared exultingly as I finiſhed my prayer. He had never thus raiſed himſelf before; his humble diſpoſition kept him nearer the earth. And why, ſaid I, ſhould I reject the ſuggeſtions of my expanding heart? Xanthus, ſaid I, propheſied before thee, honeſt brute. I embrace the omen; and, if I am credulous, let me not be ſcoffed. Achilles was ſo before me.—And ſo ſaying, I raiſed my eyes (which, by a habit of thoughtfulneſs, were generally rivetted to my horſe's mane) to view the ſtreets of

SLOUGH.

Slough!—'tis an invidious name—but let that paſs.—Charity would perhaps have choſen a tenderer appellation: but are not words intended as the pictures of ideas? The town, Reader, is not clean; and the mire which my ſteed gathered in his paſſage through it, impreſſed more forcibly upon my mind the appoſiteneſs of the title. Yet what will not habit effect?—The countenances of the inhabitants, though defiled, were illumined with ſerenity; but the ſolution is not yet complete.—Patriotiſm will have its dues—it was native dirt; and who ſhall ſay that the natale ſolum can ever inconvenience or diſfigure?—The myſtery was at an end—or I was too indolent to purſue the enquiry—or perhaps pride concealed the deficiencies of my theory (as is often the caſe with wiſer men), or what ſhall we ſay to Deſcartes and his atoms?—But be it as it may—when an attempt is made to remove difficulties, one may fail in the primary end—but it is made up to us in another way; and the ſelf-applauſe ariſing from a conſciouſneſs of ſtrenuous endeavours, more than pays us for our trouble. If I am wrong, let not a cruel world too harſhly buffet my ſyſtem—A fly's wing might overturn it—I have a heart too feeble and tender to ſuſtain the penalties to which the errors of my head might expoſe it.—Do not laugh, but pity me.

Meditation in Covent-Garden.
(Harvey).

My dear Madam,

AFTER following my melancholy march among the ſilent dead, and my gayer progreſs among the garden flowers, you will not refuſe me your gentle ſociety in a moral ſtroll through this inſtructive ſcene. What a delicious confuſion of tongues! One might imagine one's ſelf at the building of the Tower of Babel: but who can wonder, where there is ſo much to nouriſh contemplation, and to prompt the tongue, that this moſt amiable part of the creation ſhould exalt

their tones, and give a looſe to thoſe laudable feelings which the objects before them inſpire? What a rich and varied repaſt here offers itſelf to the thinking mind! In this view the luxury of courts, and the appointments of princes, muſt yield up the palm to yon loaded jackaſs, that ſeems to ſmile ſignificantly as he trots on with his vegetable burden. Approach, thou venerable beaſt; for in thoſe ſymbolical baſkets which grace your comely ſides I read important leſſons of life, and a vegetable kind of philoſophy ſprouts up in my view. Jog on, my gentle friend; and let it render your burden light, to reflect that it is all inſtruction which you carry. In the mean time my thoughts ſhall ramble to the place whence you ſet out on your morning's progreſs, ſaluting the ſun-riſe with a bray of exultation. And why ſhould not the kitchen-garden be as great a ſchool of morality as the beds of the flaunting flowers, or the ſilent ſepulchres of the dead? Or why ſhould I injure the olitory, by ſeeming thus to doubt of its attractions? If the tomb and the grave preſent us with wholeſome mementos of mortality and revival, may we not find as ſtriking emblems of both, in thoſe regions where what goes in a dead ſeed, comes out a living cabbage? Shall the vegetable tribes hide their diminiſhed heads before the children of Flora, ſo long as the mouth ſhall maintain its due pre-eminence over the noſe? So long, too, as the bean ſhall rival with its odours the choiceſt eſſences of the parterre, while, on the other ſide, the moſt unrefined feeder would die of hunger amid the richeſt exuberance of jeſſamines and roſes?

But let me ſpare my eloquence—for either I am duped by the illuſions of an enthuſiaſtic fancy, or yon artichoke, with its hundred tongues, is raiſing itſelf on its ſtalk, to plead the cauſe of its eſculent brethren: and even the low-born and grovelling potatoe might, on ſuch an occaſion, riſe from its earthy habitation, and, in a ſtrain of native Hibernian eloquence, confound the boldeſt orator in the courts of Flora. And which could we ſelect, among all theſe various tribes, as better entitled to the honourable privilege of pleading for the reſt? For ſurely we ſhall not, like the worldling, meaſure deſert by external ſtandards; we ſhall not appreciate the pulp of the potatoe by the humility of the ſituation in which it grows, or underrate the qualities of this precious plant becauſe its retiring modeſty renders it neceſſary to dig it from its courted obſcurity. Rather ſhall this circumſtance convince us, if we doubted it before, of its title to our reſpect. And why does it ſequeſter its plain, I had almoſt ſaid clumſy form, from the ſight of man, but for the nobleſt purpoſes, viz. that when our ſummer-friends of the garden have deſerted us in our need, it may bring forth its ſtores in the winter adverſity of our tables, and endure for the gratification of our capricious appetites, ſometimes the ordeal of the gridiron, ſometimes the martyrdom of the faggot, and ſometimes the lingering and cruel perſecution of the ſalamander.

Alas! poor potatoe! Oh! that a more eloquent tongue than mine were employed in ſinging thy praiſes, and aſſerting thy claims! But I will leave thee to that happy conſciouſneſs

conſciouſneſs of deſerving a reward, which, to the virtuous, ever conſtitutes that reward itſelf, and purſue my exquiſite meanderings among the other ſons and daughters of the ſpade, my eyes watering with gratitude, and my mouth with appetite, as I range through the delicious cohort of turnips, cabbages, kidney-beans, radiſhes, browncole —not forgetting thee, thou *ſacred* artichoke of Jeruſalem! O how tumultuouſly mingle in my breaſt emotions of delight, at the laviſhneſs with which the culinary ſtores are ſhowered around, and of ſelf-abaſement at the reflection how little worthy am I of the moſt inſignificant ſtick of horſe-radiſh which at once garniſhes and improves the titled loin that ſmokes upon my Sunday-board! like ſome fair one, at once beautiful and wiſe, that graces our dwelling while ſhe meliorates our minds. And as I throw my gliſtening eye around, a ſweet perplexity where to open the theme of wonder, forces adown my glowing cheek that tear which ſtood ripe for its fall. My heart roves from one topic of admiration to another; and, like the humble beaſt in the fable, my gratitude is in danger of ſtarving, from inability to chooſe between the rival delicacies which ſolicit my preference.

O why will the fickle ones of this world devote themſelves to the charms of variety, and pall their ſenſuality by the ceaſeleſs repetition of vapid pleaſures, while their garden gates ſtand open day and night, and invite them to ſcenes of inexhauſtible profuſion and incomparable delight! Scenes that might leave Methuſelah in the laſt year of his life, yet but beginning to inveſtigate their beauties! In this we ſhould do well to imitate, inſtead of deſtroying, the curious caterpillar, who is never content with wandering through the mazes of the cauliflower—and the contemplative hog, who never manifeſts ſuch genuine tranſport, as when an opportunity is yielded him of revelling with inquiſitive ſnout in the territories of Vertumnus; while we jealouſly bar his reſearches, by inſerting that envious ring in his noſtrils which would far better become our own, when we intrude them into the concerns of our brethren.

Ah! how long might the eye reſt unſated on the upright graces of thoſe aſpiring aſparagus, that briſtle up their vegetable ſpears, as if in defiance of the mightieſt children of the garden? while yon crouching cabbages, that grow at their feet, ſeem to ſpread abroad their leafy arms, as if to acknowledge their proweſs and implore their mercy. Well may the end of the former be to loſe their heads, the death of the valiant—and well may the latter be the conſtant emblem of the knights of the thimble, nine of whom are required, by the contemptuous arithmetic of the vulgar, to compoſe an individual man. Yet, as the bee can extract honey from the nettle, ſo can charity find good in the cabbage. Thus let us not ſcoff at the daſtardlineſs of this production, without at the ſame time drawing a leſſon of unanimity from the ways of this numerous family.

O Foxite and Pittite, Jacobin and Ariſtocrat, Atheiſt and Chriſtian! bluſh ye all at your enmities and diviſions, while ye ſee the Early-York, the Sugar-loaf, the

Batterſea, and the Scotch-kale, with all their hoſtilities of ſeaſon, colour, form, and flavour, growing ſide by ſide, and each meekly tolerating the diverſities of the other! Shall man and wife ſtill pollute the annals of matrimony by divorces and ſeparations, while the purple brocoli, and the ſnowy cauliflower poſſeſs one bed? And ſhall hiſtory ſtain her page with the animoſities of the white and red roſe, while the white and red cabbage are content to vegetate on the ſame ſoil, ſimmer in the ſame pot, and ſmoke upon the ſame table?

O philanthropic root! that, like ſome bountiful father of a family, not content with yielding us the fruit of its own ſound heart, dedicates its poſterity to our uſe, in that profuſion of ſprouts which it ſupplies to us from its own parent ſtock! O how unlike the penurious pea, that obliges us to tear open its bowels for its globular treaſures! while even for theſe we are indebted to our own induſtry, in ſupporting its ſluggard tendrils, which elſe would ſordidly creep and wither on the ground. So, many a profligate genius of this world would ſuffer his talents to moulder away in indolence, but for ſome ſolicitous friend, that, with ſalutary ſeverity, forces them into exertion.

Not leſs harſh, nor leſs beneficial in its agency, the ſtimulating chamomile, that, like a rigid, yet loving confeſſor, deſcends into the depths of our boſoms, and compels us to diſcharge their foul and peccant accumulations. And ſee too, where, in the hue of innocence, humbly ſhews its head the pious parſnip, that pays us its annual Lenten viſit, and, by its ſignificant inſipidity, points out to us the taſteleſſneſs of worldly pleaſures and purſuits! And what are thoſe two that ſuddenly ſtrike my ſight, whoſe name ſhews them to be allied, while their ſhape and properties betoken irreconcileable contrariety? They are French and Windſor beans—O how pertinently ſo named? The former, in its ſpare form and ſcattered growth, aptly repreſenting the meagre figures and diſunited ſtate of the people from whom they have their name, while the mangled and maſſacred condition in which they are brought to our boards ſtill more forcibly typifies the ſavage ferocity with which they have ſubſtituted the ſword for the ſceptre.

Turn your eye from the painful picture, to contemplate its like in name, as its antagoniſt in nature, the Windſor bean—and admire, with me, how appoſitely the fair rotund form of its contents repreſents the honeſt Britiſh plumpneſs of the gracious Potentate whoſe reſidence has furniſhed its title—while the cluſtering manner in which they hang from their luxuriant branches adumbrates the numerouſneſs and concord of his royal offspring. But ſee where on this ſide ſpires the coſs, and on that ſpreads the brown Dutch, lettuces—plants that inſtruct us by their very nothingneſs! Thoſe very leaves, that in the natural ſtate are conſidered but as provender for the ſwine, O how ſweetly, how gratefully do they ſalute the palate, when aided by the delicious provocatives of the cruet-ſtand!

Let us hence collect the emptineſs and unſerviceableneſs of man in his natural ſtate, and the high things of which he is capable, when

when heightened by the precious ſauce of education. And let the myſtic artichoke, which once more arreſts my attention, read us a lecture on human life: may I not be indulged in the pleaſing, even the fanciful ſuppoſition, that the leaves with which it is ſo munificently arrayed, may have been deſigned as emblems of the years through which we paſs in our human pilgrimage, which, as each is exhauſted, gradually unfold to us the choke of mortal miſeries—thoſe miſeries, like that choke, covered over with a flimſy coating of comfort, which, moreover, we ever burn our fingers in endeavouring to obtain; till, at length arrived at the bottom, or death, our difficulties are at an end, and our ſweets begin?

But what ambiguous root is here? whoſe flavour contradicts to our palates the report made by its form to our eyes!—The turnip-radiſh. O let it warn us againſt the wily foe, that cheats our credulous eyes with the ſmooth turnip of tenderneſs, while inwardly he bites us with the ſharp radiſh of rancour. Nor let yon hypocritical onion leſs admoniſh us of the inſidious wretch, that can force tears from our eyes at one moment, and at the next annoy us with the foul breath of defamation; and, to render his machinations ſtill more fatal, can lay us aſleep while they are working. And ſee too, how thoſe callous cucumbers, though ripened and ſoftered beneath the genial glaſs of protection, ſhall return the benefactions of their patron with coldneſs at leaſt, if not with bitterneſs.

And as, at the moral uſes of theſe vegetable riches, ſo let us admire at the contrivance which has accommodated each with its appropriate form and ſtructure, which it could not exchange but with diſadvantage. How ſhould we ſmile to ſee the cumbrous cauliflower hanging, like an infant with a dropſied head, from the ſlim ſpires of the aſparagus! or the diminutive pea, which we now behold ſo artfully emboxed in its commodious manſion, looſely ſcattered like the potatoe beneath the earth, while the hours of the impatient cook would paſs in the tedious toil of ſeparating the little balls from the clods amidſt which they would be loſt! And, in return, the rugged and hardy potatoe, tranſplanted from its ſubterraneous abode into the ſlender and ſilken ſhell which we now ſee ſo aptly tenanted by the miniature globes of the pea? What room ſhould we find for extolling the artifice of creation, if the artichoke, of which we have already admired the progreſſive conformation, ſhould exhibit its parts in an inverted ſeries? if the moiſt and marrowy bottom were taken from its needful aſylum in the inmoſt receſſes of the plant, and laid bare to the beating hail and blowing blaſts, while the tough and ſturdy leaves ſhould be tranſlated from their preſent characteriſtical expoſure, to an uſeleſs ſecurity within? In all theſe caſes, would not the tranſpoſition equally offend the eye of the ſpectator, and the intereſts of each individual product?

Thus rich, thus copious, does the page of horticulture appear, even in the feeble epitome of it which is here exhibited. Ah! would we but ſtudy it as it deſerves!

ſerves! would we but reſort as eagerly to its more refined and ſymbolical, as we do to its groſſer though not more ſubſtantial advantages, we ſhould find it ſpeak a language of reaſon and religion, that would ſet all the ſubtleties of logic, and all the ſyſtems of ethics at defiance. With ſuch a clue to guide us through the labyrinths of life, no proceſs would occur in the cultivation of our beds, which would not give a leſſon to our conſciences, while it provided a meal for our tables. We ſhould not then water a plant, without dropping, at leaſt from our mind's eyes, the foſtering tears of tranſport over our growing virtues, or of repentance over our tranſgreſſions. We ſhould not rake the ſtones, or root the weeds from our foul ground, without at the ſame time raking out the foul paſſions with which our hearts are choked and overrun—or roll the gravel of our walks, without adverting at the ſame time to the riſing turbulence of our deſires, which need to be preſſed down by the roller of reflection. Above all, we ſhould not fail to impreſs on our hearts the fragility and tranſitorineſs of all ſublunary things, when we conſider how ſoon the luxuries of the garden fade away, and elude the moſt confident hopes of hunger.

O let the ambitious man learn to deſpiſe the ladder on which he ſtands, while he conſiders that yon towering artichoke ſhall ſhortly wither on its ſtem, or be ſcalded in the pot! O let the lover withdraw his adoration from Chloe's eyes, when he ſees the bluſhing apple of love droop and ſhrivel in the odious embraces of time, and the amorous pea torn from its darling ſtick, and ſacrificed to the voracity of man! O let the epicure renounce his delicacies, while he reflects that, like yon cauliflower, he ſhall ſoon adminiſter to the gluttony of the worm! and the ſop his eſſences, while he faints at the fumes from thoſe corrupted beans, ſo late the pride of vegetable fragrance!—In a word, let all the hunters after worldly delights reſign their ardour for them, as they contemplate that period when kings and cabbages, popes and peas, ſages and ſallads, beauties and brocoli, artichokes and archbiſhops, lords and leeks, princes and parſnips, tyrants and turnips, cucumbers and conquerors, ſhall lie in one promiſcuous heap of ſapleſs putrefaction.

Sheet omitted in the Life of Johnſon. *(Boſwell.)*

APRIL the 20th, I dined with him at Sir J. R—'s. I regret that I have preſerved but few minutes of his converſation on that day, though he was leſs talkative, and fuller of capriciouſneſs and contradictions than uſual; as the following dialogue may ſhow—whilſt at the ſame time it proves that there is no queſtion ſo entirely barren of matter or argument which could not furniſh him an occaſion of diſplaying the powers of his mighty mind. We talked of public places; and one gentleman ſpoke warmly in praiſe of Sadler's Wells. Mr. C——, who had been ſo unfortunate as to diſpleaſe Dr. Johnſon, and wiſhed to reinſtate himſelf in his good opinion, thought he could not do it more effectually than by decrying ſuch light amuſements as thoſe of

of tumbling and rope-dancing: in particular, he asserted that "a rope-dancer was in his opinion, the most despicable of human beings." Johnson (awfully rolling himself as he prepared to speak, and bursting out into a thundering tone), "Sir, you might as well say that St. Paul was the most despicable of human beings. Let us beware how we petulantly and ignorantly traduce a character which puts all other characters to shame. Sir, a rope-dancer concenters in himself all the cardinal virtues."

Well, as I was by this time acquainted with the sophistical talents of my illustrious friend, and often as I had listened to him in wonder, while he "made the worse appear the better reason," I could not but suppose that, for once, he had been betrayed by his violence into an assertion which he could not support. Urged by my curiosity, and perhaps rather wickedly desirous of leading him into a contest, I ventured, leaning briskly towards him across my friend the duke of ——'s chair, to say, in a sportive familiar manner, which he sometimes indulgently permitted me to use, "Indeed! Dr. Johnson, did I hear you right? a rope-dancer concentre in himself all the cardinal virtues!" The answer was ready.—Johnson, "Why yes, Sir, deny it who dare. I say, in a rope-dancer there is Temperance, and Faith, and Hope, and Charity, and Justice, and Prudence, and Fortitude." Still I was not satisfied; and was desirous to hear his proofs at full length.—Boswell, "Why to be sure, Sir, Fortitude I can easily conceive."—Johnson (interrupting me), "Sir, if you cannot conceive the rest, it is to no purpose that you conceive the seventh. But to those who cannot comprehend, it is necessary to explain. Why then, Sir, we will begin with Temperance. Sir, if the joys of the bottle entice him one inch beyond the line of sobriety, his life or his limbs must pay the forfeit of his excess. Then, Sir, there is Faith. Without unshaken confidence in his own powers, and full assurance that the rope is firm, his Temperance will be of but little advantage: the unsteadiness of his nerves would soon prove as fatal as the intoxication of his brain. Next, Sir, we have Hope. A dance so dangerous, who ever exhibited, unless lured by the hope of fortune or of fame? Charity next follows: and what instance of charity shall be opposed to that of him, who, in the hope of administering to the gratification of others, braves the hiss of multitudes, and derides the dread of death. Then, Sir, what man will withhold from the funambulist the praise of justice, who considers his inflexible uprightness, and that he holds his balance with so steady a hand, as never to incline, in the minutest degree, to one side or the other? Nor, in the next place, is his Prudence more disputable than his justice. He has chosen, indeed, a perilous accomplishment: but, while it is remembered that he is temerarious in the maturity of his art, let it not be forgotten that he was cautious in its commencement; and that, while he was yet in the rudiments of rope-dancing, he might securely fail in his footing, while his instructors stood ready on either side to prevent or to alleviate his fall. Lastly, Sir, those

thoſe who from dullneſs or obduracy ſhall refuſe to the rope-dancer the applauſes due to Temperance, Faith, Hope, Charity, Juſtice, and Prudence, will yet ſcarcely be ſo deſperate in falſehood or in folly, as to deny him the laurels of Fortitude. He that is content to vacillate on a cord, while his fellow-mortals tread ſecurely on the broad baſis of *terra firma*; who performs the jocund evolutions of the dance on a ſuperficies, compared to which, the verge of a precipice is a ſtable ſtation; may rightfully ſnatch the wreath from the conqueror and the martyr; may boaſt that he expoſes himſelf to hazards, from which he might fly to the cannon's mouth as to a refuge or a relaxation! Sir, let us now be told no more of the infamy of the rope-dancer."——When he had ended, I could not help whiſpering Sir J. B.—Boſwell, "How wonderfully does our friend extricate himſelf out of difficulties! He is like quickſilver: try to graſp him in your hand, and he makes his eſcape between every finger."—This image I afterwards ventured to mention to our great Moraliſt and Lexicographer, ſaying, "May not I flatter myſelf, Sir, that it was a paſſable metaphor?"—Johnſon, "Why yes, Sir."

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1794. *By* Henry James Pye, *esq.* *Poet Laureat.*

I.

NURTUR'D in ſtorms the infant year,
Comes in terrific glory forth,
Earth meets him wrapp'd in mantle drear,
And the loud tempeſt ſings his birth.
Yet 'mid the elemental ſtrife
Brood the rich germs of vernal life,
Frore January's iron reign,
And the dark months ſucceeding train,
The renovated glebe prepare
For genial May's ambroſial air,
For fruits that glowing Summer yields,
For laughing Autumn's golden fields;
And the ſtout ſwain whoſe frame defies
The driving ſtorm, the hoſtile ſkies,
While his keen plowſhare turns the ſtubborn ſoil,
Knows plenty only ſprings the juſt reward of toil.

II.

Then if fell War's tempeſtuous ſound
Swell far and wide with louder roar,
If ſtern th' avenging nations round
Threaten yon fate-devoted ſhore,
Hope points to gentler hours again
When Peace ſhall re-aſſume her reign—
Yet never o'er his timid head
Her laſting olive ſhall be ſpread,
Whoſe breaſt inglorious woos her charms
When Fame, when Juſtice, calls to arms.
While Anarchy's infuriate brood,
Their garments dy'd with guiltleſs blood,
With Titan rage baſpheming try
Their impious battle 'gainſt the ſky,

Say,

Say, ſhall Britannia's generous ſons embrace
In folds of amity the harpy race,
Or aid the ſword that coward Fury rears,
Red with the widow's blood, wet with the orphan's tears?

III.

But tho' her martial thunders fall
Vindictive o'er Oppreſſion's haughty creſt,
Awake to Pity's ſuaſive call,
She ſpreads her buckler o'er the ſuffering breaſt.—
From ſeas that roll by Gallia's ſouthmoſt ſteep,
From the rich iſles that crown th' Atlantic deep
The plaintive ſigh, the heart-felt groan,
Are waſted to her Monarch's throne;
Open to mercy, prompt to ſave,
His ready navies plow the yielding wave,
The ruthleſs arm of ſavage licenſe awe,
And guard the ſacred reign of Freedom and of Law.

ODE *for his* MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, *by* H. J. Pye, *eſq.*

I.

ROUS'D from the gloom of tranſient death,
Reviving Nature's charms appear;
Mild Zephyr wakes with balmy breath
The beauties of the youthful year,
The fleecy ſtorm that froze the plain,
The winds that ſwept the billowy main,
The chilling blaſt, the icy ſhow'r,
That oft obſcur'd the vernal hour,
And half deform'd the etherial grace
That bloom'd on Maia's lovely face,
Are gone—and o'er the fertile glade,
In manhood's riper form array'd,
Bright June appears, and from his boſom throws,
Bluſhing with hue divine, his own ambroſial roſe.

II.

Yet there are climes where Winter hoar
Deſpotic ſtill uſurps the plains,
Where the loud ſurges laſh the ſhore,
And dreary deſolation reigns!—
While, as the ſhivering ſwain deſcries
The drifted mountains round him riſe,
Through the dark miſt and howling blaſt,
Full many a longing look is caſt

To

To northern realms, whoſe happier ſkies detain
The lingering car of day, and check his golden rein.

III.

Chide not his ſtay;—the roſeate Spring
Not always flies on Halcyon wing;
Not always ſtrains of joy and love
Steal ſweetly through the trembling grove—
Reflecting Sol's refulgent beams,
The falchion oft terrific gleams;
And, louder than the wint'ry tempeſt's roar,
The battle's thunder ſhakes th' affrighted ſhore—
Chide not his ſtay—for, in the ſcenes
Where nature boaſts her genial pride,
Where foreſts ſpread their leafy ſkreens,
And lucid ſtreams the painted vales divide;
Beneath Europa's mildeſt clime,
In glowing Summer's verdant prime,
The frantic ſons of Rapine tear
The golden wreath from Ceres' hair,
And trembling Induſtry, afraid
To turn the war-devoted glade,
Expoſes wild to Famine's haggard eyes
Waſtes where no hopes of future harveſts riſe,
While floating corſes choke th' empurpled flood,
And ev'ry dewy ſod is ſtain'd with civic blood.

IV.

Vaniſh the horrid ſcene, and turn the eyes
To where Britannia's chalky cliffs ariſe.—
What though beneath her rougher air
A leſs luxuriant ſoil we ſhare;
Though often o'er her brighteſt day
Sails the thick ſtorm, and ſhrouds the ſolar ray.
No purple vintage though ſhe boaſt,
No olive ſhade her ruder coaſt;
Yet here immortal Freedom reigns,
And law protects what labour gains;
And as her manly ſons behold
The cultur'd farm, the teeming fold,
See Commerce ſpread to ev'ry gale,
From every ſhore, her ſwelling ſail:
Jocund, they raiſe the choral lay
To celebrate th' auſpicious day,
By heaven ſelected from the laughing year,
Sacred to patriot worth, to patriot boſoms dear.

WINTER.

From the Looker-on; a periodical Paper. By Dr. Simon Olive-Branch.

STERN Winter, though thy rugged reign
Chills the pale boſom of the plain;
And, in deep ſighs, thy hollow blaſt
Tells me the happy hours are paſt
That ſaw meek Spring her bloſſoms rear,
And lead along the infant year:
Thy thick'ning glooms, and leafleſs tree,
Have charms for Emma and for me.

And, though the light-wing'd breeze no more
Waſts the rich ſweets of Summer's ſtore;
Though Autumn's ſcene no more beguiles,
My cot is warm, and Emma ſmiles;
Then, Winter, come! thy ſtorms and rain
Beat on this happy roof in vain:
The ſhiv'ring blaſt, and leafleſs tree,
Have charms for Emma and for me.

Then, what avail thy wind and ſtorm,
That Nature's with'ring face deform,
If Fancy's briſk and ſportive lay
Awake to Pleaſure's willing ſway;
If the quick jeſt and lively ſong
Bid the ſlow night move blithe along:
For then thy gloom, and leafleſs tree,
Have charms for Emma and for me.

Thus, when the bloom of youth is dead,
And Fancy's frolic hours are fled;
Tranquil, and free from paſſion's rage,
I'll meet the hoary froſt of age.
Then Winter come: theſe bleſſings bring;
I ſigh not for the gaudy Spring:
So ſhall thy gloom, and leafleſs tree,
Have charms for Emma and for me.

SONNET, *tranſlated from the Italian of* Milton. *By* W. Cowper, *Eſq. From the Poetical Works of* John Milton; *with a Life of the Author. By* William Hayley. Vol. i.

ENAMOUR'D, artleſs, young, on foreign ground,
Uncertain whither from myſelf to fly;
To thee, dear lady, with an humble ſigh,
Let me devote my heart; which I have found

By

By certain proofs, not few, intrepid, found,
Good, and addicted to conceptions high:
When tempeſt ſhakes the world, and fires the ſky,
It reſts in adamant ſelf-wrapt around,
As ſafe from envy, and from outrage rude,
From hopes and fears that vulgar minds abuſe,
As fond of genius, and fix'd fortitude,
Of the reſounding lyre and ev'ry muſe:
Weak will you find it in one only part,
Now pierc'd by Love's immedicable dart.

LLANGOLLEN; *written at the cloſe of the Autumn* 1792. *From "A Tour through Parts of Wales; Sonnets, Odes, and other Poems;" by* W. Sotheby, *Eſq.*

THOU that emboſom'd in the dark retreat
Veil'ſt from profaner gaze thy hallow'd ſeat,
Genius of wild Llangollen! once again
I turn to thy rude haunts and ſavage reign:
'Mid the grey cliffs that o'er yon heights impend,
O'erſhadowing mountains that the vale defend,
Woods whoſe free growth the gloom of midnight ſpreads,
And torrents foaming down their flinty beds,
Within thy ſhelter'd ſolitudes confin'd,
At diſtance from the murmur of mankind,
I ſoothe to peace the cares of life awhile,
And woo lone Nature's long-forgotten ſmile.
Lov'd vale! when o'er thee beam'd the ſpring-tide ray,
And from thy heights ſlow ſunk the ſummer day,
From thy delightful ſcenery reſtrain'd,
Far off by fond ſolicitude detain'd,
I watch'd where pain's wan eye ſad vigils kept,
Or hung upon the couch where languor ſlept:
Bright Autumn fading, ere my footſtep came,
On the illumin'd foreſt ceas'd to flame.
But now, while waning to his mournful end,
He ſinks from ſight like a departing friend,
Swift let me trace the varied views around,
Spread o'er the range of thy enchanted ground;
While yet upon the leaf pale hues appear,
And the laſt tint yet lingers on the year;
That, like the fluſh of the faint hectic ſtrays,
Wan-gleaming as the bloom of life decays.
While the retreating ſhadows of the night,
Sail from yon* mountain's dim-diſcover'd height;

* Dinas Bran.

As up the ſteep my reſtleſs footſteps climb,
And from the path-way bruſh the ſilver rime,
Mute are the melodies that wake the morn,
And ſilence reigns around the way forlorn.
Vain my fond wiſh to gaze in magic trance
O'er the unfolding valley's wide expanſe;
And from the breezes on the brow inhale
The freſhneſs of the ſpirit-ſtirring gale.
Where late, by eve's pale radiance ſilver'd o'er,
Dee wound her mazy wave from ſhore to ſhore;
And the brown fallow, and the verdant field,
And hill and dale immingling ſhone reveal'd;
O'er the dank vale, the vapour ſtreaming wide,
Rolls onward like the ocean's foamy tide:
Thick darkneſs lours around, ſave where a beam
Touches the village ſpire with tranſient gleam;
Or, like a promontory's chalky brow,
The tow'r's hoar creſt o'erhangs the flood below.
Dinas! * more beauteous, thus, in late decay,
Thy caſtle, cloth'd with penſive colours grey;
Bleak mountain! yet more beauteous thus thy head,
Untrac'd but by the ſtranger's lonely tread,
Than in thy gorgeous day, when tyrant power
With trophies hung thy far-reſplendent tower,
The Britiſh bard, at thy unhonor'd name,
Points to the wreck, a monument of ſhame!
" So fall the tow'rs, by vengeful time defac'd,
" That ſtood when rebel arms their ſtrength diſgrac'd;
" Moulder the walls that hid the traitor's head,
" When freedom to the field her Britons led,
" Wretch! that expired'ſt within yon rocky mound,
" By ſolitude and terror circled round;
" Vain was thy hope on Edward that repos'd;
" Vain the laſt wiſh thy dying breath that clos'd.
" Yet, ere the requiem bad thee peaceful reſt,
" Scarce cold the lip that utter'd the requeſt,
" A ſtranger's hand uſurp'd thy ancient power,
" A ſtranger's banner glitter'd on thy tower.

" Lo!

* " The remains of Dinas Bran, one of the primative Welſh caſtles, nearly cover " the ſummit of a vaſt conoid hill, ſteeply ſloped on every ſide. The founder is un- " known. In the reign of Henry III. it was the retreat of Gryffyd ap Madog, who, " traiterouſly confederating with the Engliſh againſt his countrymen, was obliged to ſe- " cure himſelf from their vengeance in this aërial faſtneſs. On the death of Gryffyd, " Edward I. ungrateſully beſtowed on John earl Warren the wardſhip of the eldeſt ſon " of his old ally; as he did that of the ſecond on Roger Mortimer. Theſe lords cauſed " their wards to be drowned under Halt-bridge; and took poſſeſſion of their eſtate. An " obſcure tradition of their murder was current in the country, under the fable of two " young fairies, who had been there deſtroyed in that manner."

PENNANT's Tour in Wales.

" Lo! the defenders grateful Edward gave,
" To ſoothe thy ſpirit hov'ring o'er thy grav.
" Stern Avarice and Murder ſtalk around,
" Sole guardians, thy forſaken infants found.
" No parent on their death-bed drops the tear;
" No parent ſtrews with flow'rs their honour'd bier.
" But the rude hinds their fate obſcure bewail,
" Trac'd in the ſtrange traditionary tale;
" And village girls point weeping to the wave
" Where fairies floated o'er their wat'ry grave."
So fly the dreams deluded youth recalls,
So fade the glories of the Gothic halls!
Where'er the caſtle rear'd its ſtately head,
Oppreſſion prowl'd around, by murder fed.
Above the banquet foam'd, and unreſtrain'd
Riot's ſwoln lip the o'erflowing goblet drain'd;
While in the dungeon's gloomy cave beneath
Lurk'd famine, liſt'ning to the cry of death.
Stern age! at diſtance fair thy glories gleam,
And ſoft the luſtre of thy ſetting beam.
Thus, when the ſtorm, that hid the golden day,
Has ſunk into the weſt, and fades away;
While on the furtheſt hill dank ſhadows lour,
The ſun-beams ſtrike on the receding ſhow'r,
From the illumin'd cloud gay colours ſhine,
And a new radiance gilds its ſwift decline.
The cataract, that from yon Alpine dale
Hoarſe thunders on the wide-reſounding gale,
Lures me to darkſome paths, where Deva roars,
And ſweeps with torrent flood the founding ſhores.
Clear are the mountain ſtreams that Cambria lave,
Beauteous the wooded banks that ſhade the wave;
Fair-blooming on their glades the vernal flowers,
And ſweet the bird that haunts their ſummer bowers:
Yet nor the wooded bank, their ſtreams that ſhades,
Their ſilver currents, or their flow'ry glades,
Charm, like the Dee's wild courſe, that varying leads
To rocks, dark groves, deep glens, and ſunny meads;
Beauties that interchang'd with new delight,
Shift like a ſcene of magic on the ſight.
As bending o'er the bank, in penſive mood,
I gaze upon the ſwift-deſcending flood;
Torrents from crag to crag that ceaſeleſs thrown,
Wear the rough rocks, and ſmooth the poliſh'd ſtone;
Then whirl'd in eddies round the echoing cave,
Silver with fleecy foam the diſtant wave:
Viſions of ancient glory ſwarm around,
And the dark glen becomes enchanted ground;

Warm inſpiration views the wizards hoar
That liſten'd to the floods prophetic roar;
And as the wave its changeful * current roll'd,
The fate of nations, fall of kings foretold.
Bold lour at intervals the heights around,
Orb within orb, by Druid temples crown'd,
Half hid beneath the earth huge cromlechs bend,
And the tall carnedds leſs'ning piles aſcend.
Dark on the mountain's tempeſt-beaten head,
Rude Britiſh forts their maſſy bulwarks ſpread;
And oft when time has batter'd down the piles,
And peace on the forgotten ſtation ſmiles;
Though long the ſummer ſun, and winter ſnow
Has mellow'd the deep ſoil that turfs their brow,
The rich graſs ſpiring o'er the ſheep-fed heath,
Points out the levell'd turrets ſunk beneath.
Thus where of old the light'nings dreaded ſtroke
On the wide plain in curving flaſhes broke,
Year after year the verdant circles ſpring,
And ſhepherd-boys retrace the fairy ring.

Pure Dee! ſwift ſwelling forth from Raran hoar,
Where † Arthur liſten'd to the wizard's lore;
Regions, where fancy wanders unconfin'd,
And viſionary day-dreams ſoothe the mind;
From your lov'd haunts, triumphant Cambria leads
Along Eidernion's fairy-footed meads,
To print the mound that Gwynedd's camp inclos'd,
And bleſs the ſoil where liberty repos'd.
Freſh fall the dews on ‡ Corwen's fertile head,
And genial gales eternal verdure ſpread;
There down the ſteep the watchful warrior bold,
In fateful hour the ſtorm of battle roll'd;
And while the mountain deluges afar,
Flooded the vales, and ſwept the ranks of war,
Before pale Henry's van ruſh'd flight and fear,
And peſtilence and famine dogg'd his rear.

Onward, with frequent pauſe, with fond delay,
To Corwen's height oft bending back my way,
Along the mazes of the neighbouring glades §,
Through deſarts rude, and unfrequented ſhades,

* Drayton's Poly. Song X.

† Fairy Queen, Book I. Canto ix.

‡ Corwen is celebrated in the Welch annals for the victory gained by Owen Gwynedd, in 1165, over the forces of Henry II.

§ Glyn-dwrdwy, or the valley of the Dee, the patrimony of the famous Owen Glendore. Not a veſtige of his manſion remains. In the latter part of his life, it is related that he was forced to ſhelter himſelf in caves and deſart places from the fury of his enemies.

I trace

I trace the caves, and deep receſſes hoar,
That roof'd the war-worn head of wild Glendore,
'Mid yon dark cliffs, whoſe woods romantic wreathe
Athwart the wave that winds their roots beneath,
When War's keen blood-hounds preſt their weary'd prey,
Couch'd in his lair awhile the chieftain lay;
Alone the mountain berry gave him food,
And his ſole drink chill Deva's troubled flood.
Warrior! I trace thee not by victory crown'd,
When regal honors beam'd thy brow around;
The ſongs of other days thy fame record,
And Britiſh minſtrels dwell on Cambria's lord.
Touch'd by the ſtrain, at twilight's haunted hour,
Oft as I ſtray'd beneath thy ruin'd tower,
Methought the Druid harp, the haunts among,
To many a note of echoing triumph rung,
While, from the ſlumber of their long repoſe,
Forms of old kings, and Britiſh warriors roſe.
Lo! where her phantoms wizard fancy led,
Untrodden heaths, and ſilent deſarts ſpread.
In vain I ſeek where luxury's feſtal pyre
Flaſh'd on the rocks around a gleaming fire;
When the loſt wand'rer, 'mid the ſtorms of night,
Look'd up, and bleſs'd the hoſpitable light.
No ſcatter'd ruins o'er the waſte extend,
O'er their rent baſe no tumbling turrets bend;
No broken baſtion lies with moſs o'ergrown,
No fragment of a grey and mould'ring ſtone.
Sorrowing I turn, and through the birchen ſhades,
That ſweep o'er Llandyſilio's ſhelter'd glades,
Seek the deſerted fane, when day-light ſmiles
Through the rent roof, and dim-diſcover'd aiſles.
Vale of the croſs! * let other bards explore
Thy ſylvan ſcenes, green heights, and mountains hoar;
The rill's ſoft lapſe thy ſloping turf that laves,
The wood's wild growth that o'er thy abbey waves:
Let others gaze upon the ſolemn hues
Time's mellowing touches on the ſtone diffuſe,
And unſunn'd damps that, mould'ring where they fall,
Stream in rich ſtains, and picture o'er the wall.
I pauſe—to voluntary woes reſign'd,
And lenient grief that leaves a balm behind.
Half of the deſtin'd days of life are o'er,
Gone like a dream of night, to riſe no more!
Like a lone pilgrim, by ſad penance led,
From Po's green banks, or Arno's flow'ry bed,

* The abbey of Valle Crucis was a houſe of Ciſtertians, founded in the year 1200.

Far off, o'er northern ſolitudes to roam,
Who, midway, muſing on the toils to come,
Upon the Alpine boundary's lofty creſt,
Lingers awhile his weary'd limbs to reſt.
There, as on either ſide, the realms extend,
Whence firſt he wander'd, where his wand'rings end;
Bends wiſtful to the regions left behind,
And loud exclaims, in agony of mind:
"Land! where each gale like vernal fragrance blows,
"Where winter's ſun on rip'ning plenty glows;
"Where, ever as I paſt, the path around,
"Bloom'd with freſh flowers, and pendant fruitage crown'd;
"Hills, whoſe lone tops with lighted chantries beam'd,
"Vales, in whoſe nightly gloom the convents gleam'd;
"Retreats, beneath whoſe ſhelter peace repos'd,
"And the tranc'd eye in bliſsful viſions clos'd.
"Farewell! down yon rude tract forlorn I go,
"O'er pathleſs ſolitudes, o'er waſtes of ſnow.
"Heaven wills—fond, hopeleſs wiſh, no more rebel;
"Be with this tear forgotten;—ſo, farewell!"
Thus, from this mid-way bourn, my pauſing eye
Beholds beneath life's varying journeys lie:
O'er the fair retroſpect, thus memory caſt,
Turns ling'ring to the dreams of pleaſure paſt.
Pilgrim! thou once again may'ſt haunt the bow'r
Where fond affection nurs'd thy infant hour,
And lay thee down in age within the glade,
Where innocence and thoughtleſs childhood play'd;
But never, once paſt o'er, ſhall man be found
To ſport again on youth's enchanted ground.
Then, oh! thou morn of life, man's vernal prime,
Light joys that wave the downy wings of time;
Health, whoſe bright glow on roſeate vigour bloom'd;
Pure innocence, whoſe ſmile each look illumin'd;
Gay ſprightlineſs, from vivid wonder ſprung;
Fancy, that ſparkl'd life's new ſcenes among;
Dreams of delight, where rapt illuſion wrought
A golden age, more fair than poets taught;
Penſive I bid your fleeting charms farewell,
And breathe a ſigh o'er the diſſolving ſpell.
Though youth, at times, not unchaſtis'd by woe,
Has wander'd in the gloomy vale below;
Yet back, returning ſtill, its journey lay
Through life's illumin'd path and flow'ry way.
Bright on each year the ſun of hope aroſe,
And meek content ſmil'd peaceful at its cloſe.
Then, while I pauſe upon the awful doom
That waits me, bending downward to the tomb,

Check'd be the thought, that, not without a crime,
Saddens o'er boded misery ere its time.
Still be firm faith and meek submission mine,
To bear the lot of man at life's decline.
So shall I not when Nature claims her debt,
Mourn o'er past youth with vain and weak regret;
Nor perish my unprofitable birth,
Like a fleet shadow passing o'er the earth.

SONNET; *written at Wootton in Kent. From Verses on the late unanimous Resolutions to support the Constitution. To which are added some other Poems. By* Samuel Egerton Brydges, *Esq.*

WHILE I rewander o'er this wood-crown'd steep,
Yon sheep-clad lawn, and this secluded dell;
Yon mansion, and yon holy tower, that peep
From the thick trees, where, in their silent cell,

The hallow'd relics of my fathers sleep;
I strive in vain the tumults to repel,
That force mine eyes with sad regret to weep,
Since my sweet childhood's lost delights they tell.

Here my lov'd parent pass'd his happy days,
In rural peace, with every virtue warm'd,
While the wide country round, that rung his praise,
His sense directed and his goodness charm'd.

But I, alas! to genuine pleasures blind,
Tost on the world's wide waves no quiet find!

ODE *to* BEAUTY. *From Odes Moral and Descriptive; by the Rev.* J. Whitehouse.

SWEET Power, whose soft magnetic chain
Extends through Nature's ample reign,
Let down from Jove's high throne above,
In mystic links, the work of Love!
O Beauty, sov'reign of the soul,
Where is not felt thy strong controul?
Thy robe of various die
That floats redundant to the gale,
With freshest verdure clothes the vale,
And hangs with fleecy gold the morning sky;

While breathes thy ſpirit 'midſt the mingled hue
Of vermeil buds and flowers that drink the cryſtal dew.

How amiable thy reign, how wide!
The virgin's bloom, the meadow's pride,
The clouds that light o'er ether ſwim,
The bluſh of Morn and Evening dim,
Colour and ſymmetry combine
To deck thy myſtic zone divine;
Nor leſs to thee belong
The Sculptor's and the Painter's art,
And that lov'd Muſe that thrills the heart
With ſweet and ſolemn tones of energetic ſong;
Thine is each charm of woodland, grove, and plain,
The chaplet Flora weaves, and Ceres' golden grain.

Freſh from her couch with baſhful cheek,
And eyes of dewy radiance meek,
When Eloiſe the Graces lead
To trip the dew-beſpangled mead;
Or when amidſt the graceful dance,
Her light aërial ſteps advance,
To Muſic's melting tones;
A thouſand joys ſpontaneous riſe,
While 'midſt the blended harmonies,
The intendered heart thy magic influence owns;
And Love himſelf from thee his arms obtains,
Plays with thy golden ſhafts, and revels in thy chains.

Yet ſay, what mortal hand can trace
Thy forms of inexpreſſive grace;
With ſilken plume, or glittering ſcale,
Or clad in adamantine mail;
Where rapt Attention gazes mute
Both on the great and the minute;
Nor undelighted dwells
Where bends the roſe the thorn beneath,
Their odours purple violets breathe,
Or cluſtering lilies hang their gloſſy bells;
Where murmuring ſtreams in ſoft meanders glide,
Or waving poplars crown the mountain's ſhelving ſide.

Mark, where the Alps ſtupendous tower,
Where Niagara's torrents pour;
Or high o'er proud Olympus' ſteep,
Their pomp where infant thunders keep;
Or, if thou canſt, thy rapid glance
Shoot o'er the Atlantic's broad expanſe;

And

And as the ſtorm deſcends,
Bid Admiration's eager eyes
Drink yon bright Rainbow's varying dies,
As o'er the waves ſublime its gorgeous arch extends;
Confeſs'd in theſe, O Goddeſs, art thou known,
Tho' Grandeur deck thy brow, and Majeſty thy throne.

Light wafted o'er the etherial plain
Thou lead'ſt the Hours, a ſmiling train,
When May o'er Earth's prolific mould
Sprinkles her ſtars of vernal gold:
Half hid, 'midſt deluges of light,
Thine Summer's noon-tide landſcapes bright,
And thoſe of ſoften'd beam,
O'er which meek Evening drops her veil,
When Fancy wooes the fluttering gale,
To ſoothe her ſlumbers by the haunted ſtream,
Or marks where Autumn's ruddy orchards glow,
And the ripe vintage waves on th' impurpled bough.

O Queen of lovelineſs! where'er
Thou rov'ſt, through ocean, earth, or air,
The Pleaſures ſtill thy ſteps attend,
Their ev'ry charm the Muſes blend;
Knit with the Loves in frolic dance,
Youth, and roſe-lip'd Health advance,
And ſhe of placid mien,
Sweet as the vernal dawn her ſmile,
Her honey'd accents void of guile,
A white-rob'd veſtal meek, Simplicity is ſeen,
Whoſe auburn locks nor braid nor fillet bind,
But wanton o'er her breaſt, or float upon the wind.

'Tis thine with many a fairy flower
To deck gay Hope's Elyſian bower,
To ſhed on Fancy's ſoaring ſight
Day-dreams of bliſs in viſion bright,
And bid in ampler currents roll
The liberal energies of ſoul;
As ſpurning Cuſtom's chain,
Swift to the goal Invention ſprings,
While Taſte her fair aſſemblage brings,
And wider ſpreads the triumphs of thy reign,
When Nature weds with Art! diffuſing wide
The Villa's green retreats, the City's tow'ring pride.

Bright Goddeſs of the enchanted zone,
The moral world is all thy own;

Whate'er

Whate'er in high achievements won
Valour has wreath'd to grace her ſon,
Or Science in her attic bower,
When heav'n-born Genius ruled the hour;
To Thee by right was given
To virtuous acts the charm to lend,
True Dignity with Grace to blend,
And ſhed on Merit's gem the light of heaven;
To meliorate the heart by gifts refin'd,
And nearer lift to heaven the truth-ennobled mind.

Hence oft, in her heroic days,
Greece, with juſt tranſport, hymn'd thy praiſe,
As 'midſt the groves of Academe,
Thy ſpirit prompted Plato's dream;
Beneath the olive-ſhade retir'd,
Oft with thy charms he lay inſpir'd,
While Virtue to his view
Array'd like ſome ethereal gueſt,
The effulgence of her Sire expreſt;
And from her radiant face her veil ambroſial drew;
Bidding his ſoul with ſteady aim aſpire
Above yon cryſtal ſpheres, on Rapture's wing of fire.

O'er pure Benevolence's mien
Thou ſhedd'ſt thy cloudleſs ſmile ſerene,
When ſoft-ey'd Pity drops a tear,
Thine is each gem of cryſtal clear,
And thine the quick ſuffuſion meek
On Modeſty's ehvermeil'd cheek;
While light around thee move
Sweet Innocence in ſnowy veſt,
Firm Fortitude with dauntleſs breaſt,
The glow of Friendſhip, and the bloom of Love;
The ſoften'd radiance beam'd from Candour's eyes,
And Feeling's kindred warmth, and ſacred ſympathies.

To Thee the empire Heaven aſſign'd
O'er all the ideal tribes of mind,
That own, by turns, thy magic power
'Midſt Fancy's necromantic bower,
Touch at thy nod the quiv'ring ſtring,
Or wave the quick, excurſive wing,
Or hang in fixed trance,
O'er the ſoft lute's fantaſtic meaſure;
While glancing by, the fairy Pleaſure
Trips with light footſtep through the mazy dance,

And

And loves on every ſoft reſponſe to dwell,
That ſportive Echo breathes to her aërial ſhell.

Thou, when the Almighty formed the earth,
Didſt play before him: at thy birth
Divineſt Order roſe, and Light
Shone through the boundleſs Infinite:
With gems Heaven's ſapphire pavement glow'd,
Around the living waters flow'd;
High o'er each hallow'd ſhrine,
With ſun-beams blazing and with gold,
Soft azure wreaths of incenſe roll'd,
And roſe from many a harp the ſong divine;
Thee, Beauty! thee hail'd Heaven's enraptur'd choir,
Second to none thyſelf, but thy Omnific Sire!

BALLAD; *from the Italian. From Britiſh Synonymy; by Mrs.* Piozzi.

IN that roguiſh face one ſees
All her ſex's witcheries;
Playful ſweetneſs, cold diſdain,
Every thing to turn one's brain.

Sparkling from expreſſive eyes,
Heaving in affected ſighs,
Sure deſtruction ſtill we find,
Still we loſe our peace of mind.

Touch'd by her half-trembling hand,
Can the coldeſt heart withſtand?
While we dread the ſtarting tear,
And the tender accents hear.

Numberleſs are ſure the ways
That ſhe faſcinates our gaze;
Magic arts her power improve,
Witcheries that wait on love.

To a young Heir juſt coming of Age; by Dr. Johnſon. *From the ſame.*

LONG-expected one-and-twenty,
Ling'ring year, at length is flown;
Pride and pleaſure, pomp and plenty,
Great — —, are now your own.

Looſen'd

Looſen'd from the minor's tether,
Free to mortgage or to ſell,
Wild as wind, and light as feather,
Bid the ſons of thrift farewell.

Call the Betſys, Kates, and Jennys,
All the names that baniſh care;
Laviſh of your grandfire's guineas,
Shew the ſpirit of an heir.

All that prey on vice or folly
Joy to ſee their quarry fly;
There the gameſter, light and jolly,
There the lender, grave and ſly.

Wealth, my lad, was made to wander,
Let it wander as it will;
Call the jockey, call the pander,
Bid them come and take their fill.

When the bonny blade carouſes,
Pockets full, and ſpirits high—
What are acres? what are houſes?
Only dirt, or wet or dry.

Should the guardian, friend, or mother,
Tell the woes of wilful waſte;
Scorn their counſel, ſcorn their pother,
You can hang or drown at laſt.

Character of Caius Marius. From Roman Portraits, a Poem; by Robert Jephſon, *Eſq.*

SEE, nurs'd by furies, and for havoc bred,
Where frowning Marius lifts his rugged head;
His ſtature tall, with giant ſtrength endu'd,
Cruel by nature, and of manners rude;
To theſe were join'd, as if for terror meant,
A thund'ring voice, and viſage truculent.
A living column ſeem'd he in the wars,
Hewn from a quarry by the ſword of Mars;
Though at Arpinum a plebeian born*,
By him ſeven times the Conſul's robe was worn;
Through every function of the camp he paſt,
Till merit rais'd him to command at laſt.

* Is natus, et omnem puritiam Arpini alius. SAL. Bel. Jug.

Conſcious

Conſcious of mean deſcent, he feign'd to ſcorn*
The lazy greatneſs of the nobly born,
Who doze, and yawn, and retroſpective ſee
Their ſloth excus'd by vigorous anceſtry.
While theſe proud ſymbols in their halls diſplay'd,
His cottage kindred ſhew'd the plough or ſpade:
For ſtill he deem'd it true ſubſtantial fame,
Not to inherit, but create a name;
Diſdain'd the borrow'd ſplendour could be ſhed
By glory beaming from another's head:
As well his health or beauty might he claim,
To prop a weak, or grace a homely frame.
"What men were once (he cries) I little care,
"What's paſs'd is paſs'd; I value what they are.
"The dwarf, from Hector or Alcides ſprung,
"Muſt ſtill be feeble, though his ſire was ſtrong;
"And Helen's daughter, with a Gorgon's face,
"Would charm no hero by her mother's grace."
Yet all his toil the nobles to deride†,
Sprung leſs from principle than envious pride;
For though weak mortals ſhould not boaſt of aught,
What good man e'er his anceſtors forgot?
If bright the track their actions leave behind,
Fair emulation fires the offspring's mind;
But if foul deeds and ſhame their courſe diſgrace,
He quits the path, and runs a nobler race.
High birth, like riches, men too much may prize,
But thoſe alone who have it not, deſpiſe.

Foremoſt in fight for ever was he found,
Shar'd the coarſe ſoldier's fare, his bed the ground,
And lov'd the battle's ſhock, and the ſhrill trumpet's ſound.
Great his achievements, his ambition great,
He ſav'd, adorn'd, and then deſtroy'd the ſtate.

* Contemnunt novitatem meam, ego illorum ignaviam. Quanquam ego naturam unam, et communem omnium exiſtumo, ſed fortiſſimum quemque generoſiſſimum. SAL. Bel. Jug.

† At Marius, antea jam infeſtus nobilitati, tum vero multus atque ferox inſtare: ſingulos modo, modo univerſos lædere. SAL. Bel. Jug. —— Notwithſtanding his mean birth, coarſe education, military life, and ferocious nature, Marius is always deſcribed by Roman writers, and particularly by Tully, as a perſon of conſummate art, great pride, and unbounded ambition. On many occaſions he owed his ſucceſs at home as much to the dexterity of his management as to the ſplendour of his name, and the fame of his achievements. In his ſpeeches, or thoſe aſcribed to him by Salluſt, may be found the ſubſtance of almoſt all thoſe arguments and reflections which have been ever ſince ſo frequently employed to raiſe the conſequence of the people, and to depreciate the nobility. Though perſons of ſlender pretenſions to anceſtry are moſt frequently apt to boaſt of it, yet we ſometimes find inſtances of the ſame weakneſs in men of high birth and unqueſtionable underſtanding. It was well ſaid by Lord Cheſterfield of Lionel Duke of Dorſet, that his Grace was as proud of his family as if his grandfather had been a blackſmith.

Damn'd

Damn'd in Rome's annals to eternal fame,
Her genius trembled at his dreadful name;
In ill unrivall'd, had not Sylla ſtood
More hideous, and defil'd with native blood *.
Alternate fortune o'er his life diſplay'd
Her brighteſt funſhine, and her gloomieſt ſhade:
The inconſtant's minion him awhile we ſee,
Then plung'd as low in hopeleſs miſery.
As the ſtruck bull, who ſtrives in vain to ſhake
The ill-aim'd hatchet from his bleeding neck†,
Not knowing where to hide his forfeit head,
Bellowing with rage and ſhame, proſcrib'd, he fled:
Thus chas'd from Rome by conquering Sylla's ſway ‡,
All night in cold Minturnium's marſh he lay;
Till naked, hungry, from the quagmire's mud,
Defil'd, he crept, to ſearch for needful food;
Then rudely ſeiz'd, and with a halter bound,
A dungeon's ſtraw receiv'd him on the ground.
To end the warrior's ſufferings with the ſword,
A Cimbrian ſlave the dreary cell explor'd;
Scar'd by his thund'ring voice and dreadful look,
The aſſaſſin's graſp the murd'rous ſteel forſook:
An omen thence conceiv'd his life was ſpar'd,
And for his flight a friendly bark prepar'd;
At Sicily he touch'd; beat back by force,
Vagrant he ſteer'd t'ward Africa his courſe;
There his tir'd frame the hideous region found,
Where ruin'd Carthage ſtrew'd the ſterile ground §.
He, 'midſt the duſt of all that once was great,
Like Deſolation's Anarch, took his ſeat:
Preſenting thus to Contemplation's eye,
A two-fold image of calamity—
The double work of perſecuting fate,
An exil'd ſtateſman, and a periſh'd ſtate.
Yet even that ſad aſylum was deny'd;
Again diſturb'd, he ſought the uncertain tide.
His ſon, eſcap'd from falſe Numidia's ſnares,
To his ſtern father's hovering ſail repairs;

* Nihil illâ victoriâ fuiſſet crudelius, niſi mox Sullana eſſet recuta.—VEL. PAT. l. ii. c. 19.

† Quales mugitus, fugit cum ſaucius aram
Taurus, et incertam excuſſit cervice ſecurim.—VIRG. Æn. ii.

‡ Marius poſt ſextum conſulatum, annoque ſeptuageſſimo, nudus ac limo obrutus, oculis tantummodo ac narribus eminentibus, extractus arundineto circa paludem Maricæ, in quam ſe, fugiens conſectantes Sullæ equites, abdiderat, injectio in collum loro, in carcerem Minturnenſiem perductus eſt, &c.—VEL. PAT. l. ii. c. 19.

§ —— inopemque vitam in tuguris ruinarum Carthaginenſium toleravit.—VEL. PAT. ut ſuprà.

Then

Then cheer'd with hopes from Cinna's arms at home,
The indignant outcaſt turn'd his prow t'wards Rome.
To direr peſtilence as famine leads *,
So Cinna's havoc his revenge ſucceeds;
Fate in his nod, the gaunt deſtroyer walks
Through the thinn'd ſtreets, and Death before him ſtalks;
Age pleads in vain, in vain the Flamen's prayer;
How can Revenge and Rage be taught to ſpare?
As o'er Parthenope Veſuvius ſtands,
The boaſt and terror of ſurrounding lands—
Ere firſt to ſurge his waves of fire begin,
The mineral deluge boiling burns within;
Thick ſmoke, in many a dark and awful wreath,
Rolling above, diſmays the realm beneath;
Black with the brooding ſtorm of vengeful pride,
So tower'd, ſo frown'd, the obdurate homicide.
The famiſh'd dogs of death, reſtrain'd no more,
Carouſe and riot in Rome's richeſt gore.

To the Memory of the late Lady Jerningham. *Lines written in the Album, at Coſſey-Hall, Norfolk, the Seat of Sir* William Jerningham. *From Poems; by Mr.* Jerningham.

I.

THOU, to whoſe ſacred page the parting gueſt
Confides the workings of his grateful breaſt,
With awful pleaſure o'er thy form I bend,
My gift to bring—as brother, gueſt, and friend.
Farewell, ye ſhades! (ah! not to fame unknown)
Where Elegance has rear'd her attic throne:
Whoſe beauties, to the pure of taſte addreſs'd,
In Nature's charms munificently dreſs'd;
Whoſe ſoft amenity, with grace combin'd,
Diſplay the emblem of the maſter's mind:
Farewell!—ſay, ſhall I not regret the bower
Where ſocial intercourſe endear'd the hour,
Where ſhe, whoſe footſteps bleſs this ſylvan ſeat,
The pride and miſtreſs of this calm retreat;
Her ſoul illumin'd with Wiſdom's piercing beam,
Sheds round her circle the enlightening gleam!

II.

Ye ſcenes o'er which I caſt a ling'ring view,
O'er which affection breathes a warm adieu;

* Mox Caius Marius peſtifero civibus ſuis reditu intravit mœnia.—Vel. Pat. l. ii. c. 22.

That

That hour I now recall with pleaſing pain,
Which gave your beauties to my wiſh again:
Yet then, as I approach'd your ſmiling ſhore,
Prompt expectation gladly flew before:
Wing'd with gay hope, as nearer ſtill I drew,
Hills, plains, and woods aſſum'd a brighter hue:
Soft-wreath'd, in lilac veſtments, laughing May,
With hailing aſpect, met me on the way;
The various vale with eager ſteps I preſt,
Praiſe on my tongue, and tranſport in my breaſt:
O'er each lov'd ſpot I ſent a fond ſurvey,
Where, in the morn of life I wont to ſtray;
The winding walks, by memory endear'd,
Where, with the growing plants my youth was rear'd,
Embow'ring ſhades, in whoſe deep gloom immers'd,
Reflection fed me, and the Muſes nurs'd;
And, ſcreening from my view ambition's ſky,
Pour'd other viſions on my raptur'd eye.

III.

Yet, Album, ere the willing taſk I leave,
Warm from the heart theſe cloſing lines receive:
'Twas at the hour to contemplation due,
When evening meekly from the world withdrew,
Beneath an aged oak, in penſive mood,
I Sorrow's ſolitary captive ſtood:
When, from the rifted trunk's obſcure receſs,
A voice breath'd forth, in acents of diſtreſs:
"Where! where is ſhe! of mild and rev'rend mien,
"Once the lov'd miſtreſs of this ſylvan ſcene?"
"Fall'n—fall'n—fall'n—fall'n!" a diſtant voice reply'd:
The branches ſhook, as if to ſenſe ally'd:
Wild Terror flung his ſtrong enchantment round,
And evening hurried into night profound!
Now fond remembrance turns a willing ſight,
To dwell on gayer ſcenes of paſt delight;
Pleas'd to behold her, 'midſt the poliſh'd train,
With grace, with dignity, her part ſuſtain.
To mild feſtivity by nature prone,
With inbred wit peculiarly her own,
Prompt ev'ry ſportive incident to ſeize,
Diffuſing pleaſure with a careleſs eaſe;
Of power to charm invincibly poſſeſt,
Unfelt ſhe glided into every breaſt.
There are, who, fram'd with an enlighten'd taſte,
High on the critic form by judgment plac'd,
Who (marking well her ſenſe with ſtrength combin'd,
The ſcintillations of her playful mind,

An aptitude that never loſt its aim;)
With brilliant Sevigné inwreathe her name.
To Diſcontent, the vice of age, unknown,
Her cheerfulneſs maintain'd its envy'd throne:
The gay, the old, the learned, and the young;
And they whoſe heart pure elegance had ſtrung,
By the ſoft power of her enchantment won,
Would oft the glare of throng'd aſſemblies ſhun,
To court her ready wit's enliv'ning beam,
And baſk beneath its undulating gleam.
Yet oft from theſe unnotic'd would ſhe ſteal,
To ſoothe the bed-rid ſtretch'd on Torture's wheel;
To ſmooth the furrow on Misfortune's brow,
To warm the timid and exalt the low;
With lenient hand adminiſter relief,
And cloſe the bleeding artery of grief.
Ah, ever dear! ah, venerable ſhade!
Indulge this honour by affection paid.
Enthron'd in bliſs, ah! yet forbear to ſhun
This holy tribute from a zealous ſon.
'Twas mine, attendant on thy evening ray,
To watch the ſun-ſet of thy blameleſs day;
To ſee thee, weary of th' unequal ſtrife,
Shed the faint glimm'rings of exhauſted life;
And (heavenly moraliſt, ſublimely great!)
At the dread opening of thy future ſtate,
Teach by example, to thy lateſt breath,
Meekneſs in pain, and fortitude in death!

To a Lady, who drew the Pins from her Bonnet in a Thunder-Storm. From Tears of Affection, &c.; by the Rev. James Hurdis.

CEASE, Eliza, thy locks to deſpoil,
Nor remove the bright ſteel from thy hair;
For fruitleſs and fond is the toil,
Since Nature has made thee ſo fair.

While the roſe on thy cheek ſhall remain,
And thine eyes ſo bewitchingly ſhine,
Thy endeavour muſt ſtill be in vain,
For attraction will always be thine.

Elegy on the Death of the Hon. Mrs. O'Neil. *From The Baniſhed Man, a Novel; by* Charlotte Smith.

LIKE a poor ghoſt the night I ſeek,
Its hollow winds repeat my ſighs,
The cold dews mingle on my cheek,
With tears that wander from mine eyes.

The thorns that ſtill my couch moleſt,
Have robb'd theſe heavy eyes of ſleep;
But, tho' depriv'd of tranquil reſt,
I here at leaſt am free to weep.

Twelve times the moon, that riſes red
O'er yon tall wood of ſhadowy pine,
Has fill'd her orb ſince low was laid,
My Harriet, that ſweet form of thine.

While each ſad month, as ſlow it paſs'd,
Brought ſome new ſorrow to deplore,
Some grief, more poignant than the laſt;
But thou canſt calm thoſe griefs no more.

No more thy friendſhip ſoothes to reſt,
This weary'd ſpirit, tempeſt-toſt;
The cares that weigh upon my breaſt
Are doubly felt ſince thou art loſt.

Bright viſions of ideal grace,
That the young poet's dreams inflame,
Were not more lovely than thy face;
Were not more perfect than thy frame.

Wit, that no ſufferings could impair,
Was thine, and thine thoſe mental powers,
Of force to chaſe the fiends that tear
From Fancy's hands her budding flowers.

O'er what, my angel friend, thou wert,
Dejected Memory loves to mourn;
Regretting ſtill that tender heart,
Now withering in a diſtant urn!

But ere that wood of ſhadowy pine
Twelve times ſhall yon full orb behold,
This ſickening heart, that bleeds for thine,
My Harriet!—may like thine be cold!

Imitations of Martial. From "Imitations of ſome of the Epigrams of Martial." Parts III. & IV.

"*Voti tui breviter ſi vis cognoſcere Marci?*" &c.

DEAR Sam, who the camp and the pulpit have try'd,
You aſk me what ſyſtem of life I ſhould chooſe:
To manage my own little farm is my pride,
And to lounge where I like in my dirty old ſhoes.

In a patron's chill veſtibule why ſhould I freeze,
Why dance up and down at the doors of the great;
When to warm my own hearth I can clip my own trees,
And purſue my own game on my own ſmall eſtate?

Who would angle for meals that can catch his own fiſh?
As the honey unbought what deſert half ſo ſweet?
Give me eggs of my own, in a clean wooden diſh,
And my hind's luſty daughter to cook up the treat.

While for health I can plough, and for exerciſe dig,
May the wretch who diſlikes me, my ſyſtem forbear:
May he veil his grey locks in an alderman's wig,
Grow gouty while ſheriff, and die when lord mayor!

"*Baſta da nobis, Diadumene, preſſa; quot inquis.*"

PR'YTHEE, toaſt-maſter, order more liquor,
And tip the briſk waiter a wink:
Let the bumpers paſs cloſer and quicker,
Nor aſk us how many we'll drink.

'Twere as likely by drops we'd be able
To meaſure the punch we conſume:
All the walnut-ſhells count on the table,
Or number the flies in the room.

How many? we'll match with libations,
Compute them as high as you may,
All the clappings and vociferations
For "God ſave the King," at the play.

Counted bumpers ſeem grudg'd, like a penny
Reluctantly paid by a Jew:
Honeſt lad, never think of *how many*;
But limit and welcome *how few*.

"*Dum tu municipem Corinthiorum,*" &c.

FRIBBLE, while you with pride advance
Your long eſtabliſhment in France,
By Paris air and taſte refin'd
To ſomething of the monkey kind;
Whene'er we goſſip, why lug in
Some term ſignificant of kin?
Why *brother countryman*, I'd know,
To *me*, *John Bull* from top to toe?
Say, where does the reſemblance ſtrike,
And how are we ſo very like?
A ſcore of curls in fluttering ſtate
Embelliſh your luxuriant pate:
My cloſe-ſhorn poll and ſcanty ſcut,
Affect the ſmug Tom Onſlow cut;
Your powders, eſſences, and ſlops,
From twenty advertiſing ſhops,
Creams, paſtes, pomades, and drugs, would poze
The verieſt perfumer's noſe.
My ſole coſmetic ſoap, I ween,
I ply the pump, and think I'm clean:
Your languiſhing falſetto note
Scarce ſteals in whiſpers from your throat;
My boiſterous voice, from leathern lungs,
Outbawls a dozen fiſhmen's tongues.
Hence we're no more alike, I gather,
Than Pacchierotti and his father.
But if we muſt alliance claim,
Becauſe our native ſoil's the ſame,
And you perſiſt, howe'er abſurd,
To *brother* me at every word,
I'll call you, ſet your mind at eaſe,
My *ſiſter*; Fribble, when you pleaſe.

"*Cotile, bellus homo es, dicunt hoc, Cotile, multi,*" &c.

EXALTED, *Smart*, on faſhion's tip,
The pink of petit-maitreſhip,
Dear fellow, ſome compaſſion ſhew,
And teach me how to be a beau.
"*Hog!* have your hair dreſs'd thrice a day,
"Keep a perfumer's ſhop in pay:
"Quote ſcraps of French in naſal drawl,
Now fold your aukward arms, now ſprawl:

"Die

" Die for each draggle-tail you ſee,
" Haunt them at church, at park, at tea;
" And, whiſp'ring to the fair, for ever
" Grin, as if what you ſaid was clever.
" Want time to ſcribble, and peruſe
" Rhymes, meſſages, and billet-doux:
" Shrink like a ſnail, left Sir John Brute
" Soil with his wig your velvet ſuit:
" In the town's lewd intrigues be deep,
" Know who keep girls, and whom girls keep:
" Ply at each Faro Coterie;
" And ſmatter race-horſe pedigree."—
—The devil! Smart!—if this be ſo,
'Tis an egregious thing, a Beau!

Account of Books for 1794.

Ferishta's *History of* Dekkan, *from the first Mahummedan Conquests: A continuation from other native writers, of the events in that part of* India, *to the reduction of its last Monarchs by the Emperor* Aulumgeer Aurungzebe: *also, the reigns of his Successors in the Empire of* Hindostan *to the present day: and the History of* Bengal, *from the accession of* Aliverdee Khan *to the year* 1780, *comprised in six parts. By* Jonathan Scott, *Captain in the* East India *Company's Service, Persian Secretary to the late Governor General,* Warren Hastings, *Esq. and Member of the Asiatic Society in* Calcutta. *Two volumes.*

IN the present state of the British possessions in India, it is a matter of the highest interest to gain a knowledge of the history and ancient state of that country, and an attempt to supply that useful information has been made by captain Scott in the translation before us, aided by other works, and completed by a continuation of his own, and by references to authors who have narrated the events which have recently taken place.

Ferishta, author of the history now offered to the public in an English dress, says captain Scott in his preface, is one of the most esteemed writers of Hindostan, and was of noble rank, and high in office at the court of Ibrahim Adil Shaw, of Beejapore, one of the sultans of Dekkan. Besides the *History of the Dhely emperors, and this of Dekkan, Ferishta compiled one of every province in India, and many complete copies of his works have been brought home by English gentlemen. My first intention was to have published a literal translation; but, on revision, I thought it would be more pleasing to an English ear, deprived of some of the numerous hyperbolical epithets and too frequent conjunctions, which drew out the periods to a distracting length, hurtful to the sense in our language. This alone has been done; yet perhaps, some readers may still think the style too oriental; but to have deviated farther from the original, would have been imposing a compilation for a translation. To those who have been in India, and are conversant with the history and manners of the natives, some of the notes may appear trivial: but every explanation is necessary to render satisfactory, to most readers, the perusal of foreign idiom, custom and uncommon names. The last I have endeavoured to write as pronounced in the country.

It is necessary to mention, he proceeds, that from page 400 to the end of the Nizam Shawee dynasty, is not taken from Ferishta, his work concluding

* Translated and published, many years since, by Colonel Dow.

concluding with the fall of Ahmednuggar. What follows, was from a work written by Shaw-nowaug Khan, a nobleman of Dekkan, entitled, Maſſer al Amra, or Biography of Nobles.

An introduction which follows the preface, contains a deſcription of the province of Dekkan, and a very brief outline of its traditional hiſtory previous to the period at which Feriſhta's account begins.

The narrative of this Hiſtorian commences with the elevation of Hauſſun, a poor dependant on a Bramin, to the throne of the Dekkan, which he filled, under the name of Alla ad Dien, in the year of the chriſtian era 1347. This prince, who by the poſſeſſion of every virtue, ſhewed himſelf worthy of his high ſtation, died, after a reign of eleven years and two months, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age. The author concludes the account of him with the following anecdote and reflection; "It is related, that Sultan Alla ad Dien being aſked how, without great treaſures or armies, he had acquired royalty in ſo ſhort a ſpace? replied, By affability to friends and enemies, and ſhewing liberality to all to the utmoſt of his power. Some authors write, that he was deſcended from Bahmen, one of the ancient kings of Perſia; and I have ſeen a pedigree of him, ſo derived in the royal library of Ahmednuggur: but am inclined to believe ſuch lineage was only framed upon his acceſſion to royalty, by flatterers and poets, and that his origin was too obſcure to be authentically traced."

The progreſs of Feriſhta's narrative, always inſtructive and intereſting, brings to light many acts of virtue and valour, as well as many of treachery and meanneſs, and in its early periods, affords a moſt engaging view of the inhabitants of India, elegant in manners and proficients in the arts of polite nations, at a period when the people of this, and the other countries of Europe, were with difficulty emerging from barbariſm. The liberality and good taſte of the Sultan Mhamood, toward the cloſe of the thirteenth century, are recorded in the following narration, which we extract with the greater pleaſure, as it introduces to notice the ſweet and juſtly celebrated poet Hafiz.

"Sultan Mhamood had a taſte for poetry, and wrote elegant verſes himſelf. He ſpoke fluently the Perſian and Arabic languages. When proſperous events occurred, he was not intoxicated with joy, nor immerſed in grief at the attacks of misfortune. He never cohabited but with one wife, and paid great regard to the opinions of divines, of whoſe company he was very fond. In his reign, the poets of Arabia and Perſia reſorted to Dekkan, and were benefited by the gracious flow of the ſtream of liberality. Meer Fyez Oollak Anjoo, who preſided on the ſeat of juſtice, once preſenting him with an ode, was rewarded with a thouſand pieces of gold, and permitted to retire, covered with honours, to his own country. The fame of the Sultan's affability, judgment, and munificence, ſpread ſo wide, that the celebrated poet of Shiraz, Khaujeh Hafiz, determined to viſit Dekkan, but was prevented by a train of accidents, which, with the cauſe of his intention, are thus related.

Meer Fyez Oolah Anjoo ſent this famous poet a preſent with a letter, intimating, that if he would confer honour on the Sultan's dominions

by his approach, and make Dekkan the envy of paradiſe by his bounty-ſhedding preſence, the inhabitants would value properly ſuch an honour, and have him conducted back to Shiraz, enriched to the height of his deſires. The poet, from the kindneſs and aſſurances of Fyez Oollah Anjoo, became ardently deſirous of viſiting Dekkan. He diſpoſed of the gifts ſent him among his relations and creditors; and, departing from Shiraz, arrived ſafely at * Lar. Here he aſſiſted a friend, who had been robbed, with great part of his ready money. From Lar he was accompanied to Ormus, by Khaujeh Zien al Abad Dien Hammdanee, and Khaujeh Mahummud Gazroonee, who were alſo going to viſit Hindooſtan. With them, he took ſhipping in one of the royal veſſels, that had arrived at Ormus from Dekkan; but he had uot weighed anchor, when a ſtorm aroſe, and the ſea became very rough. Hafiz repented of his journey; and, pretending that he had forgotten to take leave of ſome of his friends at Ormus, left the ſhip. Having written the following ode, he intruſted it to be given to Fyez Oolah Anjoo; after which he returned to Shiraz.

ODE.

"The breeze of my garden is not "to be purchaſed by the poſſeſſion "of the world.

"My companions rebuked me, "and ſaid, Quit this ſpot. What "whim hath poſſeſſed thee, that "thy cell is not to be valued?

"Yonder royal crown on which "is ſet danger of life, is an heart "enticing ornament, but not worth "my loſs of head.

"From deſire of pearls, the dan-"gers of the ſea appeared eaſy to "me; but I miſtook; for one wave "is not to be appeaſed by treaſures "of gold.

"Is my heart diſpirited in the "aſſembly of friendſhip? All the "gildings of art are not worth a "ſingle cup of generous wine.

"If Hafiz chooſes to retire from "the world, contented with a little, "hundreds of pieces of gold are not "worth one inſtant of vexation."

When Fyez Ooolah received this ode he read it to the ſultan, who was much pleaſed with the poetry, and obſerved, that as Hafiz had ſet out with intention to viſit his court, it was incumbent upon him not to leave him without proofs of his liberality. He then committed a thouſand pieces of gold to Mahummud Caſim Meſhidee, one of the learned in his court, that he might purchaſe with it what was moſt acceptable of the curious productions of Hind, and ſend them to the poet at Shiraz; which was done accordingly."

The Bahmanee Dynaſty, founded by Houſſim, became extinct in 1526, the kingdom of Dekkan having been previouſly divided into five kingdoms; Adil Shawee, or Beeſapore; Koottub Shawee, or Golconda; Ummaud Shawee, or Berar; Nizam Shawee, or Ahmednuggur; and Bereed Shawee; or Ahmedabad Bieder; the hiſtory of which forms the ſubject of the following pages. The continuation of this narrative occupies the reſidue of the firſt volume, but we forbear to trace the particulars, as it would lead to an unwarrantable length. The ſtyle of Periſhta, as repreſented in this tranſlation, is ſimple and elegant, yet often adorned with oriental imagery,

* A port in the Perſian Gulph.

imagery, and embellished with poetical quotation. The matter is extremely interesting, and the events succeed each other with great rapidity, but without confusion or obscurity.

The second volume begins with an account of Aurengzebe's operations in Dekkan, and of the formation of the book, captain Scott gives the following account. The perusal of Mr. Orme's works, when in India, first excited my curiosity to obtain that information, the want of which he regrets; and for this purpose I procured every manuscript likely to afford any anecdotes of Aurengzebe and his successors. Of the transactions of this reign, especially his operations in Dekkan, by far the most important (unless we except his wars with his brothers, and the deposal of his father, which have been published by colonel Dow, in his third volume of the history of Hindoostan) I have not met with a better account than the following. It is a free translation of a journal kept by a Bondela officer, who attended Dulput Roy, the chief of his tribe, in all Aurengzebe's campaigns, which was presented to me by the Raja of Duttaah, a great grandson of Dulput Roy, when I acted as Persian interpreter to a detachment under colonel Popham, in the Ghoed country. This narration commences in the year 1655, and concludes with the death of the Emperor in 1707.

These subjects are comprised in the first three parts of this publication, the three which remain comprize the History of Aurengzebe's successors; the first of them being a translation of a work by Eradut Khan, which captain Scott had published in 1786, and now incorporates with his present work; a continuation compiled by himself, from Persian manuscripts and other sources, and a history of Bengal, from the accession of Aliverdec Khan Mahabut Jung, and ending with the year 1780.

This work is not only of great interest and importance to the politician, the historian, and the philosopher; but it is recommended by the graces of style and the charms of tasteful and unaffected ornament.

The Antiquities of Athens, *measured and delineated by* James Stuart, F.R.S. *and* F.S.A. *and* Nicholas Revett, *Painters and Architects. Volume the third.*

WE have already noticed, as they appeared, the first two volumes of this work*, and are happy to announce this, which completes the undertaking, without feeling it necessary to make any deductions from the praise bestowed on the former parts. Industry, taste, and learning, are happily combined in a production which will ever stand an honourable record of the ability of British artists in exploring, depicting, and describing the wreck of those monuments which formed the glory and wonder of the ancient world, and which survive to these times to inform the judgment, and check the vanity of those who aspire to excellence in the same pursuits.

This third volume was prepared for the press by Mr. Reveley, who in his preface gives the following account of the manner in which it has been put into its present form, it being unfortunately deprived

* See Annual Register, Vols. VI, and XXXII.

prived of the advantage of making its appearance under the direction of its original author.

When the materials, he ſays, were firſt delivered to me, ſeveral chapters were fairly tranſcribed; to moſt of them, however, additions have been made, and other chapters have been ſince entirely collected from looſe papers. As from this deſcription the reader may apprehend that he has before him rather a production of mine, than an original work of Mr. Stuart's, it is proper to mention, that the firſt ſtep taken, and indeed the only one that could render Mr. Stuart's materials (conſiſting of numerous memorandum books and looſe papers) intelligible, was to form a general index to the whole, and with this aſſiſtance no difficulty was found in completely collecting Mr. Stuart's opinions on each ſubject. I hope, therefore, it will appear, that I have ſpared no pains to do juſtice to the ſubſcribers and ſupporters of this invaluable work, as well as to the ability of its ingenious and accurate author.

This ſtatement is followed by an exact deſcription of all the paſſages which can properly be conſidered as proceeding from Mr. Reveley himſelf, and which indeed are very few, though highly uſeful. The compiler alſo acknowledges his obligations to Mr. Revett, who drew the architectural deſigns, for ſeveral important pieces of information, and to Dr. Chandler, for his aſſiſtance in the inſcriptions. He alſo notices ſome particulars relating to the peculiar excellencies of Athenian architecture, and undertakes a refutation of the opinions of Sir William Chambers on this ſubject. This portion of the preface is executed with no leſs ability than ſpirit, and in a tone of reſentment which may not be deemed unjuſtifiable from the author, who conſiders himſelf as the defender of a deceaſed friend (Mr. Stuart) againſt an unwarranted poſthumous attack. The Dilettanti ſociety too, having encountered the cenſure of Sir William Chambers, is thus vindicated.

"Nothing is more worthy to be remarked than the very contemptuous manner in which Sir William treats all the admirers of Grecian art, including among the reſt the Dilettanti ſociety; a ſociety that can certainly boaſt of containing in its body all that is moſt profound and penetrating in art in this country, and to which the public is indebted, in their publication of the Ionian antiquities, for a few, indeed, but precious additions to the ſtock of genuine Grecian architecture.—They are all cenſured without diſtinction in our anthor's obliging caution to ſtragglers. This deciſive mode of expreſſion might be deemed deſerving of ſevere reprehenſion; but the popularity into which Grecian principles are daily growing, in ſpite of the feeble attempts that have been made to decry them, is the beſt anſwer to ſuch undiſtinguiſhing aſſailants. Sir William, not contented with the enterprizing attack he has made upon Grecian architecture in general, has thought proper to extend his hoſtilities ſtill farther, and to repreſent the ancients univerſally as novices in the 'conſtructive part of architecture.' To anſwer fully this unlimited cenſure, it would be neceſſary to enumerate the variety of buildings of the antients, many of which are only known to us by the admiration

tion they excited in the writers whose works are handed down to us, and every one of which would contribute to rescue these celebrated masters from the disgraceful accusation that is advanced against them."

The present volume is divided into twelve chapters, to which are prefixed two introductory dissertations; the one on the plan of Athens, perfected from an unfinished manuscript of Mr. Stuart, by the care and perseverance of Mr. Reveley; the other on the map of Attica, containing the modern names of towns, villages, monasteries, farms, &c. with their ancient names; both are illustrated with engravings. The map of Greece in general, Mr. Reveley says, will be found much more accurate than any yet published of that country; as it has Mr. Stuart's surveys in Attica, and other parts which he visited. The Morea is also laid down from a manuscript map never before published. The map of Attica though imperfect, is yet by much the most accurate survey that has been made of this province; however, having nothing laid down but from authority, it appears unfinished; as it was not thought proper to complete it farther than the authorities warranted. The chart of the ports of Athens is intirely of Mr. Stuart's survey; but, as he had left no scale upon the drawing, one has been obtained by the skill and ingenuity of Mr. Arrowsmith.

In the present volume, the first chapter is devoted to the Temple of Theseus. It cannot be doubted, the author observes, that this is the Temple which both Plutarch and Pausanias place near the Gymnasium of Ptolemy; great remains of that Gymnasium are yet standing, and their situation in regard of this Temple agrees exactly with the information those authors have left us. On what occasion Theseus was thus honoured, we are taught by the above mentioned authors. Plutarch particularly, after recounting his heroic deeds, and the ingratitude of the factious Athenians towards him, with his banishment and death, says, "In after times, several motives concurring, the Athenians honoured him as a hero. Many of those who fought against the Medes at Marathon imagined they saw his apparition in complete armour, rushing before them on the enemy. After the conclusion of the Median war, Phædon being Archon, the Athenians consulting the Oracle, the Pythian priestess answered, that they should bring back the bones of Theseus, deposit them honourably in their city, and with a religious observance keep them there." This was accomplished when Cymon the son of Miltiades had conquered Scyros; there, after a diligent search, he discovered the venerable remains of the hero, of superior stature, with the brazen point of a spear, and a sword lying by him (these weapons in the heroic age were of brass); and having embarked them on board his ship, he carried them to Athens, where they were received by the citizens with splendid processions and sacrifices, as if the hero himself had returned to visit them.—His remains were deposited in the middle of the city, near the present Gymnasium. Nor was this all; festivals were instituted, and games celebrated, in honour of the event; and on this occasion, as it has been generally supposed, happened that famous contest between Æschylus and Sophocles, two competitors for dramatic glory, who since that time,

if

if we except Euripides, have hardly either of them had a rival: the victory was adjudged to Sophocles, and his high ſpirited antagoniſt, unable to ſupport the diſgrace, or ſubmit to the deciſion of his judges, left his country, and paſſed into Sicily a voluntary exile. This was tranſacted, we are told by Plutarch, in the year that Aphepſion was Archon, which the beſt authorities place in the fourth year of the ſeventy-ſeventh Olympiad, 467 before Chriſt; that is, exactly forty years before the death of Pericles, or preciſely at the time when he began to acquire popularity and power in Athens: ſo that this Temple may well be accounted a work of the age of Pericles.

Chapter the ſecond treats of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, called alſo the columns of Hadrian. "Concerning this antiquity," the author ſays, "I have already twice on different occaſions offered ſome remarks; once in the fifth chapter of the firſt volume; where it appeared neceſſary to refuſe an opinion advanced by Wheler and Spon, who, conceiving the Temple of Jupiter Olympius ſtood northward of the Acropolis, have miſtaken the ruin of a building, which they found in that ſituation, for the remains of that once moſt magnificent temple.

Some remarks on it again occur in the firſt chapter of the ſecond volume, intended to correct a miſtake I had made in the aforementioned fifth chapter; where, in common with other commentators on Vitruvius, I had ſuppoſed the Octaſtyle Hypæthros temple of Jupiter Olympius, mentioned in the obſcure paſſage there quoted from him, refers to the Olympium at Athens; thus Barbaro, Perrault, and even Galliani, with others, have tranſlated this paſſage; nor indeed do I remember to have ſeen it any where underſtood in the ſenſe I have ventured to aſſign it, by ſuppoſing the Octaſtyle Hypæthros of Jupiter Olympius he there inſtances, to relate, not to any temple in Athens, but to the celebrated temple of Jupiter at Olympia, in the territory of Elis; a temple, which, from the dimenſions Pauſanias has given of it, appears evidently to have had no more than eight columns in front, and to have been preciſely of the ſame aſpect with the Parthenon in the Acropolis of Athens. In ſupport of his opinion on this ſubject, he cites Wheler, and tranſlates a paſſage from Pauſanias."

In chapter the third, the author minutely deſcribes the arch of Theſeus, or of Hadrian, and after an ingenious inveſtigation of the opinions of various writers, forms the following concluſion. "From what has been here advanced, it ſhould ſeem, that, notwithſtanding the claim ſet up in behalf of the emperor Hadrian, by the inſcription on this arch, as the founder of at leaſt this ſouthern part of Athens, it is rather a complimentary effuſion of Athenian gratitude to ſo liberal a benefactor than an abſolute truth or the record of an hiſtorical fact; for this part proves to have been one of the earlieſt additions to the original city, as appears from what has been cited from Thucydides, which is confirmed, and in ſome ſort, illuſtrated, by the account Pauſanias has given of the antiquities contained within the peribolus of the Olympieum."

The aqueduct of Hadrian is the ſubject of chapter the fourth. "The city of Athens was ill provided with water, even in the moſt flouriſhing

riſhing times of the republic, inſomuch ſo, that the inhabitants were obliged to ſink wells, to ſupply themſelves with that neceſſary of life. Theſe we muſt conclude were numerous, ſince, by a law of Solon, thoſe only who lived in the neighbourhood of a well could avail themſelves of its water. This defect, ſo far at leaſt as related to new Athens, was at length remedied by the munificence of the emperors Adrian and Antoninus Pius. For this purpoſe a reſervoir was dug at the foot of Mount Anchesmus, which was adorned with the Ionic frontiſpiece, the ſubject of the preſent chapter. This reſervoir appears evidently to have been ſupplied with water by an aqueduct of no mean length, for, we paſſed ſome ruined arches of it in ſeveral places, at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, in our way to Cephiſſa, a delightful village, abounding with the moſt copious ſprings I have any where ſeen in the Attic territory: it is between ſix and ſeven miles diſtant from Athens, and the aqueduct apparently led from that place."

Chapter the fifth deſcribes the monument of Philopappus, which, in the author's judgment, was not the monument of a ſingle perſon, but was erected in honour of the laſt king of Commagene, and more than one of his deſcendants.

The ſucceeding chapters, which are generally ſhort, deſcribe various antiquities; ſome appertaining to Athens, and ſome to other places. They are, chap. 6th. the Temple at Corinth; 7. the Bridge over the Ilyſſus and the Stadium Panathenaicum; 8. the Odeum of Regilla, which the author conſiders as diſtinct from that of Pericles; and 9. a Ruin at Salonicha, called the Incantada, concerning which the following traditional fable is related, and believed by the inhabitants. "This building they call Goetria the Incantada, and affirm it to have been the work of magic art. On being aſked when, and on what occaſion, this extraordinary act was performed, they anſwered, the fact was undoubted; every body knew that their great king Alexander conquered Perſia: when he was preparing to invade that empire, he ſolicited the aſſiſtance of a king of Thrace, who accordingly united his forces to thoſe of his Macedonian neighbour, attending in perſon, with his family, at the court of Alexander, where they were royally entertained, and lodged in a ſumptuous palace near his own, communicating with it by means of a magnificent gallery, of which theſe columns are the remains. The Thracian queen, a lady of tranſcendent beauty, accompanied her huſband on this viſit. Alexander, young and unaccuſtomed to controul his paſſions, ardent in the purſuits of love as of glory, dazzled with ſuch exceſs of charms, determined to violate the rights of hoſpitality, and ſeduce the queen of Thrace. He contrived, by means of this gallery, to pay her frequent viſits, though not ſo privily as to eſcape the notice of her huſband, who having verified his ſuſpicions, reſolved to take a dreadful revenge on the deluder. He had in his train a ſkilful necromancer from Pontus, who, diſcovering by his art, the inſtant that Alexander was to paſs to the queen's apartment, ſcattered his ſpells and charms throughout this gallery; they were of ſuch marvellous power, that whoever ſhould, at a certain hour,

attempt

attempt to paſs, would inevitably be converted into ſtone. Ariſtotle, a conjuror attached to Alexander, and in ſkill greatly ſuperior to the man of Pontus, diſcovered his danger time enough to prevent it: by his advice and intreaties, Alexander was prevailed on to forbear, for once, his appointed viſit. The impatient queen, tired with expectation, ſent one of her confidential ſervants to ſee if her lover was coming, and ſhe herſelf ſoon followed. At this inſtant, the king, ſuppoſing the magic had worked all its effect, iſſued forth, attended by his conjuror, to feaſt his eyes with a ſight of the revenge he had taken; when, ſtrange to relate, both companies, thoſe with the king, as well as thoſe with the queen, were inſtantly changed to ſtone, and remain to this hour a monument of vengeance on a jealous huſband and an unfaithful wife."

The tenth chapter treats on the iſland of Delos, which, the author obſerves, has been ſo well deſcribed by Wheler and Spon, Tournefort, and others, that few particulars remain unnoticed by them; and many things they ſaw are now deſtroyed. "This iſland, once ſo celebrated," he proceeds, "the reſort of multitudes, the ſeat of religion, religious ceremonies, and pompous proceſſions, is now an uninhabited deſert, every where ſtrewed with ruins, ſo various, and ſo well wrought, as to evince its once populous and flouriſhing condition. The only animals we ſaw here, beſides rabbits and ſnakes, were a few ſheep brought occaſionally from Mycone, a neighbouring iſland, to crop the ſcanty herbage which the ruins will permit to grow. Travellers, who have viſited this place, have been diſtreſſed for water; I have therefore given a map of the iſland, in which, among other particulars, the ſituation of an excellent well is marked. The number of curious marbles here is continually diminiſhing, on account of a cuſtom the Turks have of placing, at the heads of the graves of their deceaſed friends, a marble column; and the miſerable ſculptors of that nation come here every year, and work up the fragments for that purpoſe, carving the figure of a turban on the top of the monumental ſtone. Other pieces they carry off for lintels and window cills; ſo that, in a few years, it may be as naked as when it firſt made its appearance above the ſurface of the ſea."

Chapter the eleventh treats of an Ionic colonade, near the lantern of Demoſthenes, now forming part of an oil mill; and chapter the twelfth comprizes ſome antiquities, which, from their ruined ſtate, are more inconſiderable.

Each chapter is copiouſly illuſtrated with engravings of great beauty and apparent exactneſs. In thoſe which preſent general views of the aſpect of places at the time the deſigns were made, the artiſt has introduced figures, ſhewing the dreſs, utenſils, and domeſtic animals of the people. In the architectural drawings there is great clearneſs of effect, and an evident attention to correctneſs in dimenſions and proportions.

The Environs of London: *being an hiſtorical account of the Towns, Villages, and Hamlets, within twelve miles of that capital: interſperſed with biographical Anecdotes. By the Reverend* Daniel Lyſons,

Lyſons, A. M. F. A. S. *Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of* Orford. *Volumes the ſecond and third. County of* Middleſex.

IN a work like the preſent, induſtry, reſearch, and copiouſneſs are the chief ſubſtantial recommendations, and theſe Mr. Lyſons amply poſſeſſes; the ſubordinate, and perhaps more captivating qualities are ſprightlineſs and facility, and in theſe Mr. Lyſons is not deficient. He who takes up ſuch a work as the Environs of London, expects an agreeable companion in his lounge or his airing; but if he finds in that companion a ſcholar, an antiquary, and a biographer, he gains an inеſtimable advantage. He cannot, without delight, encounter a man who makes him acquainted with the merits of the learned who have inhabited the places through which he paſſes, who reſcues from oblivion thoſe monuments over which the miſts of time begin to ſpread their gloom, and who, commemorates in eaſy converſe the illuſtrious dead whoſe fame is committed to the frail cuſtody of monumental marble.

Of what might be expected, and what has been accompliſhed by Mr. Lyſons in the publication he promiſed, mention has been made in a former volume*; to thoſe obſervations it is not neceſſary here to make any addition, except that which conveys our teſtimony, that in the continuation, no hope we had formed has been diſappointed, no prediction which we hazarded has been defeated. The merits and beauties are the ſame, the ſucceſs of the publication ſo far as it has proceeded, has been proportionate. The beſt judgment of ſuch a book is to be formed, not by hearing the opinion of a reviewer, but by the examination of paſſages fairly ſelected; and therefore we proceed, without further comment, to lay before the reader ſuch as appear to be peculiarly deſerving of notice.

The following entries from the accounts of the chapel wardens of Brentford deſerve attention, as they aſcertain the manners of a former century.

The chapel wardens account books contain ſeveral curious entries, of which the following are copies:

	£.	s.	d.
" 1620, Paid for 6 boules	0	0	8
" —— for 6 tynn tokens	0	0	6
" —— for a pair of pigeon " holes - - - - -	0	1	6
" 1621, Paid to her that " was lady at Whitſon- " tide by conſent - -	0	5	0
" —— Goodwife Anſell " for the pigeon holes	0	1	6
" —— paid for the games	1	1	0
" 1623, received for the " maypole - - - -	1	4	0
" 1628, paid for a drumbe, " ſtickes, and caſe - -	0	16	0
" —— for 2 heads for the " drumbe - - - - -	0	2	8
" 1629, received of Robert " Bicklye for the uſe of " our games - - -	0	2	0
" —— of the ſaid R. B. " for a ſilver bar, which " was loſt at Elyng -	0	3	6
" 1634, paid for the ſilver " games - - - - -	0	11	8
" 1643, paid to Thomas " Powell for pigeon " holes - - - - -	0	2	0

Among other articles in the hands of the chapel wardens in 1653, was one little collar, a bell, one little bowl,

* Vol. XXXIV. part 2.

bowl, and a pin of silver. It appears that the parish rates at this period were chiefly raised by profits accruing from the celebration of public sports and diversions at stated times of the year, particularly at Whitsuntide. At a vestry held at Brentford in 1621, several articles were agreed upon with regard to the management of the parish stock by the chapel wardens. The preamble states, "That the inhabitants had for many years been accustomed to have meetings at Whitsontide, in their church house and other places there, in friendly manner, to eat and drink together, and liberally to spend their monies, to the end that neighbourly society might be maintained; and also a common stock raised for the repairs of the church, maintaining of orphans, placing poor children in service, and defraying other charges;" which stock not having been properly applied, it was ordered, that a particular account should be given from year to year of their gains at those times, and the manner of the expenditure. It may be observed, that these games are of a later date, and differ materially from those noticed in the parish of Kingston-upon-Thames. In "the accompts for the Whitson-"tide ale, 1624," the gains are thus discriminated:

	£.	s.	d.
"Imprimis: clear'd by the pigeon holes	4	19	0
"- - - - by hocking - -	7	3	7
"- - - - by riffeling - -	2	0	0
"- - - - by victualling - -	8	0	2
	22	2	9

The hocking occurs almost every year till 1640, when it appears to have been dropt. It was collected at Whitsuntide.

"1618, Gained with hocking at Whitsuntide - - £. 16. 12. 3."

The other games were continued two years later. Riffeling is synonymous with raffling.

Under the head Enfield, the author introduces the story of Elizabeth Canning, in the following terms:

Sufanna Wells, buried October 5, 1763. "The woman at whose house Elizabeth Canning, of famous memory, was said to have been confined. The strange and mysterious affair of Canning and the gypsey engaged a very considerable share of the public attention during the years 1753 and 1754. To those who do not remember that period, and by accident have never heard of this extraordinary affair, it may be necessary to mention briefly that Elizabeth Canning, a servant girl, having been to visit a relation on new year's day 1753, did not return to her master's house that night, nor was she heard of for a month afterwards; when she came to her mother's, in a very emaciated and deplorable condition, and affirmed, that on the night she disappeared, she had been attacked in Moorfields by two men, who robbed her, and carried her by force to one mother Wells at Enfield-wash,* where she had been confined till the day of her return, when she effected her escape by jumping out of a window. During the whole time of her confinement, she

* This house, of which a view and ground plan was published, is still standing at Enfield-wash, on the east side of the road, at the corner of the lane which leads to the Marsh.

ſhe declared that ſhe exiſted upon a few cruſts of bread and a pitcher of water. She accuſed, at the ſame time, an old woman of cutting off her ſtays; and ſome days afterwards, being taken to the houſe at Enfield-waſh, fixed the charge upon one Mary Squires, a travelling gipſy, then at Wells's. In conſequence of theſe charges, both Squires and Wells were apprehended, and tried at the Old Bailey; the former was condemned to be hanged, and the latter was burned in the hand, and impriſoned. Canning's ſtory, nevertheleſs, was ſo extraordinary, and in ſome of its leading circumſtances ſo improbable and inconſiſtent, that many people were induced to ſuſpect an impoſture. After the trial of Squire and Wells, new matter of ſuſpicion aroſe; and in the courſe of ſome inquiries, which were very laudably ſet on foot by ſir Criſp Gaſcoyne, the lord mayor, very ample evidence was obtained of the innocence of Mary Squires, and the guilt of Canning. The reſult of theſe inquiries was laid before the king, who referred the whole matter to the attorney and ſolicitor general, (ſir Dudley Ryder, and the late earl Mansfield, then William Murray, eſq.) and in conſequence of their declaration, that the weight of evidence was in favour of the gipſy, ſhe received his Majeſty's pardon, and Wells was diſcharged from her confinement. It was now Canning's turn to be proſecuted, and ſhe was brought to the bar at the Old Bailey, May 1, 1754, being charged with wilful and corrupt perjury. The trial laſted ſeven days, when, after a patient and impartial hearing, the *alibi* of Mary Squires having been proved, by one of the moſt extraordinary chains of evidence which ever was brought before a court of juſtice, Canning was found guilty, and ſentenced to ſeven years tranſportation.—Such is the ſummary of a ſtory, which occupied, in a moſt uncommon degree, the attention of the public, who were divided into two parties, not unaptly called the *Egyptians* and the *Canningites*; and with ſuch zeal did the partizans on each ſide ſupport their favourite cauſe, that it was not unfrequent for the beſt friends to quarrel when they failed of convincing each other upon this myſterious and complicated affair. Canning's was the popular party; the mob was ſo zealouſly attached to her intereſt, that they proceeded to the moſt violent outrages, groſsly inſulting the lord mayor, breaking his coach-windows, and even threatening his life. Henley entertained the audience at his oratory with eulogiums upon *her*, and invectives againſt her adverſaries; nor were there wanting perſons of the moſt reſpectable character, who gave her their countenance and ſupport, and contributed largely to the ſubſcriptions, which, in every ſtage of the buſineſs, and even after the event of her trial, were ſolicited and obtained for her.* Perhaps it is not to be wondered

* See frequent advertiſements in the daily papers. It is ſaid ſhe raiſed ſo large a ſum as enabled her to form a very advantageous matrimonial alliance with a planter in New England, whither ſhe was ſuffered to tranſport herſelf. I have been informed that ſhe died not many years afterwards.

wondered at, that they who had originally eſpouſed the girl's cauſe, from a conviction of her innocence and ſufferings, ſhould, while their minds were ſtill under the influence of prejudice, continue to maintain the ſame opinion, even after her trial, ſince an unprejudiced reader, even at this diſtance of time, muſt beſtow ſome attention upon the weight and credibility of contradictory evidence, before he can decide upon what is now generally allowed, the perjury of Canning, and the innocence of Squires. Dr. Hill was the firſt who wrote in favour of the gipſy; Allan Ramſay, under a fictitious character, took the ſame ſide. The anonymous pamphlets upon the ſubject, and the prints, were very numerous.

We ſhall cloſe theſe extracts with Mr. Lyſon's accounts of the New River, and of the commencement of a ſeries of diverſions, one of which has in theſe days become popular in an extraordinary degree.

In the early part of king James's reign, ſir Hugh Middleton, a native of Denbigh, and a citizen and goldſmith of London, firſt projected the ſcheme of bringing the New River water to London, and perſuaded the city to apply for an act of parliament for that purpoſe, which was accordingly obtained; but the difficulties of the undertaking appeared ſo great, that they declined to embark any farther in it; when ſir Hugh Middleton, with a ſpirit equal to the importance of the undertaking, being veſted with proper powers from the city, at his own riſk and charge begun the work on the 20th of February 1608. Its progreſs, it is probable, was attended with greater difficulties than he had foreſeen, and his pecuniary reſources failed long before it was completed. The body corporate of the city of London ſtill refuſed to embark in the buſineſs, and the work was on the point of being abandoned, when king James, being applied to by ſir Hugh Middleton, engaged in it; and on the 2d of May 1612, covenanted to advance money for its completion, upon a moiety of the undertaking being made over to him. It now went on without interruption, and on the 29th of September 1613, the water was let into the baſon at the place now called the New-River Head at Iſlington. The following account of the ceremony uſed upon that occaſion was publiſhed at the time, and is reprinted in the Biographia Britannica: "A troop of labourers, to the number of 60 and upwards, all in green caps alike, bearing in their hands the ſymbols of their ſeveral employments in ſo great a buſineſs, marching, with drums before them, twice or thrice round the ciſtern, orderly, preſent themſelves before the mount; and after their departure, the ſpeech (being 48 lines in verſe) ending thus:

"Now for the fruits then, flow forth precious ſpring.
So long and dearly ſought for, and now bring
Comfort to all that love thee, loudly ſing,
And with thy cryſtal murmurs ſtrucke together,
Bid all thy true well-wiſhers welcome hither.

"At which words the floodgate opens, and the ſtream is let into the ciſtern, drums and trumpets giving in triumphant welcome, and for the cloſe of this their honourable entertainment, a peal of chambers."

One

One of the moſt difficult parts of the work now remained to be accompliſhed, which was to convey the water to the various parts of the metropolis. The expence attending this was very great, and it was a conſiderable time before the water came into general uſe, ſo that the ſhares (for the undertaking was then divided) became of very ſmall value; and the annual dividends were for many years under £.5. The general eſtabliſhment of the plan, the great advantage and convenience of which were at length univerſally acknowledged, the prodigious number of new buildings, and the alteration in the value of money, have, in the courſe of a century and a half, ſo raiſed the ſhares, as to increaſe the annual income nearly an hundred fold. When the New River was firſt brought to London, it was not foreſeen that a deficiency of water might at ſome future time, eſpecially in the ſummer months, be attended with great inconvenience. When this was learned from experience, the company borrowed from the overplus of the mill-ſtream of the river Lee, which, after a practice of ſome years, became a ſubject of litigation, finally determined by an act of parliament about the year 1738. It was then agreed that the New-River company, on condition of their paying a ſum of money towards improving the navigation of the river Lee, and continuing to pay an annuity for the ſame purpoſe, ſhould have a certain quantity of water from the mill-ſtream, to be meaſured by a balance-engine and gage, then conſtructed near Hertford, and rebuilt by Mr. Mylne about the year 1770. The company have ſince bought the mill, with the unreſtricted uſe of the water.

The number of bridges upon the New River are about 200. Some account has been already given of the wooden aqueducts, which were conſtructed for preſerving the level near Highbury and at Buſhhill; a ſubterraneous channel, about 200 yards in length, was made for the ſame purpoſe at Iſlington, where it paſſes under the lower ſtreet from the Thatched-houſe to Colebrooke-row. At the New-River Head is a circular baſon, now thrice its original ſize, whence the water is conveyed by ſluices into various large ciſterns of brick work; from theſe it paſſes, in a ſubdivided ſtate, by means of large wooden pipes, of ſix or ſeven inches bore (called mains and riders, and diſtinguiſhed by names appropriated to their ſeveral diſtricts) to all parts of the metropolis. The diſtribution of the water from theſe pipes to the very numerous houſes which are ſupplied by it, exhibits a very wonderful ſyſtem of hydraulics. The fire-engine, near the New-River Head, is for the purpoſe of raiſing water into a large reſervoir near Pentonville, which ſupplies many parts of the weſt end of the town, which are ſo nearly on a level with the baſon at the river head, that the water would not flow with ſufficient velocity. At the New-River Head is a houſe belonging to the company, originally built in 1613, and repaired and newly fronted in 1782, under the direction of Robert Mylne, Eſq. ſurveyor to the company, who reſides there. A large room in this houſe, with wainſcot pannels, was fitted up for the meetings of the company about the latter end of the laſt century. On

the ceiling is a portrait of King William, and the arms of Middleton and Green. Under this room is one of the above-mentioned cifterns.

The property of the New River is divided into 72 fhares, which divifion took place foon after the commencement of the undertaking. Thirty-fix of thefe were originally veſted in Sir Hugh Middleton, the firſt projector, who having impoveriſhed himſelf and his family by an undertaking which has proved ſo beneficial to the public, as to render his name ever honoured and reſpected, was obliged to part with his property in the undertaking, which was divided among various perſons. Theſe fhares are called the Adventurer's fhares. The moiety of the undertaking which was veſted in the crown, having been divided into the ſame number of fhares, was alienated by king Charles I.: but the crown having never had any concern in the management of the undertaking, the holders of theſe fhares are ſtill excluded from the direction, which under the charter of king James (by which the company was incorporated anno 1619) is veſted in 29 holders of Adventurer's fhares, who form a board. When a vacancy happens in this number, the remaining 28 elect.

Fom Sir Hugh Middleton, we turn to a celebrated man of a very different deſcription, "James Figg, "buried December 11, 1734." The celebrated prize-fighter* The amphitheatres of the prize-fighters afforded in his time a favourite amuſement, which reflects little credit on the humanity of the age. Theſe trials of ſkill were frequently attended with much hurt, and were ſometimes fatal to the combatants.† Figg, who long bore the palm of victory from all competitors, is extolled by captain Godfrey in his treatiſe of the ſcience of defence, as the greateſt maſter of the art that he had ever ſeen; he calls him the atlas of the ſword, and ſays, that he united ſtrength, reſolution, and unparalleled judgment. He was for many years proprietor of the boarded houſe in Marybone-fields, near Oxford-road. Here he frequently exhibited his own ſkill, and at other times made matches between the moſt celebrated maſters or *miſtreſſes* of the art, for the noble ſcience of defence was not confined to the male ſex; we find Mrs. Stokes, the famous city championeſs, challenging the Hibernian heroines to meet her at Mr. Figg's.‡

Sometimes bear-baiting, tiger-baiting, &c. were exhibited at this amphitheatre. A bull-fight was once

* A poem of Dr. Byrom's (printed in Dodſley's collection), deſcribing a famous combat between Figg and Sutton, begins

"Long liv'd the great Figg, by the prize-fighting ſwains,
"Sole monarch acknowledg'd of Marybone plains."

† In one of the advertiſements from Broughton's amphitheatre, announcing a trial of ſkill between two prize-fighters, it was promiſed that the beauty of the ſword ſhould be *rigorouſly* diſplayed, and that there ſhould be no bandage nor wound dreſſed till the battle was over. Rowland Bennet, who frequently fought at Broughton's, generally made it his boaſt in his challenges, that the ever-memorable gladiator, Timothy Buck (celebrated in the 436th number of the Spectator) fell by his unfortunate hand.

Daily Advertiſer, July 3, 1745.

‡ "We hear that the gentlemen of Ireland have been long picking out an Hibernian "heroine to match Mrs. Stokes, the bold and famous city championeſs; there is now

"one

once advertiſed to be performed by the grimace Spaniard, who had for ſome time amuſed the town by making ugly faces. A great company was drawn together by the novelty of the promiſed entertainment, but it ended as the buſineſs of the bottle-conjurer did, ſome years afterwards. A portrait of Figg is introduced by Hogarth, in his ſecond plate of the Rake's progreſs. There is a print of him in mezzotinto, by Faber. After Figg's death the celebrated Broughton occupied an amphitheatre near the ſame ſpot, and was for many years the hero of bruiſers, as Figg had been of the prize-fighters, till at laſt he was beaten on his own ſtage, by Slack, a butcher.* The victor was ſuppoſed to have gained £. 600 by the event of the battle: the ſums won and loſt by the bye-ſtanders were to a great amount, the houſe being crowded with amateurs, ſome of whom were of very high rank. Not long afterwards a ſtop was put to all public exhibitions of boxing and prize-fighting, by act of parliament. They had long been found prejudicial, in a great degree, to the morals of the people, and were grown into diſrepute, even among the amateurs of the art, who found that the ſtage-owners impoſed upon them by making up ſham battles, in which the combatants had fettled the event before they mounted the ſtage. From about the year 1730 to 1750, the newſpapers teemed with their advertiſements, which generally contained the challenges and anſwers of the boxers, all couched in the ſame ſtyle of boaſting aſſurance.†

" one arrived here, who, by her make and ſtature, ſeems mighty enough to eat her up: " however, Mrs. Stokes, being true Engliſh blood (and remembering ſome late reflec- " tions that were caſt upon her huſband by ſome of that country *volk*), is reſolved to " ſee her out *vi at armis*. This being like to prove a notable and diverting engagement, " it is not doubted but abundance of gentlemen will crowd to Mr. Figg's amphitheatre, " on Wedneſday, the 24th inſtant, on purpoſe to ſee this uncommon performance."
MIST's Journal, Nov. 20, 1725.

† The following advertiſement announced this celebrated combat:—"The battle " between Mr. John Broughton and Mr. John Slack will be decided at the amphitheatre " in Oxford-road, to-morrow, the 11th inſtant, exactly at 11 o'clock. Note: By deſire " of ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen, tickets for the matted galleries will be delivered " out at Mr. Broughton's houſe, in the Haymarket.

" As Mr. Broughton ſome time ſince took leave of the ſtage, it may not be improper " to acquaint the public, that nothing but an inſult, which to let paſs unreſented would " highly impeach his manhood, could ever have provoked him again into the liſts; but " he flatters himſelf it will only furniſh an opportunity to add one more wreath to that " trophy which, during the ſpace of twenty-four years, he has been raiſing by an unin- " terrupted courſe of victories; and henceforth hopes that he ſhall meet with the indul- " gence of the old Roman champion, and be at liberty with him to ſay, *Hic victor caſtus* " *artemque repono.*"

* The two following advertiſements may ſerve as ſpecimens of the language of the amphitheatres:—" At Broughton's new amphitheatre in Oxford-ſtreet, the back of the late " Mr. Figg's, on Wedneſday next, the 13th inſtant, will be exhibited an experimental " lecture in manhood, by Hawkeſley and Benjamin Boſwell, profeſſors of athletics.

" My behaviour in a late combat with Mr. Smallwood, notwithſtanding my inexpe- " rience at that time in the art of boxing, having given a favourable opinion of my " prowe[illegible], and being ambitious to give a farther demonſtration of it, do now invite the " celebrated Mr. Boſwell to a trial of his abilities; and doubt not, in ſpite of his jaw- " breaking talents, to give him ſo manly a reception, as to convince the ſpectators that I " need not deſpair of one day arriving at a Broughtonian excellence in this ſcience; nay,

" perhaps, of obliging that all-conquering hero himself to submit his laurels, and resign " the boasted *hic victor* in his motto, to

" HAWKESLEY."

" I shall do my endeavour to convince my antagonist, that though ambition may excite " him to the attempt, yet great abilities are necessary to secure him success in this arduous " undertaking; and believe I shall stop the progress of this aspiring upstart in his imagi- " nary race of glory, and totally expel all thoughts of laurels, mottoes, &c. out of his head " by the strength of the arm of

" Gentlemen, your old combatant,

" BENJAMIN BOSWELL."

Daily Adv. Nov. 1745.

" Aut Cæsar, aut nullus."

" At Broughton's amphitheatre, this day, the 11th instant, will be a tremendous " decision of manhood, between the celebrated champions James and Smallwood. The " various proofs these heroes have given of their superior skill in the manual combat, " having justly made them the *deliciæ pugnacis generis*, and being too ambitious to admit " of rivalship in the lists of fame, are determined, by death or victory, to decide their " pretensions to the palm. As not only their whole fortunes, but, what is much more " dear to them, their whole stock of glory is at stake, it is not doubted but the utmost " efforts of art and nature will be exhibited in this encounter; and thereby the dignity " of this heroic science be vindicated from the scandal it has suffered from some late " unequal conflicts, occasioned by the unmanly attempts of vain pretenders who are " totally unqualified for such arduous undertakings.—Note: As this contest is like " to be rendered horrible with blood and bruises, all Frenchmen are desired to come " fortified with a proper quantity of hartshorn; and it is hoped the ladies of Hockley " and St. Giles's, who shall happen to be pregnant, will absent themselves upon this " occasion, lest the horror of the spectacle should unhappily occasion the loss of some " young champion to posterity.—Noblemen and gentlemen are desired to send for " tickets to Mr. Broughton's, in the Haymarket, which will admit them into a part " of the house appropriated for their better accommodation.—Price 5s."

Daily Adv. Dec. 1745.

THE

CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

The Royalist war. Importance and interest of it. Extent of the country which formed the seat of that war. Topographical description of the department of Vendée. Of the Deux-Sevres. System of warfare adopted by the royalists. Character of the people of Poitou. Their dislike of the revolution. Attempts made in vain to change their opinions. Anger of the Bretons and Poitevins at the decrees against the clergy. Commissioners sent by the national assembly to enquire into the causes of the disturbances. They recommend moderation. Their advice not acted upon. Persecution against the clergy continued. Its effects upon the people of the western provinces. La Rouarie forms a plan for restoring the monarchy to its proper state. His character and early life. Communicates his plan to the French princes, who approve of it, and appoint him as chief to carry it into execution. The plan. Exertions and success of La Rouarie. His civil and military coadjutors. A knowledge of the plan unfortunately obtained by the opposite party. La Rouarie prepares to begin hostilities. Is compelled to leave his castle by a party of national guards. Premature attempts of some royalists. The people of Poitou take up arms, but are defeated. Disturbances in the department of La Sarthe. They are put a stop to by the republicans. Information obtained by the republicans upon a part of the royalist plans. A commissioner sent by the executive council into Britanny. His character. Wonderful exertions of La Rouarie. Progress made by the republican commissioner. Time of the royalists commencing hostilities definitively fixed. Illness and death of La Rouarie. Malseigne chosen as chief by the Breton confederates. The executive council takes measures to defeat

the royalist schemes. Principal chiefs of the royalists arrested. Their execution. A part of the Bretons rise in arms against the convention. After a short struggle, they are compelled to submit. Rigid measures of the convention against the Bretons. Conclusion — — [1

CHAP. II.

The royalist war in Poitou. Character of D'Elbée. The Poitevins determine to take arms. Commencement of the war in Lower Poitou. Machecoult taken by the royalists. Charette chosen as their leader by one of the divisions. He captures Pornic. Numerous royalist bands formed. Cruelties committed at Machecoult. The republican general Beysser obtains some trivial successes. Republicans entirely defeated at St. Vincent. Commencement of the war in Anjou and the upper part of Poitou. Defeat of the republicans at St. Florent. The royalists are on the point of dispersing, when Cathelinau puts himself at their head. He routs the enemy at Jallais, and shortly after at Chemillé. Receives large reinforcements from various quarters. He is joined by Stoflet with a large body of men. The republicans defeated at Chollet, and the town captured, with an abundance of military stores. D'Elbée makes his appearance in the royal camp. Bonchamp also joins. Poitevin troops assume the title of the royal catholic army. Panic of the enemy. Chalonne abandoned by them. The royalist generals allow leave of absence to their troops for a short period. Measures taken by the national convention and executive council. Decree of outlawry passed against the royalists. Four armies ordered to be sent against them. Berruyer named general in chief. He forms a plan of general attack. D'Elbée calls his troops together and prepares for resistance. The republicans totally discomfited at Coron and at Beaupreau. They are compelled to fall back in all directions. La Roche Jacquelin defeats Lygonier at Aubiers. The enemy abandon Bressuire, where Lescure and several royalist chiefs are liberated from prison. Victory of the royalists at Thouars. Thouars taken by storm, and five thousand of the enemy made prisoners. Prince de Talmont and the pretended bishop of Agra join the royal army. First battle of Fontenay, in which the Poitevins are worsted. Second battle of Fontenay, in which they obtain a complete victory. The royalists enter Fontenay, from which place they address a proclamation to the French people. Alarm excited, and measures taken, at Paris. The royalist army marches towards Saumur. Lygonier driven from the heights of Concourson. Position of the conventional army to defend Saumur. General Salomon, advancing to the relief of Saumur, is utterly routed. Battle of Saumur. Complete defeat of the republicans. Saumur taken. Measures of the council and convention to oppose the royalists. Infamous law passed by the convention. Equitable and moderate conduct of the royalists. Cathelinau chosen generalissimo of the royal army. Debates on the future plan of operations. It is resolved to attack Nantz. Angers abandoned by the republicans. General panic felt by that party. Events in Lower Poitou.

CONTENTS.

Poitou. Charette and Lyrot completely defeat the enemy at Machecoult and Lalloué. They advance to assist in the attack of Nantz. Description of Nantz. Steps taken for its defence. It is summoned, but refuses to surrender. The advanced post of Nort captured by D'Elbée. Attack of the place. The royalists are on the point of succeeding, when Cathelinau is mortally wounded. Dispirited by his fall, the royalists retire from before the place. They return to the left bank of the Loire. Death of Cathelinau. End of the chapter — — — [17

CHAP. III.

Civil government of the royalist territory. Establishment of the superior council. Its composition and functions. Regulations made by it. Military proceedings resumed. D'Elbée chosen generalissimo. Royrand attacks the republicans at Luçon, and is defeated. Westermann advances into the royalist territory. He defeats Lescure and La Roche Jaquelein, and takes possession of Chatillon. He is routed in a decisive engagement and driven back to his former quarters. The army of Saumur marches against the royalists. It is completely defeated at Vihiers. Tuncq, with the division of Luçon, gains some advantage over D'Elbée. Measures against the loyal Poitevins proposed by the committee of public safety, and sanctioned by the convention. Decree for the entire ruin of Vendée. The garrison of Mentz sent into Poitou. Chevalier de Tinteniac dispatched to the royalists by the British government with offers of assistance. D'Elbée, Charette, and Royrand march against Luçon. They are defeated with great loss. Charette retires to his own territory. The army of Luçon pushes forward to Chantonay, where it is attacked by Royrand, and nearly destroyed. Some of the conventional commissioners in Poitou oppose the decree for the extermination of Vendée. They dismiss Rossignol, who appeals to the convention. Rossignol is re-instated, and the commissioners recalled. Quarrel between the council of Saumur and that of Nantz on the plan of the campaign. Plan of attack upon the royalists definitively settled. Council of war held at Chatillon by the royalists. Measures of defence adopted. Proclamation to the Poitevins. Levy en masse called out by the conventional commissioners. Sixty thousand of the levy routed at Thouars by Lescure. The Prince de Talmont and D'Autichamp defeated by Santerre. Santerre moves forward. Battle of Coron, in which Santerre is completely beaten. Battle of Beaulieu gained by the royalists. Successful operations of the republicans in lower Poitou. Charette compelled to retreat to Montaigu, whence he is shortly after driven. Bloody battle at Torfou in which Charette and Bonchamp obtain a complete victory. Beysser routed at Montaigu, and Mieskouski at St. Fulgent. Measures taken by the committee of public safety to prevent the recurrence of similar misfortunes. Total want of union among the royalist chiefs. Charette resolves to retire to his own territory, and confine himself to its defence. Vain endeavours of the other chiefs to prevail on him to act in concert with them.

them. The republicans again advance from all quarters. The royalists defeated at St. Symphorien, and likewise at Chatillon. Capture and recapture of Chatillon. It is at length destroyed by Westermann. Royalist chiefs prepare for a decisive battle. A detachment sent to secure a passage over the Loire. The royalists defeated at Cholet, and Lescure mortally wounded. Second battle of Cholet, in which the royalists are again vanquished, and D'Elbée and Bonchamp mortally wounded. The royalists retire towards the Loire. Eight thousand republicans saved from death by the generosity of the dying Bonchamp. Passage of the Loire by the royalists — — — — [37

CHAP. IV.

Exultation of the jacobin party on the successes in Vendée. Little apprehension excited by the royalist irruption into Britanny. Route taken by the republicans. Proceedings of the royalists after their passage of the Loire. La Roche Jaquelein is elected generalissimo. Nomination of other officers. The republicans worsted at Ingrande and other places. March of the royal catholic army. Funeral honours paid to the memory of Bonchamp. Action near Laval between the royal and conventional troops, in which the latter are defeated. Decree of the convention for destroying all towns which did not do their utmost to repel the royalists. Approach of the army of the west. The royalists resolve to give battle. The division of Westermann is defeated. Lechelle's plan of attack. Battle of Laval, in which the republicans are completely routed, with a dreadful slaughter. They are pursued to Chateau Gonthier, and again defeated. Defeat of generals Aulanier and Chambertin, at Craon. Measures taken by the committee of public safety to stop the progress of the royalists. Number of the royalist forces. A paper currency issued by the military council. Alarm felt by the friends of the convention in Britanny. Various opinions of the royalist chiefs as to their future plan of operations. The Poitevin army leaves Laval, and marches to Mayenne. La Roche Jaquelein proposes to march to Paris. Resolution taken to proceed to Alençon. The Prince de Talmont procures its revocation. It is resolved to turn towards the coast. The republicans defeated at Fougères. Death of Lescure. The royalists determine to carry his remains with them. Georges Cadondal joins the royalists. The catholic army enters Dol. The chiefs receive dispatches from England. They determine to attack Granville. Capture of Avranches and Mont St. Michel. Some of the chiefs advise an irruption into the Cotentin, but their advice is rejected. State of Granville. The republican detachments in the neighbourhood of Granville driven in. Siege of Granville. The royalists are foiled, and compelled to retire. The Poitevins insist upon being led back to their own country. Alarming mutiny in the royalist army. The chiefs consent to return to Poitou. The republicans defeated at Pontorson. Battles of Dol and Antrain, in which the royalists obtain a complete victory. Progress of the royalists homeward. Siege of Angers, in which the royalists are unsuc-

ceſsful. The royal army turns its back to the Loire, and directs its march to La Flèche. The republicans defeated at La Flèche. The royal army enters Le Mans. Plans of the royaliſts. Succours arrive from England, but are compelled to return. Dreadful battle of Le Mans, in which the royaliſts are routed with great ſlaughter. The remainder of the royal army returns to the banks of the Loire, and endeavours to effect a paſſage. It is unſucceſsful in the attempt, and partly diſbands. Seven thouſand royaliſts march to Savenay, where they are attacked, and nearly the whole of them deſtroyed. Death of ſeveral royaliſt chiefs. Conclusion — — — — — [65

CHAP. V.

Frivolous decrees of the Convention. Immorality and indecency encouraged. Fantaſtical projects of equality favourable to plunder and rapacity. Liberty of the preſs reſtrained. Committee of public inſtruction. Project for reducing weights and meaſures to an unvarying ſtandard. The telegraph invented. Meaſures adopted relative to national education. Oppreſſion of the clergy. New calendar. Further attacks on religion. Death declared to be an eternal ſleep. Apoſtacy of the biſhop of Paris, the Abbé Syeyes, and others. Plunder of churches. Feaſt of reaſon. Infidelity on the decline. Influence of clubs and popular ſocieties. Jacobin club. Cordeliers. Their rivalſhip. Clubs of women. Suppreſſed. Purgation of the jacobin club. Members of the convention attached to the Cordeliers arreſted. State of Paris. Plunder of warehouſes. Scarcity of bread. Maximum and other regulations reſpecting grain and articles of the firſt neceſſity. Decrees reſpecting aſſignats. Patriotic gifts. Forced loans. Jobbing. Deficiency of hard caſh. New coinage. Ingots of gold and ſilver confiſcated. People compelled to exchange their gold and ſilver coin for aſſignats. Great profits accrue to the ſtate from the vaſt number of individuals guillotined. State of the departments. Syſtem of action and re-action. Deputies ſent on miſſion. Their atrocious conduct. Leonard Bourdon at Orleans. Andrew Dumont at Beauvais. Tallien, Beaudot, Chaudron-Rouſſeau, and Yſabeau at Bourdeaux. Tallien unexpectedly merciful. The cauſe. Barras, Freron, the younger Robeſpierre, and Salicetti, at Marſeilles. The ſame deputies at Toulon. Mitraillades and fuſillades. Various deputies in other departments. Decree of the convention againſt Lyons. Couthon, Maignet, and other deputies ſent there. Fete in honour of Chalier. Temporary commiſſion. Demolition of houſes. Revolutionary tribunal of Lyons. Collot d'Herbois arrives, accompanied by Fouché and La Porte. Their letters to the convention. Speech of Collot d'Herbois to the jacobin club, in vindication of his proceedings. Decree of the convention againſt La Vendée. Cruelties of Carrier, and other deputies. Noyades. Cruelties of the revolutionary army. Republican marriages. Murder of women and children. General ſummary — — — — [88

CONTENTS.

CHAP. VI.

State of the public mind in Great Britain. Increasing audacity of the societies. Supposed inertness of government. A general convention held in Edinburgh. Delegates sent from London; their instructions. Proceedings of the convention; its suppression. Seizure, trial, and sentence, of some leading members. Meeting of Parliament. The King's speech. Debate on the address in the House of Commons. Eloquent speech of Lord Mornington. Arguments of Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox. An amendment moved, requesting the King to treat for peace. Resisted by Mr. Windham, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Pitt. The address carried. Debate in the House of Lords. The address moved and seconded by Lord Stair and Lord Auckland. Opposed by several peers. Their argument. An amendment, moved by the Earl of Guildford, rejected. Motion of Earl Stanhope rejected without a division — — — [128

CHAP. VII.

Notice by Mr. Adam of an intention to bring in bills for allowing an appeal from the Scotch Court of Justiciary to the House of Lords. His speech on moving for leave to bring in a bill. Answer of Mr. Anstruther. Observations of Mr. Fox and Mr. Serjeant Adair. The motion rejected. Mr. Adam gives notice of another motion, relating peculiarly to the cases of Messrs. Muir and Palmer. Mr. Sheridan brings up a petition from Mr. Palmer. Mr. Adam's able speech on making a series of motions on the subject; opposed by the Lord Advocate, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Windham. Arguments on the other side, and particularly of Mr. Fox. The motion rejected. Mr. Adam makes another motion for referring the consideration of the law of Scotland, respecting leasing-making, and some other subjects, to a committee. He is supported by Mr. Serjeant Adair and Mr. Fox. Answered by Mr. Dundas and the Lord Advocate. Observations of Mr. Dundas, on the too great lenity of the law, with respect to sedition. The motion rejected. Motion of Lord Stanhope, for the House of Lords to reverse the sentence against Messrs. Muir and Palmer, rejected, the House having no such power. Lord Lauderdale makes a motion in their favour, which is also lost — — — [146

CHAP. VIII.

Ministers censured by the Opposition for neglect in the appointment of convoys; allegations of Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Vaughan. Motion for a committee to enquire into the conduct of the Admiralty. Answer of Admiral Gardner, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Pitt. Observations of Mr. David Scott, Aldermen Anderson and Curtis; the motion rejected. Different sentiments entertained by the Government and

and Oppoſition parties on the propriety of appointing committees of inquiry. Motion by Mr. Sheridan reſpecting Halifax. Anſwer of Admiral Gardner. The greater part of the papers required by Mr. Sheridan granted. Diſcuſſion on the Treaty with the King of Sardinia; objections to it; it is defended by Mr. Powys, Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Stanley. Maiden ſpeech of Mr. Canning. The ſubſidy voted without a diviſion. Debate on the ſupplies for the Army; objections of Mr. Huſſey and Major Maitland; anſwered by Miniſters; ſupplies voted without a diviſion. General ſupplies, ways and means. Speech of Mr. Pitt propoſing the taxes; obſervations of Mr. Fox; objections of Mr. Adam, Mr. Jekyll, and Mr. Joliffe, to the tax on Attornies; and of Mr. Brandling, Sir M. W. Ridley, and Mr. Burdon, to that on paper. Mr. Pitt notices the decree of the French government for inquiring into, and ſeizing the property of Frenchmen in foreign countries. Bill brought in for preventing the payment of monies due in this country to citizens of France; objections of Mr. Jekyll; anſwer of the attorney-general; the bill paſſes — — — — [156

CHAP. IX.

The King's meſſage reſpecting the landing of Heſſian troops; addreſs voted without oppoſition. Mr. Grey's motion on the ſubject; ſupported by Mr. Whitbread, Major Maitland, Lord Geo. Cavendiſh, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Fox. Anſwered by Mr. Powys, Mr. Windham; obſervations of Mr. Serjeant Adair in moving the previous queſtion; which, after ſome debate, is carried. Motion in the Houſe of Lords by the Earl of Albemarle, for a bill of indemnity. Arguments for the motion; anſwer of miniſters; obſervations of the marquis of Lanſdowne, Lord Auckland, Lord Grenville, and other Peers; the motion loſt; proteſts on the occaſion. Similar motion by Mr. Grey; anſwer of Mr. Grenville; after many ſpeeches on both ſides, the motion negatived. Converſation in the Houſe of Commons on the employment of French officers under Lord Moira. Explanation of that circumſtance by Lord Moira in the upper houſe. Jealouſy of the oppoſition reſpecting any extenſion of the power of the crown. Circular letter publiſhed to Lord Lieutenants of Counties, recommending the formation of Volunteer companies. An addreſs to the King moved. His Majeſty's meſſage to Parliament. Debate on a motion by Mr. Sheridan cenſuring voluntary contributions. Speech of the Attorney General; of Mr. Fox; Mr. Windham; reply of Mr. Sheridan. Debate on the ſame ſubject in the Houſe of Lords. Debate in the Houſe of Commons on the third reading of a bill for giving effect to the King's recommendation. Objections of Mr. Francis. Anſwer of Mr. Pitt. The bill paſſed. Mr. Serjeant Adair propoſes to add a clauſe by way of rider, but without effect: obſervations. Motion by Mr. Harriſon for aboliſhing and reducing the profits of certain penſions and offices; ſtatement by Mr. Rofe of what had already been effected; arguments of oppoſition; and of Mr. Pitt; motion negatived. Bill for employing the French emigrants in the Britiſh ſervice; vehemently oppoſed

posed in the House of Commons in various stages; defended by ministers on the third reading; opposition to it in the House of Lords; it passes [169

CHAP. X.

Motion by lord Lansdowne for an Address to his Majesty, requesting him to declare his disposition to treat for peace with France; seconded by the duke of Grafton; answer of several lords on the side of Government; observations of the earl of Guildford and lord Grenville. Mr. Whitbread's motion on the subject of treaties; arguments in support of it; answer; rejected. The same fate attends a similar motion in the House of Lords. Motion of general Fitzpatrick on behalf of La Fayette, and the other persons confined with him; supported by colonel Tarleton and Mr. Fox; answer of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Burke; the motion rejected. Motion by major Maitland for an inquiry into the causes of failure at Dunkirk and Toulon; his speech; answer of the friends of Government; the motion lost. Message from the King relative to a subsidy for Prussia; discussed in the House of Lords, and in the House of Commons; the measure approved in both. Extraordinary speech and motion of lord Stanhope; his motion expunged from the journals; observations of lord Lauderdale on this subject; answered by lord Thurlow [197

CHAP. XI.

Further proceedings of the seditious societies; their rage at the convictions in Scotland; public meeting of the Corresponding Society; their address to the people; they appoint a committee to watch the proceedings of government; and, in certain cases, to call a general convention; these acts fully adopted and exceeded by the Society for Constitutional Information; a committee of co-operation formed by the two societies; their exertions to form a national convention; the Society of Friends of the People do not agree in this measure; public meetings in the open air, at Chalkfarm near London, at Sheffield, and various other places; pikes ordered, and men trained to the use of arms; the secretaries of the two societies, and several conspicuous members, apprehended and committed for trial. The King's message to Parliament on the subject; papers laid before Parliament; referred to a committee of secrecy; their first report; Mr. Pitt moves for leave to bring in a bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act; opposed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Sheridan, and several others; answered by Mr. Burke and the attorney-general; leave given to bring in the bill; it is read a first and second time; the house divided twelve times. Debate on the third reading; Mr. Jekyll reads an extract from a speech on a similar occasion in 1722. Speech of Mr. Grey against the bill; answer of Mr. Canning; observations of Mr. Lambton, Mr. Courtenay, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Windham; observations on the Society of Friends of the People; speech of Mr. Fox; answer of Mr. Pitt;

observations

obſervations of Mr. Thomſon; the bill paſſed. The King's meſſage referred to a committee of the Houſe of Lords; ſpeech of Lord Grenville on bringing up a report; anſwer of Lord Stanhope; ſpeeches of Lord Lauderdale, the Earl of Derby, and the Marquis of Lanſdowne; anſwered by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Thurlow, and ſeveral other lords; the bill ſent from the Commons, proceeded on; proteſts againſt it. Lord Grenville brings up a ſecond report; and moves an addreſs, which is carried, without a diviſion. Second report of the committee of the Houſe of Commons; great pains taken by members of oppoſition in both houſes to ſhew that they, and the ſocieties to which they belonged, had no connection with the ſeditious ſocieties and their convention; an addreſs to the King moved in the Houſe of Commons, and after ſome ineffectual propoſals of amendment, carried. — — — — [212

CHAP. XII.

Motion in the houſe of lords reſpecting a ſuppoſed communication from lord Dorcheſter to the American Indians; obſervations of the marquis of Lanſdowne; and of lord Grenville; the motion negatived. A motion on the ſame ſubject offered by Mr. Sheridan, but withdrawn. Mr. Sheridan moves to admit Roman Catholics to hold commiſſions in the army and navy; the previous queſtion carried. Lord Hawkeſbury brings in a bill for improving the navigation laws; his ſpeech; the bill paſſes. Mr. Dundas's ſtatement of India affairs; his motion to enable the Eaſt India Company to add a million to their bond debt; oppoſed, but paſſes. Mr. Wilberforce moves for a bill to prevent the ſupply of foreign colonies with ſlaves brought from Africa in Britiſh veſſels; ſupported by Mr. Pitt and other members; oppoſed by various members; the bill brought in; petitions againſt it; debate on the ſecond reading; the bill paſſes the commons; motion of the biſhop of Rocheſter to refer the hearing of evidence to a committee; oppoſed by the duke of Clarence; ſupported by the biſhop of London; rejected; Mr. Wilberforce's bill alſo rejected. Motions by the duke of Bedford, and Mr. Fox cenſuring the meaſures of adminiſtration; debates on them; they are rejected by great majorities. Motion by Mr. Sheridan for an addreſs to the king not to prorogue the parliament; debate; the motion negatived without a diviſion. Several members of oppoſition accept places under government; reflections of Mr. Sheridan on them; they are defended by Mr. Pitt. Thanks unanimouſly voted to ſir Charles Grey, ſir John Jervis, and lord Howe; thanks to lord Hood oppoſed in both houſes, but carried. Prorogation. Account of the proceedings of ſeditious ſocieties reſumed; efforts in Scotland; Watt and Downie apprehended, tried, and executed. Proceedings againſt the perſons apprehended in London; ſpecial commiſſion; charge of lord chief juſtice Eyre; bill found; trial of Hardy; ſpeech of the attorney-general, nature of the evidence; defence of the priſoner by Mr. Erſkine; evidence for the priſoner; ſpeech of Mr. Gibbs for him; reply of the ſolicitor-general; ſumming up by chief juſtice Eyre; priſoner acquitted. Mr. John Horne Tooke and Mr. Thelwall alſo tried and acquitted; the other priſoners diſcharged. Obſervations. [229

CONTENTS.

CHAP. XIII.

Further account of proceedings in the interior of France; effects of the system of terror in the capital; vast numbers executed and imprisoned; number and state of the prisons; the comfort of the prisoners abridged; spies introduced; the prisoners deprived of their property; cruelty to women; the prisons crowded; meals; treatment of the sick; horrors of the night; system of the revolutionary tribunal; frivolous charges; mode of delivering acts of accusation. Trial of the princess Elizabeth; of M. Lamoignon de Malesherbes; count D'Estaing; the duke de Biron; M. M. Thouret, d'Espremenil, Isabeau d'Youval, and general Alexander Beauharnois. Rivalship of parties; the Cordeliers not united; Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine, in opposition to the rest; alarms of Danton; his reliance on Robespierre; who undertakes to protect him; artful proposals of Robespierre; Danton allows the arrest of certain members of the club of Cordeliers; Camille Desmoulins writes against them; alarm of the jacobins; conduct of Robespierre; perseverance of Camille Desmoulins; Hebert endeavours to excite an insurrection, but fails; he is arrested with several others; and tried; his behaviour; that of Anarcharsis Clootz; they are executed; joy of the people; Robespierre pledged to destroy Danton and his friends; his interview with Danton; Amar presents to the convention a report against certain members; St. Just obtains the arrest of two more; conduct of Danton on these occasions; speech of Tallien in the jacobin club; the printing of it opposed by Robespierre; his speech on conspirators; report of Barrere; Danton, Lacroix, Camille Desmoulins, and Phillippeaux arrested; motion of Legendre that they should be heard at the bar; opposed by Robespierre; and rejected; report against the imprisoned deputies by St. Just; decree of accusation unanimously voted; behaviour of the prisoners; their trial; and execution; the wife of Camille Desmoulins also executed, with general Arthur Dillon, and Gobet the apostate bishop of Paris [257

CHAP. XIV.

Avowed determination of Robespierre to pursue measures of increased rigour. Report by St. Just on conspiracies; decree proposed by him. Robespierre declares against atheism; his report to the convention, acknowledging a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul, and proposing certain festivals. Attempt to assassinate Collot d'Herbois; he is rescued by Geffroy, who has a pension settled on him; a female named Aimée Cecile Regnault supposed to intend to assassinate Robespierre; congratulations of the convention to the two deputies; the supposed assassins executed with sixty pretended accomplices. Robespierre appointed president of the convention; festival in honour of the Supreme Being; the popularity of Robespierre at its greatest height; a system of lenity expected; but one of greater cruelty adopted; report by Couthon; decree moved for

ne

new organizing of the revolutionary tribunal; an extenſive deſcription of traitors; ſuppreſſion of forms of proceeding, and diſallowance of witneſſes and of council for the priſoners; an adjournment propoſed; oppoſed by Robeſpierre; the decree carried; motion on it by Bourdon de l'Oiſe; an explanatory reſolution entered; but reſcinded after a violent debate. Formation of a party againſt Robeſpierre; he is hated by Collot d'Herbois and Billaud Varennes; Robeſpierre loſes popularity; diviſion of the committee of public ſafety; he abſents himſelf from that committee; his adherents in Paris; his feeble conduct; agitation of his mind; his plan; preparations of his opponents; complaints of Robeſpierre at the jacobin club; he appears in the convention, and makes a ſpeech on the conduct of the committees; violent debate on a motion to print his ſpeech; he goes to the jacobin club; proceedings there; agitation of the committees; execrations of the friends of Danton: ſitting of the convention; general union againſt Robeſpierre; St. Juſt begins a ſpeech; is interrupted by Tallien; ſpeech of Billaud Varennes; Robeſpierre in vain attempts to obtain a hearing; artful ſpeech of Tallien; the ſitting decreed permanent; arreſt of Robeſpierre's adherents ordered; violent clamour to prevent Robeſpierre and his friends from being heard; his great exertions continually defeated; Barrere obtains a decree for reforming the command of the national guard; and for a proclamation; Robeſpierre and ſome other members ordered to be arreſted; they are reſcued; and carried to the hall of the commune; this body adheres to Robeſpierre; Henriot reſcued; ſtrength of this party; ſitting of the convention continued; cowardice of Collot d'Herbois; reſolution of ſome other members; Robeſpierre is put out of the law; other exertions; progreſs of the conteſt between the convention and the commune; Robeſpierre and his adherents defeated; their conduct; Robeſpierre and many others taken; and executed without trial. — — — [278

CHAP. XV.

Effects of the fall of Robeſpierre; the public anxious for the abolition of the ſyſtem of terror; the convention appear at firſt reſolved to continue it; degraded ſtate of that body; a party formed under the name of Thermidorians; they unite with the remaining Girondiſts; party of terroriſts; terror unpopular; the Girondiſts elevated into unexpected importance; reform in the conſtitution of the committees, and of the revolutionary tribunal; Freron impeaches Fouquier Tinville, who is taken in cuſtody; accuſation of Joſeph Le Bon, who is arreſted, with David, and ſome others. The ſyſtem of terror not yet overthrown; efforts of the men of blood; their threats; oppoſition of Tallien; Louchet formally propoſes that terror ſhall be declared the order of the day; it is referred to the committee of public ſafety; alarm of the Briſſotines; publications in their favour; Freron obtains a decree for unlimited liberty of the preſs; a party formed under the title of Jeuneſſe de Freron. Lecointre of Verſailles brings forward charges againſt

CONTENTS.

*Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrere, and others, which are voted false and calumnious; hopes and exertions of the jacobins; a saltpetre manufactory burnt, and a gunpowder manufactory blown up; the jacobins ascribe these events to the other party; they lose ground in the convention; violence of the jacobin club; they publish a political profession of faith; attempt to assassinate Tallien; Carrier and his associates are again taken in custody; the event ascribed to the jacobins. Humane exertions of Legendre; he clears the prisons; remonstrances of the jacobins; they place in their pantheon the remains of Marat; trial and acquittal of ninety-four prisoners from Nantes; Carrier accused; the revolutionary committee of Nantes prosecuted; they demand that Carrier shall be tried with them; the matter investigated in the convention. Proceedings of the jacobins; Legendre their enemy; Lyons declared no longer in a state of rebellion; the jacobins and Thermidorians attack each other; law for reforming popular societies; petition to the convention for the release of the Brissotine deputies; violent resistance of the jacobins; their club dispersed and abolished; the investigation of Carrier's case proceeds; his defence of himself; his accusation voted; the charges against him amply proved; defence of the prisoners; Carrier and two others found guilty and executed; the others acquitted and set at liberty; dissatisfaction of the public. An accusation voted against Maignet; the same against Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrere, and Vadier; the seventy-three imprisoned deputies restored to their seats; report on the fugitive deputies, who are restored to all their rights except their seats. Observation. — — — [297

CHAP. XVI.

Military operations. Improved state of the French armies. Weakness of the allies. Outlines of a plan of the campaign drawn up at Vienna. Council of war held at Ath. Dissatisfaction of the Duke of York on being made subordinate to General Clairfait. It is at last agreed that the Emperor shall command in person. Plan of the campaign. Design of penetrating into the interior of France. The republicans resolve to act offensively. Pichegru placed at the head of the army of the North. Republican plans. The emperor received at Brussels with great rejoicings. He joins the army. Opening of the campaign. The French driven from all their posts in the neighbourhood of Landrecy. The siege of Landrecy commenced. Inauguration of the emperor as duke of Brabant. French defeated in several actions, particularly at Villars en Cauchie, where four squadrons of cavalry put to the rout ten thousand of the enemy. The republicans attack the armies of the duke of York and the emperor. They are completely defeated. Invasion of West Flanders by the enemy. They defeat the Austrians, and take possession of Courtray. General Clairfait attacks the republicans, but is defeated. Menin evacuated. Gallant conduct of general Hammerstein. Surrender of Landrecy. Pichegru persists in his projects. Duke of York takes a position near Tournay with his army. The French attack him, and are repulsed.

General

CONTENTS.

General Clairfait defeated in an attempt upon Courtray. The allies resolve to make a general attack on the republicans in Weſt Flanders. Deſperate battle, which terminates to their diſadvantage. Pichegru attacks the allies in order to inveſt Tournay. He is defeated. Infamous decree of the convention, ordering no quarter to be given to the Britiſh and Hanoverians. General order of the duke of York in conſequence of the decree. The emperor requires aid from the ſtates of the Low Countries Siege of Ypres. Clairfait foiled in two attempts to relieve the town. Surrender of Ypres. General Clairfait retires to Ghent. Advance of the enemy. General Pichegru's plan of operations. It is rendered abortive by the Committee of Public Safety. Operations on the Sambre. French obtain ſome advantage. Army of the Moſelle defeated. Army of the Ardennes defeated. French defeated in the duchy of Bouillon Army of the Ardennes twice defeated. Jourdan joins the army of the Ardennes with the army of the Moſelle, and the two armies take the name of the army of the Sambre and Meuſe. Paſſage of the Sambre for the fourth time by the French. Siege of Charleroy. Jourdan routed. Fifth paſſage of the Sambre. Fall of Charleroy. Prince of Saxe Cobourg marches to the relief of Charleroy. Battle of Fleurus. The allies retire from the French frontier. Evacuation of the Netherlands by the allies. Actions at Waterloo and Malines. The Auſtrians retire beyond the Meuſe, and the Britiſh and Hanoverians towards Breda. Scandalous conduct of the French in the Netherlands. The republicans make themſelves maſters of Landrecy, Quelnoy, Valenciennes, and Condé. Sluys compelled to ſurrender after a gallant defence. Poſition of the hoſtile armies. Plan of Pichegru. Not carried into execution. He advances againſt the duke of York, who retires behind the Dommel. Succeſsful attack of the republicans upon Boxtel. The duke retreats over the Maeſe. The army of the Sambre and Meuſe defeats the right wing of the Auſtrian army, and compels general Clairfait to abandon his poſition on the Meuſe. French defeated in an attack upon his rear guard. He takes poſt behind the Roer, but is vanquiſhed, and compelled to retire over the Rhine. Stephenſward, Venlo, and Maeſtricht reduced by the army of the Sambre and Meuſe. Operations of the army of the North. Crèvecœur reduced. Cowardly ſurrender of Bois le Duc. Pichegru attacks the duke of York, and obliges him to retreat to the other ſide of the Waal. Siege and evacuation of Nimeguen. The hoſtile armies go into cantonments for a ſhort time. Concluſion of the chapter. — — [319

CHAP. XVII.

Campaign on the Rhine. Meaſures taken by the committee of public ſafety to recover Alſace. Commiſſioners diſpatched. State of Alſace. Tyrannical proceedings of the commiſſioners. Terror of the Alſacians. Armies ſtrongly reinforced. Pichegru appointed to command the army of the Rhine; and Hoche that of the Moſelle. Pichegru's plan of operations. Attempt of the Pruſſians upon Bitche. It fails. Hoche moves forward, and expels the Pruſſians from the duchy of Deux Ponts. Terrible combat at Kayſerſlautern, in which he is defeated. He reſolves to join the army

of the Rhine. Movements of Pichegru. Wurmser falls back towards Hegueneau. Attack upon Bercheim. Gallantry of the emigrants. Wurmser retires behind the Motter. Junction of Hoche with Pichegru. Auſtrians defeated at Werat and Rÿhoffen. General Wurmſer retreats to the Lauter. Pichegru ſuperſeded by Hoche. Auſtrians driven from the Lauter after an obſtinate conflict. Diſagreement between General Wurmſer and the Duke of Brunſwick. The blockade of Landau raiſed. Fort Louis abandoned. Armies go into winter quarters. Change in the commanders. Conduct of the king of Pruſſia. His demands upon the empire. Treaty of ſubſidy concluded with England and Holland. Opening of the campaign on the Rhine. French defeated at Kayſerſlautern. The army of the Rhine retires behind the Quiech. It receives reinforcements and reſumes offenſive operations. Pruſſians defeated. Auſtrians compelled to recroſs the Rhine. Capture of Treves by the republicans. The republicans conquer all the left bank of the Rhine. End of the campaign on the Rhine. Campaign in Italy. Preparations of the French and the king of Sardinia. French defeated in an attempt upon Mount Cenis. They take poſſeſſion of Oneglia. Further ſucceſſes in the ſame quarter. Succeſsful attack of the republicans upon the Sardinian poſts on the mount Valaiſin, the little St. Bernard, and the great Mount Cenis. They are equally ſucceſsful in the county of Nice. The Auſtro-Sardinians retire towards Coni. Conſpiracy againſt the king of Sardinia diſcovered. King of Sardinia orders a levy in maſs. Trifling actions in various quarters. Auſtrians defeated at Carcare and Cairo. Cloſe of the campaign in Italy. Military operations on the ſide of the Pyrenées. Campaign in the Weſtern Pyrenées. Spaniſh commander defeated in an attempt upon the French poſition. Succeſsful incurſion of the Spaniards. French commence the offenſive. Poſts which cover the valley of Baztan carried by them. Don Ventura Caro reſigns the command of the Spaniſh army. Conqueſt of the valley of Baztan by the republicans. The Spaniards compelled to abandon all their poſitions on the Bidaſſoa. Surrender of Fontarabia and St. Sebaſtian to the French. Tyranny of the conventional deputies. Abortive attempt of the French to cut off a Spaniſh diviſion in the valley of Roncevaux. Sharp action in which the French ſuffer ſeverely. Capture of Bergara, Aſpeytia, and Aſcoytia, by the French. End of the campaign. Campaign in the Eaſtern Pyrenées. Dugommier aſſumes the command of the French, and the count de la Union of the Spaniſh army. Poſition of the Spaniſh army. Republican plan of attack. Spaniſh army driven acroſs the Pyrenées. Siege and ſurrender of Collioure. Diſpute reſpecting the capitulation. Obſtinate defence of Bellegarde. Attempts of the count de la Union to ſuccour Bellegarde. He is foiled. Bellegarde at length forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. Dugommier's plan of attack upon the Spaniſh lines. Spaniards defeated. Dugommier killed. Spaniards utterly routed. Death of the count de la Union. Shameful ſurrender of Figueras. Cloſe of the campaign on the Spaniſh frontier.

— — — [352

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. XVIII.

Maritime and insular campaign. Hopes of naval success entertained by the French rulers. Convoy expected from America. Brest fleet puts to sea to protect it. Lord Howe gets sight of the enemy. Actions of the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of May. The two fleets come to a decisive action on the first of June. The republicans completely defeated. Loss of the French. The convoy enters Brest in safety. Campaign in Corsica. General Paoli and the majority of the Corsicans declare against the French. Lord Hood sails to Corsica, and effects a landing. Fort and batteries in the neighbourhood of St. Fiorenzo reduced. Republicans retire from St. Fiorenzo. Lord Hood proposes to besiege Bastia, but is unable to prevail upon general Dundas to consent. He undertakes the siege himself. Bastia surrenders after a siege of five weeks. Letter of general Paoli to his countrymen. Meeting at Corté of the representatives of Corsica. They offer the crown to his Britannic majesty. Acceptance of it. British commanders resolve to besiege Calvi. The French send out a fleet to Corsica. It is driven into harbour by lord Hood. Siege of Calvi. Storming of the outworks. The place surrenders. Campaign in the West Indies. Sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis intrusted with the reduction of the French West India islands. They are deprived of a part of their force before they set sail. They arrive in the West Indies. Preliminary measures. They resolve to attack Martinico. Effect a landing. The enemy driven into forts Bourbon and Royal. Capture of the town of St. Pierre. Fort Royal taken by storm. Surrender of Fort Bourbon. Capture of St. Lucia. The commanders attack Guadaloupe. Fort Fleur d'Epée taken by assault. Reduction of the whole island. Mortality among the troops. A French squadron arrives and lands a body of troops. The French recover Grand Terre. Ineffectual attempts of the British commander to expel them. Conquest of Basse Terre by the French. Military operations in St. Domingo. Surrender of several parishes. Reduction of l'Acul and Cape Tiburon. Fears of the colonists. Arrival of a small reinforcement. Capture of Port au Prince. End of the chapter. — [377

CONTENTS.

CHRONICLE. - [*1—[*63

Births for the year 1794 - - - - - - - [*63
Marriages - - - - - - - - - [*65
Promotions - - - - - - - - - [*67
Deaths - - - - - - - - - [*72
Sheriffs appointed by his majesty, in council, for 1794 - - [*80
Sheriff appointed by his royal highness the prince of Wales, in council, for 1794 - - - - - - - - - [*81

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Gazettes relative to the evacuation of Toulon - - - - - [*82
——— *relative to Corsica* - - - - - - - [*96
——— *relative to India* - - - - - - - [*117
——— *relative to the West Indies* - - - - - [*121
——— *relative to naval events* - - - - - - [*162
State Trials - - - - - - - - - [*174
A general bill of all the christenings and burials, from December 1793 to December 1794 - - - - - - - - [*334
An account of the quantities of all corn and grain exported from and imported into England and Scotland, for the year ended 5th of January 1795 - - - - - - - - - [*335
An account of the total net produce paid into the exchequer, of the duties of customs, in England and Scotland, in the four quarters ending October 10, 1794 - - - - - - - - - [*337
Price of stocks for the year 1794 - - - - - - [*342
State of the barometer and thermometer for the year 1794 - - [*343
Supplies granted by parliament for the year 1794 - - - [*344
Public acts passed in the fourth session of the seventeenth parliament of Great Britain - - - - - - - - - [*350

STATE PAPERS.

His majesty's most gracious speech to both houses of parliament, on opening the session, 21st January 1794 - - - - - [*354
Message from his majesty to both houses, announcing the temporary dismbarkation, at the Isle of Wight, of some Hessian troops to be employed on foreign service - - - - - - - - [*356
Message from his majesty to both houses, stating his having ordered an augmentation of his land forces, to repel the threatened invasion by the French, [*ibid.*

Message

CONTENTS.

Message from his majesty to both houses, accompanied by copies of a joint treaty between his majesty, the king of Prussia, and the states general; together with a convention agreed upon between his majesty and the latter power - - - - - - - - - - - [*357

Message from his majesty to both houses, communicating the seizure of the books and papers of certain seditious societies, and ordering the same to be laid before parliament - - - - - - - - - [*ibid.*

Protest in the house of lords, by earl Stanhope, in consequence of the rejection of the motion for an address to his majesty, praying the postponement of the sentence awarded against Mr. Muir, convicted of seditious practices before the high court of justiciary at Edinburgh - - - - - [*ibid.*

Protest of the earl Stanhope, upon the rejection of the earl of Albemarle's motion (on 21st of Feb. 1794) respecting the introducing of foreign troops into this country, without the previous consent of parliament - [*360

Protest of the earl Radnor, against the rejection of the indemnity bill, for the landing of troops in this kingdom without the consent of parliament, [*361

Protest, by eight members of the house of lords, against the rejection of a motion for a declaration of the objects of the war - - - - [*ibid.*

Protest, by earl Stanhope and four others, against the bill for suspending the habeas corpus act - - - - - - - - - [*365

Protest, by five members of the house of lords, against the vote of thanks to lord Hood - - - - - - - - - - [*367

Speech of the speaker of the house of commons, when he gave the thanks of the house to the managers of the impeachment against Warren Hastings, esq. - - - - - - - - - - - [*368

His majesty's most gracious speech to both houses of parliament at the close of the session, 11th July 1794 - - - - - - - [*369

Speech of the earl of Westmoreland, lord lieutenant of Ireland, to both houses of parliament, Jan. 21, 1794 - - - - - - - [*370

Speech of the lord lieutenant of Ireland to both houses of parliament, at the close of the session, March 25 - - - - - - - - [*371

Extracts from the Leyden gazette of the 17th and 18th March 1794, respecting the arrival at Frankfort of some French commissioners - [*372

Declaration of the king of Prussia to the diet of Ratisbon, made in the beginning of February 1794 - - - - - - - - [*373

Memorial of M. de Dohm, the Prussian minister to the circles of the lower Rhine and Westphalia; dated at Cologne, the 12th of February 1794, [*374

Verbal declaration to the other deputies, from Baron de Hugel, minister from Austria, to the diet of the empire, made in February 1794 - [*376

Note delivered by the Austrian envoy at the diet of Ratisbon, on the part of the emperor, to demand the sense of the Germanic states respecting the necessity of arming all the inhabitants of the frontiers of Germany, and the furnishing of a triple contingent on the part of the said states - [*ibid.*

Declaration of the king of Prussia against a general armament of the inhabitants of the empire, made in February 1794 - - - [*378

Declaration of his Prussian majesty, in confutation of certain malevolent reports, imputing to his majesty sinister motives in prosecuting the war against

against France; delivered to the states of the Germanic circle assembled at Frankfort in Feb. 1794 - - - - - - [*378
Letter from the king of Prussia to the prince of Saxe Cobourg - [*379
Declaration of the king of Prussia to the German empire, on his secession from the continental confederacy - - - - - [ibid.
Declaration on the part of Prussia, at the diet of the German empire, and to the circles of the upper Rhine, respecting the maintaining of the Prussian troops, and the furnishing a contingent for the defence of the empire [*383
Treaty between his Britannic majesty, the king of Prussia, and the states general of the united provinces, signed at the Hague, the 19th of April 1794 - - - - - - - - - - [*384
Proclamation by the emperor; dated Brussels, 17th April 1794 - [*387
Address, by the same, to the inhabitants of the Netherlands - [*388
Manifesto presented by Barrere, from the committee of public safety, to the national convention of France, on the 30th of May 1794; followed by an address to the armies of the republic, in which they are desired not to give quarter to the English or Hanoverian troops - - - - [*389
Duke of York's general orders, in consequence of the above decree - [*392
Commentary of Robespierre, on the humane and manly instructions issued by his royal highness the duke of York, in general orders to the army; delivered in the jacobin club on the 3d Messidor (June 21) 1794 - [*394
Decree of the national convention, 5th July 1794, commanding to be put to the sword such of the troops of the combined armies inhabiting garrisons on the French northern frontiers, as should refuse to surrender at discretion - - - - - - - - - [*396
Substance of an imperial decree of ratification, dated Vienna the 14th of June 1794, and presented to the dictature in the diet of Ratisbon - [ibid.
Proclamation by Richard, a representative deputed by the convention to the army of the north, circulated at Brussels;—dated 8th July 1794 [*397
Proclamation, published in French and Flemish, relative to the circulation of assignats - - - - - - - - - - [ibid.
Proclamation, dated, Brussels, 23 Thermidor (Aug. 5, 1794) decreeing death and confiscation on the persons and property of emigrants - [*398
Substance of a decree of the imperial court, dated Vienna, 13th August 1794, and presented afterwards to the diet at Ratisbon - - - - [*399
Memorial from the imperial minister, count Schlick, to the assembly of the circle of the upper Rhine; presented on the 16th of August 1794 [*400
Address from the general verifier of assignats at Bruges, 21st of August 1794 - - - - - - - - - - [*404
Proclamation, by the magistrates of Brussels, dated 31st August 1794, advising their fellow citizens of the fatal consequences of depreciating the value and refusing of assignats - - - - - - - [*405
Proclamations by the magistracy of Brussels (in September 1794;) one enforcing by military execution the quota of a contribution levied by the republic;—the other compelling the bakers to bake and sell bread - [ibid.
Refusal of the king of Prussia to furnish the contingent due from the electorate of Bradenburgh to the army of the empire - - - - - [*406

CONTENTS.

Substance of an edict of the emperor, to the directors of the circles of the empire; dated 28th October 1794, relative to a triple increase of the army [*407

Conclusum of the circle of Franconia, addressed to the emperor and the king of Prussia, for the purpose of obtaining a peace; agreed to in November 1794;—with the answer of the king of Prussia, &c. - - [*408

Proclamations of the French general, on the arrival of part of his troops at Ruremonde; dated October 8th and 15th, 1794 - - [*411

Order published by the French general Lefevre, at Neuss, October 11, 1794 [*412

Proclamation by the representatives of the French armies of the North, the Sambre, and the Mues, (dated 24th October 1794) respecting the tardiness of the inhabitants of Antwerp in paying the contributions - [*ibid.*

Proclamation by Petit, one of the French commissaries of war, in November 1794, to the burgomasters and sheriffs of Ruremonde; accompanied by one from the representatives with the army of the north, to secure tranquillity, &c. to the inhabitants of the conquered countries - - [*413, 14

Proclamation of the French republic, dated Bois le-duc, 9th November 1794, ordering a declaration to be made by merchants, factors, &c. of the goods in their possession; and by the inhabitants of property, hidden or otherwise, belonging to emigrants - - - - - - - [*415

Treaty between his Britannic majesty and the duke of Brunswick; signed at Brunswick the 8th of November 1794 - - - - - [*416

Convention between his Britannic majesty and the states general of the united provinces; signed at the Hague, the 19th of April 1794 - [*420

Address of the stadtholder to the united states July 14, 1794 - [*422

Extract from the register of the states general; July 14 - - [*424

Proclamation by the states of Holland and West Friesland, issued in July 1794 - - - - - - - - - - [*425

Declaratory answer of the states of Overyssel to the exhortatory address of their high mightinesses of Holland, respecting the present alarming crisis; Aug 8, 1794 - - - - - - - - - [*426

Proposition made by the prince stadtholder, on the 4th of August 1794, to the states general - - - - - - - - - [*427

Proclamation of the magistrates of Amsterdam, October 13. 1794 - [*430

Address from the prince of Orange, in the middle of October 1794, to the provinces of Holland and Guelderland - - - - - [*ibid.*

Petition of the citizens of Amsterdam, of the anti-stadtholderian party, to the magistrates of that city - - - - - - [*431

Proclamation by the states of the island of Jersey, March 8, 1794 - [*432

General orders for the security of Great Britain, March 14, 1794 [*433

Decree of the French convention, 27th February 1794, concerning the creditors of the English, of the Spaniards, and of persons condemned or banished - - - - - - - - - - [*435

Decree of the national convention of France, March 1, 1794, relative to the confiscation of property belonging to nations at war with the republic, [*436

Decrees of the king of Spain, providing means for carrying on the war,

without

*without burdening the poor; extracted from the Madrid gazette of 2d September 1794 - - - - - - - - - [*437*

*Addreſs to the Spaniards; publiſhed early in October 1794 - - [*438*

*Diſpatch from general Elliot, dated the 21ſt of June 1794, to the ſecretary of ſtate, announcing the union of Corſica to the crown of Great Britain;—together with general Paoli's addreſs to his countrymen - - [*440*

*Letters from their excellencies lord Hood and ſir Gilbert Elliot, bart. to general Paoli, dated 21ſt April 1794 - - - - - - [*446*

*The conſtitution of the iſland of Corſica, as accepted by his excellency ſir Gilbert Elliot, bart on the part of his majeſty the king of Great Britain; together with the ſpeech of ſir Gilbert on the occaſion, in the general aſſembly, June 19, 1794 - - - - - - - - [*447*

*Convention for the common defence of the liberty and ſafety of the Daniſh and Swediſh commerce and navigation, between his majeſty the king of Denmark and Norway, &c. and his majeſty the king of Sweden, &c.; concluded at Copenhagen March 27, 1794 - - - - - - - [*458*

*Edict for the trade of Denmark and Norway during the war; dated 28th March 1794 - - - - - - - - - [*462*

Extraordinary propoſals, by the ambaſſadors of the French republic, to the ſtates of Switzerland, in July 1794 - - - - - [ibid.

Communication from the committee of public ſafety to citizen Barthelemy, ambaſſador of the French republic in Switzerland, dated December 1794, complaining of the toleration of the emigrants and exiled prieſts by that government - - - - - - - - - [ibid.

*Proclamation of the revolutionary committee at Geneva, on Sunday the 20th of July, two days after its formation, at the breaking up of a dinner given by the French commiſſioner - - - - - - - - [*463*

*Preamble of the decree by which the above committee was eſtabliſhed - [*464*

*Proclamation, publiſhed in Auguſt - - - - - - - [*467*

*Proclamation of the canton of Berne, in Auguſt 1794, ordering the ſeizure of ſuch of its inhabitants as were concerned in the tumults at Geneva - [*470*

*Manifeſto of general ſir Charles Grey and vice-admiral ſir John Jervis, on the part of his Britannic majeſty, inviting the inhabitants of Martinique to avail themſelves of the protection of the Britiſh government; dated 1ſt January 1794 - - - - - - - - - [*471*

*Requiſition of major-general Dundas, commanding the Britiſh army in the conquered part of the north in Martinico; dated St. Pierre, 19th Feb. 1794, [*473*

*Proclamation, by lieutenant general Preſcott, governor and commander in chief of Martinico and its dependencies, dated 10th May 1794, for arranging the plan of a contribution on the inhabitants of the iſland - - [*474*

*Proclamations, dated 10th and 26th April 1794, by lieutenant-general Preſcott, reſpecting the ſeizure and ſale of goods in the town of St. Pierre, [*474, 5*

*Further proclamation relative to the levying a contribution on the inhabitants of the iſland of Martinico, ſigned by the commanders in chief of his Britannic majeſty's fleets and armies in the Weſt Indies - - - - - [*475*

CONTENTS.

Proclamation of his excellency brigadier-general Whyte, commanding his Britannic majesty's forces in St. Domingo, enforcing obedience to the laws; dated 8th June 1794 - - - - - - - - - [*477
Address to the republicans of the sea and land forces of the republic at Guadaloupe, from the commissioner deputed by the national convention to the Windward Isles; dated 19th July 1794 - - - - - [*478
Address of the free men of La Petite Riviere in St. Domingo, to the British commander at St. Marc, August 18, 1794, in which they submit themselves to the British government - - - - - - - - [*479
Reply of his excellency lord Dorchester to the Indians of the seven villages of Lower Canada, as deputies from all the nations who were at the general council held at the Miami in 1793, except the Chawanous, Miamis, and Loups - - - - - - - - - - - [*481
A talk from the white lieutenant of Oakfuskee, mad deg of Tuckabatchies, and Alexander Cornell, who are authorized by the Creek nation to send the same to William Panton, merchant, Pensacola - - - - - - [*ibid.*
Message from general Washington to congress, May 21, 1794, relative to a meditated encroachment by the British on the American territory - [*483
Memorial from Mr. Jay, the American minister plenipotentiary at the British court, to lord Grenville, respecting the capture and condemnation of some American vessels; with lord Grenville's answer; dated respectively the 30th July and 1st August 1794 - - - - - - - - - - [*ibid.*
Order of council, with reference to the above; dated 9th Aug. 1794 - [*487
Instructions to the commanders of all ships of war, and privateers that have or may have letters of marque against France; dated 18th Aug. 1794. [*ibid.*
Extract of a letter from lieutenant-governor Simcoe to Mr. secretary Dundas, dated Navy-hall, August 30, 1794, relative to the proceedings of the American army under general Wayne - - - - - - [*488
Proclamation by the American vice-president, of 8th November 1794, respecting the conduct to be observed, in the several ports of the united states, towards vessels hostile to the French nation - - - - - - - [*ibid.*
Treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his Britannic majesty and the united states of America; from the London gazette of Nov. 22, 1794 [*489

CHARACTERS.

Account of Adam Smith, LL. D. From the 3d volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh - - - - - - - - - - 1
Account of colonel Mack - - - - - - - - - - - 12
Character of the lower Irish. From Crumpe's Essay on the best Means of providing Employment for the People - - - - - - - - - - 13
The oppression of the lower Irish, the cause of their profligacy. From the same - - - - - - - - - - - - - 14
Mode of letting land in Ireland. From the same - - - - - 20
On pedlars. From Heron's Journey through part of Scotland - - 22
Anecdotes of celebrated botanists. From Stoever's Life of Linnæus - 24
Linnæus's

CONTENTS.

Linnæus's visit to England. From Stoever's Life of Linnæus - 29
Linnæus's tour through Dalecarlia. From the same - - - 32
Account of the convent of St. Bernard. From Whitaker's Course of Hannibal over the Alps - - - - - - - - - - 33
Description of the Mohammedan inhabitants of Aleppo. From Russel's History of Aleppo - - - - - - - - - - 38
Account of the Cashaws. From the same - - - - - - 50
The gardens of Aleppo. From the same - - - - - - 51
Some transactions and character of Humaioon Shaw Bhamenee, commonly called Zalim, or the Cruel. From Scott's Translation of Ferishta's History of Dekkan - - - - - - - - - - 54
Travelling of North American Indians. From La Trobe's History of the Mission - - - - - - - - - - 57
Amusements of the North American Indians. From the same - - 59
Character, housekeeping, and education of the North American Indians. From the same - - - - - - - - - - 61
The manner of hunting and fishing among the North American Indians. From the same - - - - - - - - - - 66
The use of wampom. From the same - - - - - - 68
Conference between some North American Indian converts and some Indian warriors, at Lichtenau. From the same - - - - - - 70

NATURAL HISTORY.

Generation of the tænia. From Transactions of the Linnean Society - 72
Objections against the perceptivity of plants, so far as is evinced by their external motions; in answer to Dr. Percival's Memoir in the Manchester Transactions. By Robert Townson, esqr. F.R.S. Edinb. From Transactions of the Linnean Society - - - - - - - - - - 73
On the sleep of plants. From Stoever's Life of Linnæus - - 76
Account of some remarkable caves in the principality of Bayreuth, and of the fossil bones found therein. Extracted from a paper sent, with specimens of the bones, as a present to the Royal Society, by his most serene highness the margrave of Anspach, &c. - - - - - - - - - 77
Account of the chameleon. From Dr. Russel's Aleppo - - - 79
Instances of the sagacity of animals. From Darwin's Zoonomia - 81

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Report of the committee of common council, on improvements proposed at Temple Bar and Snow Hill - - - - - - - - - - 83
On the improvement of coppices, by the bishop of Llandaffe. From Pringle's General View of the Agriculture of the County of Westmorland - 86
Observations relative to the pruning of Orchards; by Thomas Skipp Dyot Bucknall, esqr. of Conduit-street. From the Transactions of the Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce - - 89

Method

CONTENTS.

Method of curing the disorder of sheep, called the scab; communicated by sir Joseph Banks, bart. president of the Royal Society, to the Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce - - - 92
An improvement on metallic conductors, or lightning rods; by Robert Patterson, of Philadelphia. From the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society - - - - - - - - - - - 94
Method of curing butter practised in the parish of Udny and its neighbourhood. From the General View of the Agriculture of the County of Aberdeen; drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture. By James Anderson, LL. D. - - - - - - - - - - 95

ANTIQUITIES.

Account of a rich illuminated missal executed for John duke of Bedford, regent of France under Henry VI. and afterward in the possession of the late duchess of Portland - - - - - - - - - 97
On the origin of news-papers. From Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman - 102
Manners of the Anglo-Saxons. From Andrew's History of Great Britain 111
An account of the game of chess, as played by the Chinese, in a letter from Eyles Irwin, esq. to the right hon. the earl of Charlemont, P. R. I. A. From the Irish Transactions - - - - - - - - 113
The history of signs. From the Looker-on - - - - - - 117

MISCELLANEOUS.

On the fallacy of the pretended miracles opposed by Mr. Hume to those related in the New Testament. From Paley's View of the Evidences of Christianity 124
Sale of the Linnæan collections. From a letter of James Edward Smith, M. D. F. R. S. president of the Linnæan Society of London, and proprietor of the Linnæan collections, to Dr. Stoever - - - - - 129
Imitations of different authors. From the Looker-on. The tour of sentiment —(Sterne.) - - - - - - - - - 132
—— *Meditation in Covent Garden—(Hervey)* - - - 133
—— *Sheet omitted in the Life of Johnson—(Boswell)* - - 138

POETRY.

Ode for the new year, 1794; by Henry James Pye, esq. poet-laureat - 141
Ode for his majesty's birth-day; by H. J. Pye, esq. - - - 142
Winter. From the Looker-on; a periodical paper, by Dr. Simon Olive Branch, 144
Sonnet, translated from the Italian of Milton: by W. Cowper, esq. From the Poetical Works of John Milton; with a Life of the Author; by William Hayley. vol. i. - - - - - - - - - - 144

Llangollen,

CONTENTS.

Llangollen; written at the close of the autumn 1792. From A Tour through parts of Wales; Sonnets, Odes, and other Poems; by W. Sotheby, esq. 145

Sonnet; written at Wootton in Kent. From Verses on the late unanimous Resolutions to support the Constitution: to which are added some other Poems; by Samuel Egerton Brydges, esq. - - - - - - - 151

Ode to Beauty. From Odes moral and descriptive; by the Rev. J. Whitehouse. 151

Ballad; from the Italian. From British Synonymy; by Mrs. Piozzi - 155

To a young heir just coming of age; by Dr. Johnson. From the same - *ibid.*

Character of Caius Marius. From Roman Portraits, a poem; by Robert Jephson, esq. - - - - - - - - - - 156

To the memory of the late lady Jerningham. Lines written in the Album, at Cossey-hall, Norfolk, the seat of sir William Jerningham, August the 4th, 1796. From Poems; by Mr. Jerningham - - - - - 159

To a Lady, who drew the pins from her bonnet in a thunder-storm. From Tears of Affection, &c.; by the Rev. James Hurdis - - - 161

Elegy on the death of the hon. Mrs. O'Neil. From the Banish'd Man, a novel; by Charlotte Smith - - - - - - - - *ibid.*

Imitations of Martial. From Imitations of some of the Epigrams of Martial. Parts iii. & iv. - - - - - - - - - 163

ACCOUNT OF BOOKS for 1794.

Ferishta's History of Dekkan, from the first Mahummedan conquests: a continuation from other native writers, of the events in that part of India, to the reduction of its last monarchs by the emperor Aulumgeer Aurungzebe; also, the reigns of his successors in the empire of Hindostan to the present day: and the history of Bengal, from the accession of Aliverdee Khan to the year 1780; comprised in six parts. By Jonathan Scott, captain in the East India Company's service, Persian secretary to the late governor-general Warren Hastings, esq. and member of the Asiatic society in Calcutta. Two volumes - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 166

The Antiquities of Athens, measured and delineated by James Stuart, F. R. S. and F. S. A. and Nicholas Revett, painters and architects. vol. iii. 169

The Environs of London: being an historical account of the towns, villages, and hamlets, within twelve miles of that Capital: interspersed with Biographical Anecdotes. By the reverend Daniel Lysons, A.M. F. A. S. chaplain to the right hon. the earl of Orford. Volumes the second and third. *County of Middlesex* - - - - - - - - - - 175

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